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A REPRINT OF

POPULAR RELIGIOUS

WORKS.

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE FOLLOWING CLERGYMEN:
REV. JONATHAN GOING, of the Baptist Church,
REV. J. F. SCHROEDER, of the Protestant Episcopal Church,
REV. J. M. KREBS, of the Presbyterian Church.

VOL. IV.

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MARTHA:

A

MEMORIAL OF AN ONLY AND BELOVED SISTER.

BY REV. ANDREW REED,

AUTHOR OF "NO FICTION; A NARRATIVE FOUNDED ON FACT."

Very pleasant hast thou been unto me!
DAVID.
And yet once more I trust to have
Full sight of thee in heaven!
MILTON.

NEW-YORK:
THOMAS GEORGE, JR. 162 NASSAU STREET.
1835.

PREFACE.

When the subject of the following memoir was removed from all earthly intercourse, it became unconsciously the purpose of the writer, as soon as his mind could come to the employ, and before any of the lighter passages in the history should be lost, to bring together whatever might best illustrate her estimable character. Such a record seemed necessary to himself, since he could not allow any thing valuable to fade from his memory connected with a name so sacred to his thoughts; and it appeared desirable for his children, as he hoped it might supply them in future time with a fine example of excellence, and a strong relative motive to copy it into their lives and deportment.

If it is asked why the original purpose is now carried out into an act of *publication*, the author acknowledges that he has been influenced in coming to this decision, generally, by the opinion of those on whose opinion he can well rely; and especially by the hope that it might contribute to accomplish more extensively the earnest and latest desire of his beloved relation. Without the most distant anticipation of the measure now adopted, it was particularly her prayer, *that her death might be made useful;* and in fervently seeking to give the fullest effect to her devout wishes, he knew not of any means better suited to the object, than placing under the eye of others a correct delineation of her character.

Let it be understood, however, that the history is entirely of a *domestic class*. The author has no splendid incidents, no improbable reverses, no extraordinary circumstances to excite curiosity and hold attention. The life he records, if interesting at all, must be so, not from its dissimilarity, but from its resemblance to our own; the occurrences which vary it are of that simple and sober kind, that they abound in our daily enjoyments, and are familiar to our common existence. The same observation should be applied to the character he would describe. It is not intellectual so much as *moral;* and if intellectual, the mental endowments are only such as are ordinary and general, while they are successfully directed to high and extraordinary *moral* attainments.

If these explanations are given to prevent disappointment, the writer does not state them as disadvantages. They are rather, he conceives, favorable to his design. His memoir may not make so deep an impression, but it may make a *better* one. Were it his duty to record the most striking incidents, he might well fear lest, in the excitation and development of an intricate story, the lessons inseparable from it should be neglected. Were he about to fix the eye on the brilliancy of mental powers of unusual magnitude, he might suspect that his reader would be content to admire what he despaired to imitate. But as there is nothing to captivate the thoughts from the chief object, as there is nothing *extraordinary* but what is *attainable*, he would hope that the reader will readily feel, that what the deceased became he may be; and that, if he is not, it will be, not his fate, but his *fault*.

The author was convinced, that in portraying such a life, it would be utterly useless merely to make a chronological record of events and actions, or even to do no more than faithfully describe the leading features of character. He has been concerned to subordinate dates and occurrences to their moral effect; to trace the influence of circumstances on the passions and the judgment; to show, not only what the individual became, but to mark, step by step, the way in which she reached her spiritual elevation. And this object was not to be effected by a hasty sketch, or a few powerful strokes of the pencil. Patient exertion was indispensable. There must be stroke upon stroke, line upon line, touch upon touch, to reach progressively the full expression of a character at once energetic and delicate·

In fulfilling his design, it was unavoidable that allusion should be made to living names, and especially to the members of his family. He hopes, however, that though he has not written with the eye of the public upon him, he has in no case exceeded the limits of propriety. He can sincerely say he has always made such reference with reluctance, and never except where it appeared necessary to put the subject of his memoir in interesting and useful lights. Had he taken more liberty in this way, the narrative would certainly have approached nearer to what he desired to render it. After this statement, he is ready to believe every candid mind will justify his intentions, even if it should be thought, in the fulness of the heart, more has been said than is meet.

He now commits his little work to the hands of those with whom he has found favor beyond his highest expectations; anxiously breathing at the footstool of Him who has all hearts in his disposal, the prayer of his relative—*that He would render her life and her death useful—eminently useful*. Particularly he commends it to the kindly notice of those who are of the same sex and similar age.—Their character is *soon* formed: much depends on *how* it is formed. Woman, like the snow from heaven, is the fairest thing we know when fair; the foulest when debased and polluted.

MARTHA.

CHAPTER I.

INFANCY. 1793—1800.

READER—Permit the writer to detain your attention one moment. He is unwilling that your eye should pass to the ensuing narrative with the indifference of a stranger, or the cold curiosity of a critic. He is about to introduce you, more or less, to a retired domestic circle, and especially to an acquaintance with one of its members, with whom he is disposed to think you cannot have communion without being made the wiser and the happier. In thus welcoming you as an inmate of his humble family, and placing before you whatever in the character and life of a beloved relative, may contribute to gratify or to benefit, he affords a sincere pledge of his friendship; and, in return, he anxiously solicits the exercise of a kindly sympathy and reposing confidence. Perhaps you possessed a treasure as dear to you as his, and have lost it; or perhaps you still hold such a one, and tremble at the idea of its removal: in either case the sympathy he desires will already have existence. And though, by a mere possibility, neither circumstance may apply to you, the pleadings of our common humanity will be, he would think, too powerful to withhold confidence where confidence is given, or to disrespect those sufferings which sooner or later "all flesh is heir to." In this assurance, then, he will pour his words as into the ear of a friend, expecting friendship for friendship, joy for joy, and tear for tear.

My dear sister was born on the 2d of June, 1793, and named Martha, after the late Mrs. Hamilton, of Brighton; a lady endeared to my mother by the intimacies of a lengthened friendship, and who was so happy in conciliating general opinion, that her friends were accustomed to say, by a forced application of Scripture, she was obnoxious to that wo, which is expressed against those who are followed by the voice of universal approbation.

At this time I was somewhat more than five years of age; and was well prepared to receive my new relation with open arms of love. I had, about a twelvemonth previously, lost an infant brother, who had been so repeatedly talked of by my parents, in terms of tenderness and regret, that I felt as if I had lost every thing in losing him. When, therefore, "a little sister" was announced to me, I seemed restored to a world of happiness; and I was most earnest in begging to see and possess my undefined treasure.

At length I was told that my prayer was granted—that I was to see my sister; an assurance capable of producing such powerful emotions, as subsided in an impression of the event which my memory still retains, and will ever retain. The very attempt to record it, brings it to my mind with a vividness and a force, which for many years I have not realized. I am carried back to an apartment familiar to my days of childhood. I appear to see the door open, and the nurse enter with her tender charge resting on her bosom. I follow her to her seat, and take my place at her knees, impatient to behold an object of which I had I know not what conceptions. What sensations I felt, as the nurse prepared to unfold the delicate coverings in which it was wrapped! With what a full heart of satisfaction I first looked on its half hidden face! How I trembled as I pressed the soft and unresisting flesh of its little arm!

The earliest impressions which I remember to have received from my sister's own conduct, were entirely favorable to those I had derived from her birth, and are connected with the second and third years of her life. About this time, our parents judged it necessary, for the preservation of our health, to remove us from their habitation, which was in the confined neighborhood of Temple-bar, before the adoption of the recent improvements. We were therefore placed at Highgate, under the care of a nurse; who, like most of her class, was notable, industrious, and attentive to the outward wants and comforts of her children; but who, with intervening fits of fondness, was really sharp-tempered; and who, whether kind or severe, was never prepared to exercise, what children most need, and in the end most desire, *impartial justice*. Her treatment was never the fruit of reflection on the different characters and tempers of children; it sprang from the caprice of the moment, or from the settled preferences of a selfish attachment.

It happened, from whatever cause, that my sister succeeded in gaining the partialities of this good woman; and, of course, I lost them. I was not long in painfully ascertaining the extent of my loss.—We were constantly put in opposition to each other. She was the "good girl," and I was "the troublesome, mischievous boy." I was sometimes corrected on her account, when my heart told me I was not in fault; and she was caressed unduly, that I might feel more the bitterness of neglect. I was uniformly made subservient to her; if she cried, I was forced to amuse her; if she desired my toys, I was obliged to surrender them; if any thing was to be enjoyed, she was to be first and chiefly consulted; till I was in danger of concluding, that in order to make her happy, it was necessary to render me miserable.

To those who are interested in the education of children, it will at once appear that our moral dispositions were placed, at this early period, in a perilous state of trial. I had hitherto considered my sister as a part of my happiness, as an enlargement of myself; and my enjoyments, of whatever kind, had seldom yielded me their full amount of pleasure, unless she was made, as she could, to participate. But now the thoughtless conduct of our nurse awakened within me passions, of which I had not been conscious. I was disposed to look on my sister's gratifications with jealousy, as they usually robbed me of mine. Her interests and mine appeared, not only separate, but contrary. I felt uneasy in the society of her I loved above all human beings; and to avoid rebukes, and sacrifices, and humiliations, I was inclined, though reluctantly, to avoid her.

Happily, my sister seemed more prepared to meet this little crisis in our infantile friendship than myself. On a temper more vain, or more selfish, it might undoubtedly have produced the most baneful effects; but her affection supplied her already with a weapon to resist and subdue them. My previous fondness towards her, had sunk into her susceptible heart; and as soon as she perceived that her pleasures were to be purchased at the price of my comfort, she began to hesitate in demanding them.—Nothing the nurse could do to gratify her at my expense, would secure her approbation, or influence her to abandon her brother in sorrow and disgrace. She would often restore the toy which, at her own hasty request, had been too rudely snatched away; she would take her little stool, and seat herself quietly by me when I was in distress, and refused to be comforted, unless I was to be comforted likewise; she would gaze on my face, and, throwing her arms round my neck, would kiss away the tear which hung on my cheek; she would boldly plead my cause against her friend and my judge; and insist again and again with her sweet lisping tongue, (I think I hear it now!) that I was a *good boy*. In these generous exercises, she preserved my affection and strengthened her own; and though it was very undesirable, that so early our loves should be thus exposed to trial, certainly it ended in mutual advantage.

The eye of a parent is remarkably searching. There was nothing in the treatment we received which a general observer would not have approved —nothing of which our parents could decidedly complain; yet there was enough to cherish uneasiness and dissatisfaction. There was not that appearance of content, and cheerfulness, and unconstrained familiarity which they had been accustomed to see in us. The uneasiness of the child was quickly communicated to the heart of the parent. Confidence in our nurse was shaken; and we were restored to the society of our natural and best protectors.

When Martha was about five years of age, it was again found desirable to afford us the advantage of a freer and purer air. We were therefore situated with a friend at Mitcham in Surrey, with whom, excepting some intervals in the winter seasons, we continued for a considerable time. I have a distinct remembrance of the days that passed over us at this place; childhood can have few to boast of happier than they.

We were no longer in circumstances to tempt the bad passions into exercise. The hours not engaged by the duties of our separate schools, were spent together; we were nearly each other's sole companions. Martha naturally looked to me as her brother and senior. She thought herself safe in my protection, and aspired to partake of my more robust amusements. With me she spun the top, trundled the hoop, and taught the kite to fly on the wings of the wind. With me she chased the butterfly, surmounted the stile and hedge, and wandered from cornfield to cornfield, collecting gay flowers; and at last returning home, each other's king and queen, crowned with the garlands our busy fingers had weaved.

Fancy, too, had her reign; and active pursuits would be resigned for those which were more pensive. When the summer shower has been falling, we have sat gazing up into heaven, till we thought we saw it sprinkled from the hands of angels, and have run out to the garden that it might fall on us. Often have we sat beneath the elm trees, while the glorious sun was setting, imagining his rays, broken as they were by the branches and foliage, to be a thousand separate stars, and amused ourselves in a vain attempt to number them. We have wandered far from home; and penetrating the copse-wood, and burying ourselves in the leaves, have represented the babes in the wood, till we reproached the birds for not bringing us blackberries. We have made to ourselves wings, and flown to every part of the earth with which we had any acquaintance; we travelled to the edge of the world (which we could never think of but as a plain,) and have shuddered to look down into nothing. We told over again the tales of the nursery, and have invented, if possible, many things more marvellous.

What joys have been ours in the midst of these childish engagements! Free from care and from fear, we desired nothing, we regretted nothing. We were a little world to ourselves, and were happy in mutual possession. We forgot "all that was before or after," in the plenitude of enjoyment the present moment bestowed.

It may readily be supposed that this entire community of thought, occupation, and amusement was of advantage to us both. Separate from its opening to us a fund of pleasure for the passing time, it placed us in the most attractive lights to each other. It gave us each an object to love; and furnished, however unconsciously, the opportunity and means of establishing our affection.

What was the full amount of benefit arising to my sister from this intercourse must be inferred from her general history, rather than from any particular illustrations; of the benefits derived from her character and attachment to myself I think I can speak with greater precision. How high soever the gratifications we found in our innocent, healthful, and sometimes pensive amusements, I am conscious of having possessed a higher and deeper source of pleasure in my love of her. Frequently in the very hey-day of my enjoyments, I have involuntarily paused to gaze on her with a heart full of sweet sentiments. Memory still supplies me with the image of what she then was. Her lively and affectionate blue eyes, her rosy and smiling cheeks, her open and fair countenance, her golden locks resting on her shoulders—her whole form, ornamented with the white frock and streaming broad sash, such as I have seen it tripping over the green, or reposing in the shadow of a tree, is still before me!

I can imagine, likewise, that her greater susceptibility, arising partly from her character and partly from her sex, was equally advantageous. The boy who associates only with boys, is in danger of becoming cruel and obstreperous. The mother and the sister are wisely prepared to soften and restrain the manly propensities from running into vicious excess. This influence is rather uniform than striking—rather effectual than palpable! but as my memory supplies me with an instance, which may assist me in throwing out the character I am seeking to delineate, I do not scruple to record it.

I was not long mixed with the school boys of a country village, before I acquired a taste for birds-nesting; a taste in the mind of an active and inquisitive boy, remarkably keen and powerful. At first, I did not think of rifling the nest; the discovery of an object so artfully concealed was abundant gratification; afterward the eggs, so beautifully colored and marked, became an overpowering temptation; while I satisfied myself in this trespass, by vowing I would never commit the greater offence of disturbing a nest of young and helpless birds. When I had advanced so far, I was anxious to divide this pursuit, as I did every other, with my sister; but could never succeed. Her discountenance made me think, and whenever I thought about it I felt, it was a needless cruelty.

It happened, however, in one of our rambles, that my eye fell upon a nest without seeking it. There were several young ones in it. I thought of nothing but showing them to my sister. I seized the nest, scrambled down through the bushes, and held it before her. She was not pleased, as I expected; she could not help admiring them; but the tear stood in her eyes; she blamed me, and entreated me to restore them. I assured her, as I believed, that the parent birds would never return to them, and that it would be cruel to expose them to starve. We, therefore, carried them home, determined to do our very best for their preservation. But the little creatures were now dependent on skilless though kind protectors. They languished and died; but her distress and her kindness, through this little event, made one of those deep impressions on my heart which contribute so largely to the formation of character; and which, could they be often traced, would be found frequently to arise from occurrences equally trivial. To her

> "Whose heart, from cruel sport estranged, would bleed,
> To work the wo of any living thing,"

I probably owe it, that, at this moment, I cannot willingly set my foot upon a worm, nor rob a harmless bird of its life or of its liberty.

CHAPTER II.

EDUCATION. 1793—1803.

It was the inestimable privilege of my sister to be the offspring of considerate and pious parents. If they rejoiced at her birth in receiving another pledge of the Divine mercy, they trembled also under the reflection that another immortal spirit was committed to their charge for which they were to be responsible. This conviction mixed sobriety with their gladness, and prayer with their hopes.

No sooner had the anguish of the mother, the excitement of the father, passed away, than their infant child was, with prayers and thanksgiving, dedicated to the Being who gave it. Without any unnecessary loss of time, this act of dedication was renewed and confirmed in the solemn ordinance of baptism, adoring, as they did, the Father of every good and perfect gift for an institution which recognised them in their *parental relationships;* and earnestly imploring that the appointed and visible seal of the covenant might be accompanied by its rich and invisible grace. These prayers were a thousand and a thousand times repeated in the regular exercises of the closet, the family, and the sanctuary; nor was this always found sufficient for the anxieties and tenderness of a pious parent. I can well remember, on several occasions, seeing my father walk the room with his beloved daughter lying in his arms. I have marked his lifted eye, his moving lips, and his more measured tread. Child as I was, they told me that he was in prayer. I recollect nothing at this period that gave me such an elevated idea of my father's goodness as this act, performed, as he evidently thought it was, without a witness. Thus was he commending one child to the blessing of heaven, and opening the passages to the heart of another for the blessing he had already so often solicited!

Martha's parents were honest in their prayers and unsophisticated in their religious views; to pray and to act with them, therefore, if not the same, were yet inseparable things. They believed with bishop Sanderson (it is the creed of common sense) that prayer without exertion is presumption, and that exertion without prayer is atheism; and they resolved to adopt the best means to realize their own devout desires.

The routine of school education they were obliged to trust in other hands; but they spared neither inquiry nor expense in securing for so important a trust hands that were most worthy. It was a family maxim, often repeated that it might never be broken, that a good education was a fortune a child could never spend, and a parent could always bestow. Filial gratitude is powerfully excited in recalling the many sacrifices and determined self-denial that were necessary in doing justice to this maxim; a maxim which had descended from my maternal grandfather, the only shred by which his name now fastens to my memory. So does the very record of man hasten to decay! And so may one wise and practical saying arrest it in its course to oblivion, and render it a blessing to posterity.

By obtaining assistance for one branch of education, our parents did not consider themselves relieved from that responsibility which nature and nature's God imposed upon them. A general superintendence of our entire education, and an especial regard to our moral and religious instruction, were duties which they felt they could not, and would not if they could, have transferred to others. With hands so full as theirs, and with their children so frequently removed from their care, even these duties were very difficult of performance; but a ready mind was theirs, and it is surprising what this may accomplish. This is not the mind which refuses to do any thing because it cannot do all it desires; it is the mind that does at once, and cheerfully, what it can; and which was honored by the commendation of incarnate wisdom.

To do well under many disadvantages what it is not easy to do under most favorable circumstances, is an achievement which invites inquiry, and promises to reward it. I shall therefore indulge in a few brief observations on the course pursued by our excellent parents, so far as my memory will assist to retrace it, and they shall be found relevant to the present design.

It was a rule with them to *begin early.* My sister, I am persuaded, could not recur to the time when first religion was presented to her notice. From the cradle she was taught to lift her hands in prayer, and behave with seriousness in the house of God; and from a child she was made to know the Holy Scriptures. Our parents knew how soon soever they attempted to occupy the heart with the good seed of the kingdom, they should find it pre-occupied by an enemy who scattereth tares. They revered the sacredness and mysteries of religion, but they saw nothing in these which forbade them to explain divine truth to the infant mind. They did not urge their children into those depths where the elephant may swim; they led them to those shallows where the lamb may stand and drink, and be refreshed. They rejoiced in that Goodness which had supplied a food on which, like the manna of the wilderness, the infant might thrive and the man be invigorated. They admired that Wisdom which had made truth familiar to us by narrative, by parable, and by fable; which had even imbodied and *brought it near* to us in the humanity of the Saviour; so that the understanding and the heart, in their feeblest state, might be interested. They were concerned to imitate this condescension; and no one can judge how easily they succeeded but by making the experiment.

Our parents *always dwelt on a few governing principles in our education.* It is readily admitted that they had not those comprehensive views of education which are now happily possessed by most intelligent parents of the same class. But if their plans had less of philosophy in them, they had more of religion; if they described a smaller circle, they described it the oftener; and, after all, RELIGION AND REPETITION are the soul of education. Of religious truths they choose the simplest and most influential. It was their effort to bring their children at once into communion with their Maker. The existence, the justice, the goodness, and the presence of the Divine Being, as they bear upon our circumstances of weakness, guilt, and temptation, and as they provide for us abundant salvation, were the sentiments on which they insisted, and by which they sought to enlighten the mind, impress the conscience, and govern the conduct. They thus prepared a good foundation on which to build; and if they did not raise the superstructure so high, nor throw around it so much of ornament as might be desirable, they succeeded infinitely better than those who, with unmeasured pains and skill, trust to social claims, worldly prudence, and metaphysical theory for the formation of character. The one builds rudely perhaps—but it is upon a rock; the other builds magnificently—but it is upon sand!

They were also remarkable for *seizing all occasions to carry forward the work of education.* This arose partly from their limited opportunities—knowing them to be few, they were eager to embrace them all; and partly from having minds always awake to the importance of religion and the welfare of their children. They did not indeed moralize, and task their children to wearisomeness, nor did they so mingle serious things with worldly intercourse as to soil their purity; but they employed the present emotion, and the passing event, to make a lasting and good impression. The conduct of others, the pains and wants of the body, the comforts and vexations of life, with endless other circumstances, were used, as they were under the attention of their children, to give and to fix the moral or pious lesson on the heart.

To parents so circumstanced, the *Sabbath* is of unspeakable value; and in this instance the opportunities it afforded were well appreciated and employed. The whole family welcomed its arrival and regretted its departure. It was a day that yielded more of rest and of comfort, and of domestic intercourse and affection, than any other; and about our parents there was an alacrity and cheerfulness in meeting its duties which induced us to think there was a charm in them, when we were not otherwise sensible of it. My mind returns to few things in childhood with more pleasure than many of the Sabbath evenings of that period, which Martha and myself commonly spent with our father.

At these seasons we were required to repeat what we could remember of the public services; we then went through our catechetical exercises; and at the end of these we generally took our places, my sister on the lap, and myself between the knees, of our beloved parent. His countenance, naturally grave, would wear a serene smile; and he would enter into familiar conversation with us, answering our questions or proposing his own. We then chose a hymn and he sang it with us; we thought no one could sing so sweetly. Afterward he would caress us, and smile upon us, and frequently he would close by pressing us nearer to his side, and saying, with a feeling we could not then understand, "God Almighty bless ye, my children!" By this time our mother usually joined us. We talked and sang afresh. It was an hour of gladness. Our parents embraced us, and we embraced each other. At such a moment there was but one thing that could heighten our joy: it was simply to hear our father say, "Well, my dear, I should like the children to stay up and sup with us to-night." If these words were uttered, whose parents were so good as ours! or what children so happy!

It would be needless to add, did not its pre-eminent importance require it to be placed in a prominent light, that *they were concerned to sustain all their instructions by their own example.* Children are astonishingly quick in observing how far their teachers are influenced by the lessons they give. It is in vain that we point them to an upward, narrow, and forbidding path, if we are walking in a broad, flowery, and fascinating one; it is in vain that we enforce the necessity of humility and self-denial, if we are slaves to sense and selfishness. They will see through the hypocrisy, and are in danger, in their turn, of becoming either hypocrites or infidels.

Our parents exposed their children to no such perils. They did not attempt to worship God and Mammon. They did not mix up with the Sabbath worldly pleasures and vain conversation, and then expect their children to "remember to keep it holy." They did not treat the name and character of the minister with levity or rudeness, and then wonder that their children were not impressed by his ministrations. They did not lend their tongues to plead for a religion of humility and charity, while they cherished in their hearts envy, hatred, and pride. No; they were sincere and decided in their profession. They renounced from their hearts what it was right their children should renounce; and pursued with their might what they exhorted them to pursue. They pointed to heaven, and led the way. In their busiest pursuit of worldly things, it was apparent that they were animated by dearer hopes than earth could either inspire or gratify.

It will readily be concluded, that such prayers, such exertions, and such example could not have been without their influence; it now remains to ascertain the amount and character of this influence on the mind of my sister, while yet a child.

At this early period she was remarkable for *an enlightened state of the conscience.* She was quick to mark vice and inconsistency; and in the earlier part of her childhood, while to feel and to speak were the same thing, she would at once express herself to the offending party: so that the swearer and Sabbath-breaker have been confused by her reproof. Her conscience was active when it could not decide on the presence of evil; and in noticing those dubious actions which she had too much light to approve, and too little to condemn, she would be constantly applying to her parents with the questions—Is that right? Is he a good man? Can he love God?

Her conscience was equally faithful with herself; she would easily detect her faults, and in most cases acknowledge them with great ingenuousness of disposition. On one occasion, the servant who was intrusted with taking her to chapel resolved to give the time to pleasure; she amused and treated Martha till she thought her more than reconciled to the act of disobedience; but the first sight of her mother revived the subdued sense of wrong, and, much to the servant's vexation, she ran to her lap, burst into tears, and told every thing that had occurred, taking to herself a full share of the offence.

What is of yet greater consequence, she was thus early in the habit of confessing her faults in private and voluntary prayer. Prayer was certainly less irksome to her than to most children, and it became indispensable to her peace when her conscience reproached her with having done wrong. In a letter which I possess, afterward written to some children, she states, that when she was "a very little girl," if she had committed any fault, she used to confess it to God, and pray that she might be made sorry for it, and do it no more.

Martha had, at this period, a vivid sense of the *Divine Omnipresence.* This impression was likely to be made by her general religious instruction; but I ascribe its clearness and power to one of those happy and beneficial Sabbath evening exercises which have been already noticed. Our father generally confined his conversations to one subject, that our attention might not be dissipated; and on this evening he chose the universal presence of Deity. He read to us the 139th Psalm. He explained and enforced it in its practical tendencies. Afterward we sung a part of it in the version of Dr. Watts. We were much interested. We proposed many curious questions on a subject so incomprehensible; but our anxious instructer gave them all a practical direction. Martha was particularly affected; and the impression remained on her. She committed the Psalm to memory; and she was constantly making allusion to its prevailing sentiment; she would sometimes name it as a consolation to her parents; and a considerable time after she had received the impression, she employed it to reprove me. I was hastened to bed, and had forgotten to say my prayers; she told me of the omission, and admonished me by adding—"Remember, brother, God sees you!"

I cannot but think that this sentiment, thus deeply fixed in her mind, exerted a great moral power on her conduct; that it delivered her from the meanness of hypocrisy, and many other temptations incident to childhood. I would not venture to say that, as a child, she was free from deceit, falsehood, or pilfering; but undoubtedly she was superior in these respects to most children I have known; and to what can this with such propriety be referred as to the conviction that she was not acting merely in the presence of beings on whose ignorance or credulity she could often impose, but under the eye of a Being who saw every thing, who saw it as it really was, and with whom, therefore, it was as foolish as it was wicked to attempt deception?

Nothing, however, seemed more uniformly to attract her regard than the display of the *Divine goodness*. On these her parents frequently discoursed; and on these, a temper so susceptible and generous as hers was likely to dwell with particular pleasure. This goodness, as it is familiarized to the tenderest mind in the incarnation and history of the Saviour, was most engaging. She preferred this record of infinite compassion to all other books, and to all other parts of the Bible. She would prevail with me to read portions of it to her, and more frequently peruse them intently herself; and it was seldom done without an expression of sympathy, either by the tear that started into her eye, or the admiring exclamation, "How good he was, brother! How good he was!"

So fully, at times, did these sentiments possess her, that she was not seldom employed in attempting to make others as happy with them as she felt herself to be. I remember to have been present when she had a little party of friends, and when she could not have been more than eight years of age. Not of my sex nor age, I was among them rather as an idle boy than as a playfellow. When they were somewhat fatigued, and my sister was at a loss to present them with fresh amusement, she sat down in the midst of them, and spontaneously began talking about the goodness of Jesus Christ; she touched on the most prominent events in his life with such simplicity and animation of countenance as interested all her visiters, and her brother likewise; and the remainder of the evening was spent in singing those hymns, and talking of those characters in Scripture history, which are usually favorites with children. I introduce this trifling incident merely to show how the subject occupied her youthful thoughts; and it may well be supposed that they would impart tenderness and elevation to a mind already so susceptible.

Let it not be concluded, that, in thus illustrating the effects of religious instruction on my sister's opening life, I am claiming for her the unquestionable evidences of genuine piety. Piety can assuredly be known to us only by settled and tried character; these cannot be the growth of childhood; favorable symptoms at this period should therefore be entertained, with gratitude and hope indeed, but still with caution. I have traced them as the legitimate fruits of an education which, whatever may have been its deficiencies, was begun, and continued, and ended in the fear of God; of an education which respected principles more than accomplishments, and a future life more than the present.

Nor must I bring the sketch to a close without observing, that this course of education brought as many benefits to the parents as to the child. Like all other children, Martha gave her parents occasional concern; but the tenor of her mind was marked by confidence, affection, and obedience. They are persuaded that, though naturally amiable, nothing produced this equally with the religious character of their instructions. They insisted on love and obedience as *due to God*, and this included all that was due to themselves. Had they selfishly only enforced the lesser duties, they might have realized neither; but have gone down to the grave in sorrow. They honored the God they served, and He honored them. They passed through many trials, but they have not had the bitterness of beholding any one of their children turning aside from a religious profession to the paths of vice and folly. And now that they are "old and gray-headed," and are "as those who watch for the coming of their Lord," I have it in charge from them to state, as their matured conviction, that if the means used for the religious benefit of our children do ultimately fail, it must generally arise either from want of skill or fidelity; for He is true who has said, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

CHAPTER III.

IMPRESSIONS. 1803—1809.

THE constitution of society, like the waters of a river, is constantly varying; and all its variations are marked by the bestowment and recession of peculiar advantages. Whatever may be the improvements of the present period, certainly we have gained nothing in our domestic attachments. Relative affection is the fruit of familiar and long-continued intercourse: but now, either from custom or necessity, it too commonly happens, that the parent and the child, the brother and the sister, see little of each other during a season in which the heart is most alive to sympathy, and in which if the seeds of love are not sown, they will either not spring up at all, or afford a late and sickly plant, neither lovely nor serviceable. Hence we have so little of fraternal attachment and filial devotion; so poor a remembrance of the natal days and principal events of a family; so few of those domestic meetings which, once in the year at least, brought all the relatives together from the venerable grandsire down to the rosy babe of the third generation; and which, by anticipation or review, shed something of their gladness and exhilaration on all the intervening periods of life.

I allude to this change the more feelingly, because, at this moment, I am sensible of having suffered by it. Our parents had succeeded, against many forbidding circumstances, to keep my sister and myself mostly together during the earlier part of childhood, and had thus knit our hearts together in love; now, however, our separation, more or less for some years, was inevitable. I was, therefore, deprived of opportunity to observe the progress of her character as I was becoming more fit for the work; and must be content to reduce a considerable term in her brief life within narrow limits, when otherwise it might have furnished lengthened and profitable detail.

Prior to this date, our family had removed to Chiswell-street, Finsbury Square; and as the situation was more open, our parents determined to keep the younger children beneath their eye. Martha, therefore, enjoyed their care and society for several years without interruption, and they enjoyed in her all the satisfaction which an affectionate and improving child can bestow. At the same time, her education was committed to a lady, who, not content with imparting the ordinary instructions, watched sedulously over the religious welfare of her pupils. Under such circumstances, it is supposing the least to say, that Martha's sympathies towards the objects by which they had been awakened did not diminish. More than this I might perhaps say from my own observation, as I still had occasional opportunities of intercourse with her, and was concerned to make a serious use of them; becoming as I was, at this period, interested in the things of an invisible world more than I had previously been.

Some of the children in the school to which Martha was now attached were in the habit of attending a catechetical exercise, conducted by Mr. John Scott, a gentleman well known as a blameless elder of the tabernacle, and a partner in the firm of a respectable banking-house in the city, but still better known and loved as the kind and devoted friend of children. They were eager in pressing Martha to join them in their attendance on this condescending instructer; and Martha was as eager in applying to her parents for permission so to do. Always desirous of promoting by any means the spiritual benefit of their child, and having no similar exercise in the churches to which they respectively belonged, they readily met her request, and lost no time in procuring for her a necessary introduction.

My sister was now twelve years of age; and the period requires to be marked, as it is associated with some strong and abiding impressions. The lessons to which she had often attended were enforced by a new voice, clothed with happy illustrations, and commended by manners both serious and gentle; and they made a fuller and deeper entry into her mind. Nothing clave to her memory so readily as the instructions of her beloved teacher; and the animation with which she would frequently repeat his striking remarks and beautifully simple representations of Divine truth, sufficiently evinced how well she perceived and felt them. In after-life she was accustomed to refer to these as having assisted her to think rightly on many practical points in religion; and the name of Scott never passed her lips without expressions indicative of high esteem and filial love.

The possession and the bestowment of happiness in a spirit active and affectionate as Martha's, were identified; it was, therefore, an immediate inquiry, how she might make others to share in her pleasure and profit. It was not long before she found means of reply. She had risen into the good opinion and confidence of her governess, and was sometimes employed as a sort of monitor over the younger children. These she induced to prepare their tasks once a week in less than the allotted period; and the surplus time was occupied by repeating and urging on their attention as much of Mr. Scott's address as she could remember. They liked the exercise—it was not an imposed task. Their mistress either connived at or approved it. It became more frequent; and that it might be less open to disturbance, they used to retire into a closet which was attached to the school-room.

Martha was often thrown on her own resources, small as they were; nor did they prove less acceptable to her little auditors. On referring to these engagements only a few months since, she remarked—"What I said to the children I have no idea. It was usually about religion and the Saviour. I was very earnest, and sometimes burst into tears, and not uncommonly we all wept together." How far these tears were the pledges of real benefit it is not needful to determine. It is, however, worthy of passing record, that several of the children who thus associated with her are now sustaining a consistent profession of godliness; and one of the number, with whom she was especially intimate, is the worthy and pious partner of an excellent minister in the Baptist denomination.

As her understanding expanded, Martha took an increasing interest in the public discourses of the ministry. She had hitherto found pleasure principally in the conversations of her parents, and in those addresses which were especially directed to children; but now, as she obtained power to connect the parts and comprehend the designs of a sermon, she felt herself profited, and the sense of profit afforded gratification. She became an attentive hearer of the word preached, and commenced a practice which she afterwards continued, of noting, either on the Sabbath or on the ensuing day, what she could recollect of the discourses to which she had attended. The specimens of this practice which I have by me are proofs of a diligent hand and retentive memory.

There are some brief passages in life to which the interest of years is given; in which impressions are made of a nature so powerful as to contribute largely in shaping the character and influencing the pursuits of the individual. One of these important periods it is now necessary to observe. It happened that Martha, in her fifteenth year, and in her accustomed attendance on the instituted means of grace, heard a sermon by the Rev. William Allen, then of Exeter, on *the devices of Satan*. The sermon was of course solemn and admonitory. She had probably heard many such before; but she had not been similarly affected by them. She had admired the preacher rather than thought of herself; she had been gratified rather than concerned. Now, however, truth was presented in new and convincing lights: she felt that there was something to be known of which she was ignorant: and her mind was urged, by its own uneasiness, to reflection.

Hitherto Martha's mind had been free from any continued uneasiness on religious accounts. She had been nurtured on the bosom of parental piety; her education had restrained her from many of the faults common to childhood; she rejoiced in the exercise of filial love and obedience; her sensibility sympathized with the affecting portion of Scripture history; her temper was cheerful, joyous, and unsuspicious: what wonder, then, if she had hastily concluded that she knew all it was necessary to know, felt all it was needful to feel, and did all it was requisite to do?

If any thing occasionally disturbed this state of self-satisfaction, it was the often-reiterated admonition of her anxious and beloved parents:—"Remember, my dear, *profession* is not *possession; pious education* is not *piety*—the *form* of godliness will never save you." These exhortations had fixed themselves in her memory, while her mind was unprepared to appreciate them; but, now that her eye was turned inwardly upon herself, they rose to her clothed with an importance they had never worn before, and gave force to those convictions of which she was so entirely the subject.

Martha's principal deficiency had been the want of self-inspection—a defect that is never supplied but by religious influence. She had mourned over an evil temper, and confessed the criminality of a wrong action; but she had not inquired into the motives and principles of conduct; she had admitted the truth of our general depravity, but she had not realized it. And now that she was disposed to a sincere examination of her heart, she was surprised and pained at the discoveries which were made to her. In bringing her thoughts, her motives, and her affections to a high, holy, and spiritual standard—a standard she had not before comprehended—she found that the least offence, the least defect, exposed her to condemnation. She was constrained to admit that she had sinned, and come short of the glory of God; that, however well she might have thought of herself, or her connections have thought of her, she was "by nature a child of wrath even as others." She awoke as from a profound sleep; she had dreamed of peace and security, but she was awakened by the stings of an accusing serpent coiling round her heart.

These discoveries, in the first instance, were not acceptable to her mind. She could not welcome a light that revealed only forbidden objects; she could not at once throw up the hope and confidence in which she trusted; she was unwilling to allow that all her actions and thoughts partook "of the nature of sin;" and she considered it hard to exact a perfect obedience from imperfect creatures. The vague and general ideas she had of the Divine Mercy, and the way in which her susceptible mind had dwelt upon it almost exclusively, tempted her to consider it unsuitable for God to condemn for one offence as for many, and to connect with all offence a punishment as lasting as existence. She was anxious to abandon these sentiments; but Scripture and an enlightened conscience forced them upon her. Her mind was fretted, disappointed, mortified. She was disposed to complain of the Divine Providence, to think of God as an austere master and a severe judge; to say to the sovereign Ruler of the universe, "What doest thou?—why hast thou made me thus?"

This check to the current of penitential sorrow only increased its strength to overcome all resistance. Every day spiritual truth stood out to her view with distincter light and with greater prominency. The very dispositions which perplexed her were employed to fix those convictions on her mind which she was so desirous to reject. In proportion as the irritation of her thoughts yielded to reflection, she was astonished and confounded to find the temper of her mind in opposition to the government of God—a Being she had thought she so truly loved. She found she had been loving and trusting a creature of her own imagination, and not the God of the Scriptures; that while she thought God altogether such a one as herself, she admired and approved; but when he became her reprover, and set her sins in order before her eyes, she was disposed to resist, to fight, to rebel. The truth burst upon her like a revelation. "The carnal mind is enmity against God; it is not subject to the law of God; neither, indeed, can it be!" The majesty, the forbearance, the purity, the mercy of God—the pride, the unbelief, the rebellion of her spirit, were all apparent to her. She cordially justified God, and condemned herself; she sank before the eternal throne, shedding the overflowing tears of generous contrition and godly sorrow. Hers was now the spirit and the language of the enlightened and humbled patriarch: "I had heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee; wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes: behold I am vile!"

Now came the great, the momentous question—What shall I do to be saved? The question and the reply had often been brought to her thoughts in the course of a religious education; but they had not been rightly understood and valued. They had been in her memory like a prescription in the hands of a healthy man, unnoticed or disesteemed. To estimate the doctrine of salvation, it must be desired—desired above all things, from a conviction of its indispensable necessity. She now found herself to be in a state of imminent peril; she was alive to a sense of her helplessness in attempting her own deliverance; she felt herself in the condition of the disciple sinking amid the opening waves, and ready to perish; and her eye looked eagerly for an object to which she might attach her dying hopes, and from which she might bring peace to her troubled spirit.

To possess the theory of religion only is of high advantage. It is possessing the escape-ladder, which, though it may never have been used, is always ready for use when the hour of distress shall arrive. Thousands, from their ignorance of divine truth, have to inquire for the means of salvation when they should be intent only on their application. They are aware of their danger, but know not where their help is to be found; and they remain in a state of most fearful distress, if they are not precipitated into overwhelming despair.

From these perplexities Martha did not suffer. In the ruin of her existing hopes, she knew where her only, her last dependance must rest, and her eye turned spontaneously to that Saviour who is the hope and consolation of Israel. With this object her mind had been familiarized for many years; but it is important to mark the fresh lights in which it was now contemplated. Before, it was the Saviour's gentleness of temper, the benevolence of his heart, the innocence of his life, the distress of his circumstances, or the agonies of his final hours, that called forth her sympathy, while the more exalted parts of his character rested behind a veil which she had little desire to remove. Now, however, it was on these her thoughts most earnestly dwelt. The Saviour as Mediator; his engagements for man's redemption; his authority to forgive sins; his power to propitiate Divine justice, and bring near to us the infinite Mercy; his conquest over our spiritual foes, and his bestowment of a renewing, sanctifying spirit—these were the particulars in his character and work which were felt to be so needful to her condition. She searched the Scriptures afresh, and found that they testified of Him in a sense and with a power to which she had been hitherto a stranger. She saw that Christ was indeed the wisdom of God—the power of God—the Son of God—God himself, manifested in the flesh. It was apparent to her that the Saviour, possessing the nature of God and man, was qualified to stand in the breach and effect our reconciliation. A scheme of salvation lay before her above her hopes—above her thoughts; she could not doubt its suitableness—it was exactly what she wanted; she could not question its sufficiency—it was the production of inexhaustible love. "No," she remarked at this period, with peculiar emphasis, "I cannot for a moment doubt the ability or willingness of Jesus to save to the very uttermost; my only doubt is whether I have come to him aright for salvation."

This doubt, while it proved her sincere and honest dealing with herself, was salutary in its consequences. It excited her caution, gave fervency to her prayers, and rendered her diligent and persevering in her inquiries. It had possession of her mind; but she could not grant it a quiet and continued residence. Her fears were raised by the presence of real and extreme dangers; and nothing could subdue them less than a real, reasonable, and scriptural hope that they were removed. The approbation of God, the safety of her spirit, the right and cordial acceptance of the Redeemer, were things of infinitely too great importance in her esteem to be thought of with indifference, or suspended in voluntary doubt. She was not now hesitating in her determinations between God and Mammon, Christ and Belial; she was whole-hearted; and it was not in the power of youth, with all its buoyancy and thoughtlessness, nor of the world, with all its fascinating and unbroached delights, to give her spirit ease and comfort, till she had found a satisfactory reply to that affecting question, which is addressed to the conscience of every child of man—"Dost thou believe on the Son of God?"

The means were sincerely employed, and they were attended by the promised success. She asked, and received; she sought, and found; she knocked at the door of truth and mercy, and to her it was opened. Hope took possession of her mind; and the very perturbations which troubled it proved it also to be both sure in itself, and steadfastly fixed on the things which cannot be shaken. Her thoughts became tranquil, and they settled themselves intently on Him who is the author and finisher of our faith. She was particularly encouraged by observing the character of the Saviour's invitations, and the persons to whom they were addressed. He stood before her in all his mediatorial excellence and efficiency, as the helper of the helpless, the friend of the destitute, the surety of the debtor, the saviour of the lost. She approached unto Him, and put her trust under the shadow of his wings. She deliberately renounced whatever was contrary to the love of Him; and placed her reliance on his sacrifice and mediation for acceptance with the Father. She acknowledged Him as her first, her last, her only, her sufficient hope of salvation; and she committed herself, body, soul, and spirit, into his hands, to be redeemed from all evil, to be controlled by his divine authority, and to be modelled after his most holy will. In one word—she believed; and believing, she rejoiced with joy unspeakable; it was the joy of penitence—the joy of hope—the joy of love—the joy of gratitude—the joy of heaven.

These exercises of the mind, though they are brought within a few short paragraphs, were extended through many days, and even several weeks. With them, she was disposed to hope, commenced that change without which she could not expect to enter the kingdom of heaven. She might have been moved by the influence of the good Spirit at earlier periods; but she dared not conclude on the possession of an inward principle of spiritual life, except as she was brought to discover her spiritual state, and raised to the love and pursuit of spiritual objects. Her thoughts were not occupied with curious and vain inquiries on the precise moment in which this life originated; she was content to trace its existence in its effects. She felt there was no comparison in the importance of the two questions—Do I live? and, When did I begin to live? Happily, God has furnished us with ample means of satisfaction on the one inquiry; while the other, except as we judge by the evidences of life, is, with as much wisdom and delicacy, veiled from our knowledge. Life of no class, vegetable, animal, or spiritual, is to be ascertained by detecting the vital principle; and yet it is, of all things, most apparent by its own outward expressions. A truth this which, had it been properly regarded, would have preserved the minds of many from being diverted or perplexed by needless and impracticable inquiries; and would have given them, at once, an active and prospective direction.

Such a change, bringing the mind into accordance with the humbling truths of the Scriptures, and elevating it into sympathy with an invisible and eternal world, what ever may be the adaptation of means, must, without hesitation, be ascribed to the finger of God. I am aware that this allusion to a Divine agency will provoke the censure of the world. But it is a received maxim, even with the world, that the Deity may be introduced on an occasion worthy of himself; and can we conceive any thing more worthy of the Divine Mercy and Majesty than to illuminate, and sanctify, and restore to himself an immortal spirit, which has wandered from his feet, and is alienated from the life and blessedness it is alone qualified to enjoy?

Yet the world will exclaim, "This is a hard saying!" and the most candid, perplexed by a subject beyond the circle of their thoughts, will, with a teacher in Israel, demand, "How can these things be?" However mortifying to our pride and complacency, this question admits only one reply—These things, rightly to be understood, must be truly experienced. To see the light we must be in the light. To comprehend a spiritual life we must live spiritually. "The natural man discerneth not the things of the spirit, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." He wants the answering faculty; and without this, his conceptions of a "life he does not live" will be as vague, as unreal, and as wild as the conclusions of the blind man who compared the color of scarlet to the sound of a trumpet. But let him fear to deny what he does not perceive. These things are as *rational* as they are important. To deny the necessity of a divine change is to deny the uniform testimony of Scripture, supported by the voice of conscience, and the universal state of mankind. To deny its possibility is to deny a Providence, to sit in judgment on our Maker, to exclude him from the work of his own hands, and to say that the spirit he has formed, as his living temple, he has power neither to occupy nor to influence.

CHAPTER IV.

AFFLICTION. 1809.

LIFE is a progressive principle; and in its progress to vigor and maturity, is often assisted by apparently adverse principles. The tree is frequently *distressed* that it may bear fruit; man is inoculated with disease that he may preserve his health; and the Christian is called to endure affliction, that his divine nature may be purified from earthly adhesions, and shine out the brighter and the stronger.

It was the will of Providence that the good work begun on the mind of Martha should be established by suffering. It happened in the commencement of this year that Mrs. Wilks, the consort of the Rev. Matthew Wilks, suddenly expired. Martha was among the many who admired and loved this most excellent woman when living, and who mourned her dissolution when dead. It was her earnest request that her parents would allow her to witness the interment of the earthly remains in Bunhill Fields—that ancient and sacred place of sepulture which, above all others, perhaps, will be prepared to welcome the awakening trumpet of the archangel. The day was bleak and damp; the melting snows were upon the ground; her parents objected; but she entreated, and prevailed. What with the unfitness of the weather, the agitation of her spirits, and her want of caution to avoid disease she had never felt, she received a violent cold. This was soon removed; but a troublesome cough, which attended it, remained upon her, and bade defiance to the care and medicine employed to eradicate it. There were, however, no consumptive tendencies in her constitution; and the cough, though it gave uneasiness, excited no alarm, till, in the month of July, when it appeared to be passing away, it ruptured a blood-vessel. This was a distressing and fearful event to all the family; further professional advice was taken, and Martha was ordered to leave town immediately.

In selecting a place where she might enjoy a purer air and greater quiet, the choice fell upon Cheshunt, a pleasant village at the foot of the Hertfordshire hills. Here the bosom of a family was open to receive her, of which her parents had a slight acquaintance; and to its protection they therefore resigned their afflicted child with the less reluctance.

The hand which had brought Martha under its corrections had also provided for her, in this family, a friend, who contributed considerably to soothe her bodily sufferings, and to promote her spiritual improvement. This young person was of her own sex, and but little her superior in years. They were both ardent in their sensibility, unsuspicious in their confidence, and sincerely devoted to religious pursuits. Neither had as yet found a friend to whom she could fully communicate on the subject which now filled their attention. They spent their days and their nights together. They walked at the same hour; they worked at the same table; they read the same book; they joined in the same prayer. They were pleased and surprised to find, that, as face answereth to face in a glass, so did the exercises of their minds correspond. They had thought that their state was altogether peculiar; but now they found they had been agitated by similar griefs, humbled under conviction of similar offences, and brought, through similar perplexities of mind, to rely on the almighty and compassionate Redeemer. They communed with themselves and with each other; they edified one another on their most holy faith; and their hearts were knit together in love—in Christian love, the most powerful and refined of all sympathies.

Martha, it will be felt, was in circumstances to be particularly affected by this intercourse. She was among strangers; her mind was softened by disease; she was in want of those attentions which imperceptibly, and therefore surely, make their way to the heart. Her young friend readily seized the opportunity of offering these attentions. She became a staff to her trembling steps when she sought the refreshing influence of the air; she administered punctually the salutary portions of prescribed medicine; she surprised her sluggish appetite with tempting articles of nourishment; and studied, in manifold instances, her present ease and ultimate restoration. Is it strange, if a spirit like Martha's, inclined to kindle into gratitude and love on the slightest show of kindliness, should feel deeply, perhaps excessively, in the exercise of so much real and unostentatious sympathy, imparted, as it was, without any claims of previous friendship?

There is a thorn in every nest. Amid this retirement, it did not appear possible for her to be visited with any external vexation; but even here, distress found its way to her in a form which it had never before assumed. The family which thus afforded her so sincere a friend, possessed a member of very opposite principles and character. This relative was a young man, chiefly remarkable for his ignorance and wilfulness. Unsocial in his manners; neglectful of his calling; disobedient to his parents; and of so vexatious a temper, as, if ever capable of happiness, to find it only in the unhappiness of others. Revelation, least of all things, could be acceptable to such a person; and he *chose*, therefore, to become an infidel. It was truly a matter of choice with him, and not of opinion; he professed not to argue on the subject; it was enough for him that he could show his daring by slandering and profaning what others held to be most sacred.

This daring unbeliever, however, was dastardly enough to attempt, in every way, the annoyance of two young females, one of them his relative, and the other an invalid, a stranger, and beneath the protection of his family! He gave them the greatest provocation, and then reproached them with the want of meekness; he made them sad by his presence, and then insulted them for their demure hypocrisy; he shocked their ears with his blasphemies, and found satanic delight in the pains he had created; and so much was he the enemy of all godliness, that even when they fled to their closets for peace, he would often enter on some contrivance to disturb their devotions.

The trials which, to the spectator, may appear to be intolerable, are sometimes welcomed by the individual who is to suffer them. Matha had erred with many young Christians in supposing, that while she lacked opposition she wanted one evidence of Christian character; not considering that, in her case, opposition had been hitherto an impossibility, as her connections had been limited to the friends of real piety. This disposition of mind, however, prepared her to meet these rude assaults with comparative calmness. She felt herself to be innocent; and therefore entered into the blessedness of those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake. She bowed her head quietly to the storm; she embraced the more favorable moments of saying something that might fasten on the conscience of the offender; and when, as often happened, her tender spirits were jaded by blustering and noise, she withdrew to her chamber, seeking relief by weeping at the feet of her Saviour, and presenting afresh that prayer which was offered by him who prayed as never man prayed: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

After the lapse of a couple of months, Martha returned to the embraces of her parents, improved in health, enriched in friendship, and benefited even by the tongue of persecution. Her life was made precarious by disease, and her thoughts were brought nearer to eternity. She had been enabled to exercise a divine temper under provocation, and it gave her fuller assurance of possessing a divine nature. She was confirmed in gratitude and confidence; and she walked in the light of the Divine countenance!

The sky that is cleared too quickly is seldom tranquil. Martha had passed with comparative celerity into a state of lively enjoyment; but in the remaining months of this year her mind was frequently overcast by the clouds of anxiety and doubt. I learn this chiefly from her correspondence with her young friend, from whom she was now separated; and which is very kindly put into my hands to use at discretion. As the Christian is known equally by what he *fears* as by what he *hopes*, it may be expedient to make a few extracts from her letters at this period. It will be remembered, that they are the expressions of a child of sixteen, and of a mind too intent on things to study words.

"*Sept.*—A week is past since we were called to a painful separation; and we are a week nearer to eternity. I feel my mind more deeply impressed than ever by the importance of eternal things. O, if we lived more for eternity, how different would our conversation and all our conduct be! To think that we are dying creatures, and come into this world only as probationers for an eternal one! solemn thought! To recollect that I have been sixteen years in the world, and that so very, very little of that time has been devoted to the purpose for which I came into being! But I must stop and adore the Goodness which has spared me to this moment. O that we may be enabled to live more as dying creatures!"

"I hope the Lord will never suffer us to deceive ourselves. Let us pray much that he will search us and try us. Though our hearts are so deceitful, yet we may come to a knowledge of our characters; and how important is it to know this! It will make our afflictions pleasant; it will enliven our love and all our graces; it will teach us to look on all earthly things as straw and stubble, which are to be burned."

"I have just had another fit of coughing. If I should be removed from you, do not repine. Remember, the Lord brought us together, and we shall not be parted till he sees fit. O, my dear, let me entreat you to be sober and vigilant, because of your adversaries. Watch, for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of Man cometh. My dear, heaven is worth striving for! To think of being for ever with the Lord! Let us determine, in the strength of Jesus, to knock, and to knock hard too, at the door of Mercy, till we gain admission.

"Faint, yet I hope pursuing. I am much afraid I have been deceiving myself, I have such a very deceitful heart; and, indeed, I hardly know what reasons I have for thinking I am a child of God. I dare not deny that a change has taken place in me, but I fear it is not a change wrought by the Spirit of God; I am so lukewarm, so cold and indifferent. You know every Christian has faith and humility, and I am afraid I have neither. I am afraid to hope, and yet afraid not to hope. This is a paradox, but you can understand it. O, my dear, pray for me, that I may be altogether, and not almost, a Christian!"

"I have had a great many doubts and fears lately. I find so much pride and unbelief in my heart, that I think, at times, there cannot be any grace there. I am often afraid I am deceiving myself, and fear I am like the barren fig-tree. You know what the end of that is, though it appear ever so green and beautiful. May we bring forth much fruit—the fruits of the Spirit! This is a hard conflict; but let us rejoice that it is a conflict—that our enemies have it not all their own way—

'Still toss'd tempestuous on the sea of life,
My little bark is driven to and fro;
With winds and waves I hold unequal strife,
Nor can decide the doubtful course I go;
O may we reach that blissful shore,
Where storms and winds distress no more!'

"Let us never forget that we are travellers to an eternal world. To what *place* in that world are we bound? If to Canaan, we must remember there is a waste howling wilderness to pass through, innumerable enemies to fight, and a Jordan to cross: but let us not be discouraged; our enemies are mighty—our Saviour is almighty. He has said, 'Fear not, worm Jacob; my strength is made perfect in thy weakness.' O, my dear, humbly relying on this strength, let us go forth and fight courageously the battles of the Lord of hosts, not fearing that we shall come off more than conquerors through Him who hath loved us, and died for us, and will not withhold from us any good thing."

"I have felt my mind more calm since I saw you; but, alas! I am ready to fear it is a *false* calm. You will ask me my reasons. I think, if it were a true peace, I should be more humbled under a sense of sin, and should walk far more close with God. O, that we may lie humbled at the footstool of the Saviour, that we bear no more resemblance to him! And let us not rest here: but, with the greatest importunity, beseech him to give us his Holy Spirit, that he may conform our hearts entirely to his image."

These *variations* of mind, thus artlessly described, are in some measure necessarily connected with the young Christian's experience. The very *strangeness* of his situation will produce them. God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined into his mind with a new and powerful illumination; and a thousand objects relative to himself and others, to this life and that which is to come, press upon his attention at once, awing him by their sublimity, and dazzling him by their brightness. He is in the circumstances of the blind man who is suddenly restored to sight. The innumerable objects which are at once presented to his view, do not permit him to look on any without confusion and pain. It is not only needful that the faculty of vision should be perfect; there must be time to apply it separately to the different objects which present themselves, before he can assure himself that he distinctly sees them in the lights and distances in which they are really placed.

These alternations of hope and fear will also be promoted by the *intensity* of the interest, where the mind is sincere in its inquiries. It is fixed earnestly on things of extreme, of infinite importance. To be interested in the Divine favor which it has forfeited, and to escape the wrath to come which it has deserved, are blessings on which it exhausts all its reflections, and which yet it cannot fully appreciate. It is anxious above all things to reach a favorable conclusion, but shudders at the thought of reaching it upon false premises. Its very intentness on a decision—so awful, so desirable—holds it frequently in trembling suspense. The man whose mind is balancing between supposed or real trifles, may preserve his indifference; but if he is pursuing an inquiry on the issue of which his property, his character, his life are to depend, what agitations of doubt and desire will necessarily possess him!—Who, then, shall doubt the reasonableness, or estimate the force of those anxieties, which are associated with all that eternity can reveal, all that an immortal spirit can suffer or enjoy?

Although these anxieties will naturally spring from the importance of the truths which are contemplated, and the freshness of the light which surrounds them, it must be admitted that they may be greatly prolonged or exaggerated by other circumstances. Martha was not so painfully affected by them as many; but she might probably have been less so, had her years allowed her to mark the influence of the body on the mind, and to discriminate between physical sensations and Christian principles.

Still less she might have suffered in this conflict of hope and fear, had she sought matured and sage counsel. But the young love to confide in the young; and she was content to have found a friend to whom she could freely unbosom herself. Her friend, similarly situated with herself, was well fitted to become a sympathetic companion; but she was not sufficiently advanced before her to be an experienced guide. In addition to the comforts of this friendship, had she sought the direction of her parents on the perplexities of her mind as they arose, she might have been sooner relieved. For the present, however, humility and respect threw undue restraints upon her; and she could only join generally in religious conversation, without alluding to any influence it exerted on her own spirit.

While these observations are thrown out as way-marks to others, it is pleasing to notice that these renewed perturbations of heart were overruled by a gracious Hand, to produce the best effects. The various views she took of her situation gave her deeper conviction of the impotence of her nature, and her liability to temptation and sin. Hope gathered resistance, like the elasticity of a spring, from the pressure of fear; her faith took the firmer grasp, because an enemy sought to shake it from its hold; and her love was ultimately borne more quickly to heaven by those winds which threatened to beat it down to earth. She yet more earnestly employed every instituted means of grace; she eagerly propounded to her parents questions of conscience, without noticing their relation to herself; and she diligently read, as she had opportunity, those books which were suited to her temper, and illustrative of her experience.

Among the books which were thus perused was the "Rise and Progress of Religion," by the truly

Christian Doddridge. From this work she received (who has not?) considerable assistance and benefit. It shed more light upon her way, and consequently gave more steadiness to her steps, and serenity to her heart. Here she met with a form of covenant, and with urgent exhortations to adopt it as her own. She was docile, and willing to be directed; but she was humble, and shrunk from so solemn and explicit a mode of engagement. Yet she felt that she had already virtually done what was here recommended, and she was disposed to construe her hesitancy in doing it more formally into a want of seriousness and sincerity. This jealousy of herself decided her in adopting it. It was readily embraced, as a means of satisfying herself that she had long been whole-hearted in the surrender she hoped she had already made to the Saviour of her body, soul, and spirit.

She was, however, too conscientious to employ any form of words, how excellent soever, with precipitancy. She passed over it sentence by sentence, and word by word; making every variation and omission which she found necessary to her full and cheerful acquiescence. Because it is thus varied, and because it is a hallowed and interesting document in her life, I shall not scruple to introduce it in closing this chapter, connected with her reflections upon it in a letter to her friend, who alone knew of the transaction.

I am aware that this practice has been condemned, on the one hand as enthusiastic, and on the other as pharisaical; and a writer of eminence has recently endeavored to fix upon it, somewhat inconsistently, the entire weight of this two-fold objection. If these censures are directed against the *abuses* of the thing *only* they will receive the sanction of every sober mind. There have undoubtedly, been extravagancies of expression, and modes of signature, and a high self-confiding temper manifested, which should be most seriously deprecated. But if these censures are meant, as is feared, to go beyond this, let it be remembered, that the practice which is so fully countenanced by Scripture, and has been so generally pursued by the wisest and most devoted of Christians, cannot be essentially wrong. And what is of infinitely greater moment, let it be distinctly felt that the *spirit* of the practice is the spirit of all religion. Self-dedication is of the very nature and essence of religion. If this is sincerely admitted, the mode of expressing it is comparatively of small importance, and the Christian may consult his individual benefit in coming to a decision. It is optional whether we "subscribe to the Lord with our *hand;*" but it is imperative that we subscribe to Him with the *heart.* "Circumcision," the mere sign of dedication, "is nothing;" and "uncircumcision," the want of that sign, "is nothing;" but "a new creature," the act of surrendering ourselves totally, and for ever, to God, against whom we have rebelled, *this is every thing!*

FORM OF SELF-DEDICATION.

"Eternal and unchangeable Jehovah! Thou great Creator of heaven and earth, and adorable Lord of angels and men! I desire, with the deepest humiliation and abasement of soul, to fall down at this time in thine awful presence; and I earnestly pray that thou wilt penetrate my very heart with a suitable sense of thine unutterable and inconceivable glories!

"Trembling may justly take hold upon me, when I, a sinful worm, presume to lift up my head to Thee, and to appear in thy majestic presence on such an occasion as this. Who am I, O Lord God, or what is my house! What is my nature or descent, my character and desert, that I should desire to be one party in a covenant, when thou, the King of kings and Lord of lords, art the other! I would blush and be confounded even to mention it before thee; but, O Lord, great as is thy majesty, so also is thy mercy. If thou wilt hold converse with any of thy creatures, thy superlatively exalted nature must stoop, must stoop infinitely low! And I know, that in and through Jesus, the Son of thy love, thou condescendest to visit sinful mortals, and to allow their approach unto Thee, that they may give themselves to Thee for ever.

"To Thee, therefore, do I now come, invited by the name of thy Son, and, I hope, wholly trusting in his perfect righteousness and grace. Laying myself at thy feet with shame and confusion of face, and smiting upon my breast, I say with the humble publican, God be merciful to me, a sinner! I acknowledge, O Lord, that I have been a great transgressor. My sins have reached to the heavens, and my iniquities are lifted up to the clouds. And if thou shouldst be strict to mark my offences, I must be silent under a load of guilt, and immediately sink into destruction. But thou hast graciously called me to return unto Thee, though I have been a backsliding and rebellious child. Behold, therefore, I am come unto Thee. I come convinced, not only of my sin, but of my folly. Receive, therefore, I beseech Thee, thy revolted creature, who is now convinced of thy right to her, and desires nothing so much as that she may be entirely thine. Permit me, O Lord, to bring back to Thee those powers and faculties which I have ungratefully and sacrilegiously alienated from thy service.

"Blessed God! it is with the utmost solemnity that I make this surrender of myself to Thee. Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: I avouch the Lord this day to be my God; and I avouch and declare myself to be one of his covenant children and people. Hear, O thou God of heaven, and record it in the book of thy remembrance, that henceforth I am thine, entirely thine! From this day do I solemnly renounce all the former lords which have had dominion over me, every sin, and every lust; and bid, in thy name, defiance to the powers of hell, which have, most unjustly, usurped the empire of my soul. All that I am, and all that I have, the faculties of my mind, and members of my body, my worldly possessions, my time, and my influence over others, I consecrate to Thee. In thy service I desire to spend all the remainder of my time upon earth; and I beg that thou wouldst instruct and influence me so, that whether my abode here be longer or shorter, every year and month, every day and hour, may be used in such a manner as shall most effectually promote thine honor, and subserve the design of thy wise and gracious Providence. O blessed God! I would steadily persevere in this course, to the very end of life; earnestly praying that every future day of it may supply the deficiencies and correct the errors of the former; and that I may, by Divine grace, be enabled, not only to hold on in this happy way, but to become more active in it!

"Use me, O Lord, I beseech thee, as an instrument of thy service. Number me among thy peculiar people. Let me be washed in the blood of thy dear Son. Transform me more and more into his image. Impart to me, through him, all the needful influences of thy purifying, cheering, and comforting Spirit: and let my life be spent under those influences, and in the light of thy gracious countenance, as my Father and my God.

"And when the solemn hour of death shall come, may I remember this covenant of thine, well ordered in all things and sure, as all my salvation and all my desire, though every other hope and enjoyment is perishing. And do thou, O Lord, remember it too! Look down with pity, O my heavenly Father, on thy languishing, dying child. Embrace me in thy everlasting arms. Put strength and confidence in my departing spirit; and receive it to the abode of them who sleep in Jesus, to partake in all the blessings of thy covenant, through Him who is the great Mediator of it. To whom, with thee, O Father, and thy Holy Spirit, be ascribed everlasting praises. MARTHA.

"*December 24th*, 1809."

"*Dec.* 28.—Last night I read the chapter on self-dedication again, and with feelings which I cannot describe. I was tempted to think I was not sincere in wishing thus solemnly to give myself to the Lord; but with overflowing gratitude I may tell you, that these conflicts were overruled to make me more than ever willing to be entirely the Lord's."

"*Dec.* 29.—I tremble and rejoice! I have this night set my hand, that, from this time, I will be the Lord's. I know I need not say, pray for me; but let me beg you to pray, more earnestly than ever, that I may not openly and wilfully break my engagements! My mind, upon the whole, is calm."

CHAPTER V.

EXPANDING CHARACTER. 1810.

MARTHA, with every appearance of health, remained unwell through the early part of this year; and the mere continuance of unpleasant symptoms gave her friends the more alarm. As, in the summer, ministerial engagements called me to B——, I resolved to take her to the Hot Wells, hoping that the change of air, and the use of the waters might afford her permanent relief. In this expectation we left our home in a chaise, and became for some weeks each other's sole or principal companion.

In such circumstances there is something favorable to the formation of friendship and the promotion of intimacy. The absence of all other familiar countenances; the opportunity of uninterrupted communion; the invigorating power of the living air; the novelties of changing scenery; and the sense of fellowship in all that cheers and gratifies; have an imperceptible influence in opening the heart. Our hearts had never been closed to each other; but the channels of sympathy had been obstructed by separation; and they now sought to recompense themselves by the most free and unreserved intercourse. I still have distinctly the impression made by my sister's character, at this time, on my mind; and as it is consistent with my purpose, I shall endeavor to copy it into this narrative.

Nothing, at this period, was so immediately apparent as the lovely *simplicity* of her mind. This excellence had been always hers. With less sensibility, or a false education, it might have been alloyed by the debasing power of vanity. As it was, she had been rescued from this bindweed of the heart; and she was now presented, once for all, in the mirror of divine truth, with such a view of her character as furnished an effectual antidote to its influence. In her were no conceits so common to youthful inexperience; no affectation of qualities she did not possess; no confessions in which the heart did not sympathize; no hesitation of opinion and choice which perplexed and varied her steps.

Religion had placed one object, and one only, before her, as the one thing needful. Other things might be desirable; this alone was indispensable. She allowed nothing to stand in comparison with it; but pressed towards it with an undivided heart. Life was no longer in danger of being preyed upon by vacant listlessness, or frittered away by contrary and trivial claims. She had one single aim, one great pursuit before her, and it gave simplicity to her views, and steadiness to her course. She did not look at the things which are seen and temporal, but at the things which are unseen and eternal. She had entered on the race; the unwithering laurels were before her. The clearness with which she saw the prize, and the frailties which shook her frame, made her judge herself to be near the goal; and she did not allow herself to be retarded by the thorns of needless controversy, or diverted by the impertinences of an indolent curiosity. Her eye was single, and her whole body was full of light. Hers was not merely the simplicity of nature and of youth, which is charming; it was "the simplicity of Christ," which is divine.

Religion also had shed over her mind its own *seriousness*. Her disposition had never been frivolous; now it was not gloomy; but it was truly serious—a temper of mind which is the invariable companion of wisdom, and the germ of all moral excellence. So soon as the mind is engaged by any great and interesting objects, it necessarily becomes serious. Martha's thoughts had dwelt intently on the value of the soul, the solemnities of eternity, the grandeur of Deity, and the magnitude of the Saviour's redemption, and they diffused something of their own greatness and solemnity on her character. Every thing in this life was allied to immortality; nothing therefore was trivial. She had a race to run and a conflict to sustain, whose consequences would reach to eternity—she would win or lose for ever—she could not be otherwise than serious. She had stood in the light of divine truth, and had communed with all that is great and glorious in the invisible world, and she could no more trifle than could Moses on descending from the mount of Divine habitation. This seriousness of mind rested on her whole deportment, rather than showed itself in particular instances; yet her correspondence with her friend, which I have already noticed, supplies one illustration worthy of remark. All her letters, at this time, commence with such mottoes as the following—"Eternity!" "Think of Eternity!" "Act for Eternity!" "Prepare for Eternity!" "Prepare to meet your God!"—a circumstance sufficient of itself to show how vivid were her conceptions, how deep her impressions of objects, above all others calculated to exalt and solemnize the thoughts.

Equally conspicuous was her strict *conscientiousness*. She had early been affected by the ideas of the Divine omnipresence. These were become clearer and stronger; and were coupled with correct perceptions of the Divine authority. She now saw that the *reason* for every thing was to be found only in the will of God; and that this will was revealed exclusively in the Holy Scriptures. Her own partialities and desires, the opinions and examples of others, were not to regulate her. The word of God was to be her standard. She therefore sought to submit herself implicitly to it; desirous of believing all it revealed, of doing all it commanded, and of avoiding all it proscribed.

An authority thus recognized gave importance to every thing on which it rested. Nothing, however trifling in itself, could be insignificant which was accompanied by the command or prohibition of God. The Scriptures therefore were her habitual counsellor. They were not only the title to her inheritance, but the map which delineated her daily course. She tried by them, not merely her hopes and principles, but her thoughts and temper. Yea, in the allotment of her time, the use of her money, the mode of her dress, the nature of her recreations, and the selection of her friendships, their voice was earnestly solicited and obeyed. Frequently at this period, when discussing opinions or practices of the professing world, she would observe, with a conscientiousness softened by humility—"This is very strange!—How can they reconcile it?—It *seems* directly opposite to Scripture—They should surely either reject the word of God or act upon it."

Benevolence, which was so early indicated in my sister, may be supposed to take a prominent place in her present character. In her childhood, what had the appearance of benevolence, was very much the overflow of natural and instinctive feelings; but now these were moulded into an abiding and energetic principle. She had been taught to entertain the most lowly ideas of herself, which is an indispensable preparative to thinking kindly of others. She had sat at the feet of Him who is essential love, and His love constrained her to imitate his excellence. She had drunk into the spirit of that religion which breathes good-will to men, and peace over the face of the whole earth; and acting on a heart full of tender emotions, it produced the most humble devotedness to her Saviour, and enlightened anxiety for the welfare of all mankind.

The sincerity and strength of our benevolence are discovered, not by desiring great occasions for its exercise, but by diligently embracing those that offer. Martha had but small opportunities of doing good at present, but these she thankfully improved. She evinced a peculiar concern for the spiritual interests of her younger brother; she conversed freely with children and persons younger than herself, on the subject now nearest her thoughts; and she expended all her pocket-money in purposes of benevolence, principally in the purchase of religious tracts for distribution among the poor.

Those who are seeking occasions of usefulness shall not fail to find them. It happened, that soon after our arrival at the Wells, a lady with her daughter engaged apartments in the same house. We soon learned the mother's tale of wo. She had come hither as to a forlorn hope, with her beloved, her only daughter, who had the most fatal symptoms of decline upon her, and she herself was a widow. Martha was deeply interested in the state of the sufferer; and by making herself of some use to the strangers, quickly opened a channel of intercourse.

She found the daughter to be about twenty years of age, of very amiable mind and manners. She had but recently known her danger, and she was literally confounded at the idea of dying, while she thought herself in the very midst of life. Presuming on this life, she had not thought of that which is to come; and the very sense of neglect made it doubly unwelcome. Martha, however, by her kindness, made her way to her heart, and soon afterward won her attention to the things which belonged to her peace. She died; but not, I trust, until she had drunk of those medicated waters which bring life and healing to the wounded spirit.—Martha's name was among the last words that quivered on her lips; and it was one of those events to which my sister was accustomed to recur with eminent gratitude.

Nor must I omit to observe, that religion had awakened *tastes*, and opened sources of enjoyment, to which she had hitherto been nearly, if not entirely, insensible. She had never any relish for the common pleasures of the world. The glitter of the ball-room, the excitement of the card-table, the mimicry of the theatre, formed no temptation to her; her mind was above them. The theatre, especially she was led to despise by a trivial and ludicrous occurrence.

When we were children at Mitcham, we stole out into the fair which is held at that place; and I, as the best expression of my love, resolved to treat my sister to the most respectable of all the exhibitions. We entered. I know not the subject of the play; but of course it was about love. A scene opened towards the middle of the acting, which presented us with a garden, containing a splendid monument, in which it was supposed a murdered lover was enclosed; which lover, however, was concealed behind the monument, to discover himself in due time. The lady entered with her tears and lamentations; and, as if the painted marble had been moved by her noisy sorrows, it trembled and fell. A man was revealed crouching beside it, and looking incomparably silly, and the woman ceased her wailings, and reflected his confusion. The spectators were mostly, like ourselves, children; and we burst into a hearty fit of laughter. The performers made their retreat by dropping the curtain. Martha never lost the impression made by this mummery. A playhouse to her was always a puppet-show, only varied by the expense of its ornaments and the skill of its imitations. As she became aware of the moral character of our theatres, and of most who attend them, her indifference deepened into aversion. She thought that those who could be made better by the theatre must be something less, and that those who could not be injured must be something more than human.

While I knew that Martha's uniform simplicity and present seriousness, saved her from the pursuit of those factitious and turbulent pleasures which are so fascinating to youth, I was not prepared to find a relish created for those gratifications, which are as pure and exalted as they are beneficial. I knew that she had a feeling heart, and that her mind had been raised and enlarged by religion; but I was not expecting that already religion should extend its influence to objects beyond itself. Religion, however, is closely allied to all things good, beautiful, and noble; and in the heart she inhabits she wakens sympathies towards them more effectually, than can be done by any modes of moral or mental refinement, independent of her assistance.

Martha, though her attention had been confined chiefly to one object, though she had read but few books, and those mostly of one class, now discovered an attachment for whatever adorns the mind, or enlarges the capacities for real happiness. She had a taste, not indeed at present a cultivated one, for music, for painting, and for poetry, but especially for nature; whence, as from an inexhaustible treasury, we borrow, poorly borrow, all that is harmonious in sound, all that is lovely in picture, and all that is eloquent in poesy. Every thing in nature suited the simplicity of her mind and the piety of her thoughts. There she met with God; and all was interesting to her which was the work of his hand. She admired the lily and the rose, since His hand adorned them; she sympathized with the sparrow and the robin, since His hand protected them, as she had never done before; and her ravished eye dwelt on all things beautiful on earth, or bright in heaven, as formed by her Saviour's power, embellished by her Saviour's excellence, and continuing for her Saviour's glory.

Tastes thus quickly formed by religion and the Scriptures, I was anxious to exercise and strengthen; and our daily walks and rides in the charming vicinity of C—— and B——, afforded the most excellent opportunities. Martha had not been twenty miles from the metropolis before; and, what with the novelty of the scenes, the still-abiding freshness of religious enjoyment, and her first becoming fully conscious of extended capacities for happiness, her cup of joy was often full even to overflowing. I necessarily connect the finest points of scenery in that neighborhood with the thought of her, and the expressions of her countenance, varied as they were by wonder and delight; but there is one evening's walk stands out among the pictures of my imagination, as superior to the rest in the interest it excited, and, I trust, in the good which it bestowed.

After taking a quiet tea, and reading a portion of some favorite volume, we went abroad to partake the coolness of the coming evening. I was secretly feeding on the pleasure of surprising Martha with the scenery on the banks of the A——. To accomplish this, I led her down by the zigzag path at the back of the pump-room, that the view might break upon her at once. I had chosen the hour and the evening with a reference to the general good effect of the whole; and when we reached the point of observation, I was not a little gratified to find every thing around and above us looking as well as I could desire.

The river, which flows in the lap of hills that seem to have been separated by some great convulsion in nature, was rising with a strong and rapid tide, and bearing on its bosom, in the distance, some vessels, which, with their sails dancing in the wind, were hastening to their port. The rock-work on one hand sprang so directly and abruptly from the path as to have an elevation to the eye, which the lofty mountain sometimes fails to possess. On the opposing side, with considerable boldness of contour, there were more sloping and undulating lines, so that the rifted surface was plentifully decorated with the beauties of vegetation; and where the rock itself appeared, it was enriched by those living hues which the touch of time can alone impart. On either hand, the rocks, with all their irregularities, inclined towards each other in beautiful perspective, and at length appeared to unite, enclosing the waters and vessels in their arms, and giving a compression and a consequent magnitude to the entire scene. The sun had once more travelled to the west; and his rays shot across this picture so as to give his brilliancy to one-half of it, while the remainder was clothed in shadows of a thousand shades. Above us was a fine blue sky, rendered finer by the dark lines of rock-work which conducted the eye to it; and in the far-ground, the clouds were resting on the hills, some shining in crimson glory, and some soft and gray, like aerial mountains.

Not only the scene itself, but the class of scenery, was altogether new to Martha; and it inspired her with greater admiration than any thing she had already seen. When her eye had dwelt on the whole in silent pleasure, we walked gently forward, remarking the characteristic beauty of the several parts, till, in the review, they composed an entirely different picture. The hills which were now around us went off in softer and radiated lines, so as to form a natural amphitheatre. The underwood shot up in these rising and expanding galleries with greater luxuriance, and was finely relieved by the aspiring heads of the oak and the elm; while the bolder rocks we had left, with their feet in the river, and their heads apparently in the clouds which hung over the distant horizon, constituted a noble back ground. Twilight had crept over the scene, and had shed its repose over every thing. All human objects had disappeared. The breeze had ceased to murmur, and the waters to ripple. Nothing was heard: nothing was in motion, except the river, which was still flowing, but flowing in silence. Our steps and conversation alone seemed to disturb the tranquillity. We sat down beneath some hazel branches, which sprang from the fissures of the rock; sank into meditation; and all—all was profoundly still.

In such a place, on such an evening, and at such a period of life, we might "have thought down hours to moments;" but I was fearful my sister would hazard too much in a lengthened continuance. I turned my eye upon her, designing to express my fears; but I did not catch her attention, and was unwilling to disturb it. She never appeared so interesting to me! The gentlest lights of the dying day dwelt on her countenance. That countenance, originally so full of vivacity, had been subdued by pain, and raised by piety; and it now was expressive of elevated intelligence and pensive delight, beyond, any thing I had observed. Her glistening eye, directed to heaven, told me that her spirit had ascended by things visible to those which are invisible; and her speaking lips seemed to say that her conversation was in other worlds. Her eye fell on mine. "Brother!" she exclaimed, with a sweet and blushing face, while the tear of joy and affection started and fell. I embraced her, and rejoiced in her, not merely as a sister, but as a saint. We had always found happiness in each other, yet never such happiness as now. In childhood, our joys, though complete in their kind, were animal and sensitive; now, I trust, they could claim kindred, however humbly, with those which are not only intellectual but spiritual.

We bent our steps towards home reluctantly, sometimes listening to the solemn stillness, and sometimes giving utterance to the prevalent emotion. I quoted part of Cowper's beautiful hymn on retirement, and Martha repeated some of the pastoral psalms of David. Before we quitted the spot, the young moon had risen, like a crescent, over the bold forehead of rock-work, illuminating our path, printing its own bright image on the sleeping waters, and casting its light on the opposite hills, so as to make them appear through the mist, which hung over them like a gauzy transparent veil. That was a blessed evening! And it was the more so, because we felt it derived all its blessedness from Him who is a well-spring of living joy to those who fear his name!

Digressive as some parts of this chapter may appear, I cannot leave this sketch of my sister's character without observing that religion, which had done so much for her, did not fail to create earnest desires *for mental and religious improvement.* It was not merely gratification she sought, it was advancement. She found herself to be a child in knowledge, and was not willing to remain so. She had drunk of the waters of life, and she longed to drink again. New worlds, the rational, the moral, the eternal, were open before her, and she was eager to explore them. The serious views she had taken of human life, made it a duty to seek the improvement of every talent she possessed; and the taste she had had of better things than worldly wisdom regards, made it her settled desire and purpose.

I had formerly endeavored to engage her in some studies which I considered would be of permanent advantage to her; but she commenced them rather from affection to me, than from any sense of their real value. The inward native relish was wanting; and her resolution failed to overcome the difficulties which clog the entrance to every new and serious pursuit. Now, I found her with an inquisitive mind, and keen appetite for the bread of knowledge. She was most desirous of becoming acquainted with whatever in science might render her useful to others; whatever in literature might correct and purify her taste; and whatever in religion might assist her in rightly conceiving of herself, of God, and of immortality. With such dispositions the work of instruction was easy and delightful. We had many desultory conversations on mental improvement, while together; and I engaged on our re-union in London, to become, as our mutual opportunities should allow, her teacher; thus adding one more tie to the many which bound us together.

On the whole, I think the intercourse of this period was as profitable as it was pleasing. It was beneficial to me to witness on another the holy and exalting power of religion; and I was unspeakably gratified to find that a beloved sister, was advancing with her growth in every thing lovely and excellent. My pleasure, too, was without a check, as I daily saw her health improving; and that it might be as fully confirmed as possible, it was determined that her stay should be prolonged beyond the original time, indefinitely. After introducing her, therefore, to a few kind friends, I left her, and returned to the metropolis.

CHAPTER VI.

EMBARRASSMENT. 1810

UNQUESTIONABLY the most sacred duty of the biographer is *to state the truth.* I do not understand, however, that in the most conscientious discharge of this duty, it is necessary to state *all* that is true. Much that is trivial and detached may be suppressed, not only without injury, but with advantage; the character of the individual, in its formation and progress, may be the more completely exhibited, as the artist gives a more striking likeness by getting rid of useless habiliments. On the contrary, every thing may be told, and told with the utmost particularity, while the versimilitude of the person is lost, and the *general impression* arising from the narrative is substantially false. The leading concern, therefore, of the biographer, will be to give that place and that weight, to every event connected with the subject of his memoir, which shall leave on the mind the truest impression of the living character. Good taste will prevent him accumulating minutiæ, which, if they do not reveal, will encumber his portrait; and integrity will forbid him concealing any occurrences, how delicate soever in themselves, which are indispensable to its truth.

In this record of my sister I am certainly desirous of being, not her eulogist, but her biographer. And if the previous remarks are somewhat apologetical, it is because in attempting to support that appellation, I find it necessary to enter on difficult ground. Were it a mere question of feeling, I might possibly avoid it altogether; but as it forms an important passage in her life, and contributes largely to the progress of her mind, I have no option. While, however, I notice occurrences which are acknowledged to be delicate, I hope they will be treated delicately; and then I am convinced, in discharging the duties of the historian, I shall not violate those of the brother.

When I left Martha, at a distance from home, it was with every sentiment of satisfaction. Her health was advancing, her spirit was happy, and she was beneath the protection of Christian friendship. But, alas! where in this world shall we find perfect safety? Trial and snares cross the most secure and retired path, like the gossamer web in autumn, as quickly and as imperceptibly!

Among the persons to whom I had introduced Martha during my stay, was a young man, an acquaintance of mine. He had seen her twice or thrice in my presence, and I had no idea of his seeking her society on my departure. He did, however, call upon her; in the first instance, perhaps, from regard to me, but afterward for his own gratification. He introduced her to his family, and sought opportunities of meeting her elsewhere. He was of an open temper, and ardent passions. He had been lately interested in religious objects, and he talked of them with liberty and feeling. He was a professed admirer of the poets; some of his favorite passages he read to her, and others he extracted and put into her possession. In a word, he showed her most marked and particular attentions.

Martha was still in her seventeenth year. Her thoughts had been as little directed to matrimony, or the preliminary steps to it, as those of any, the most pure of her sex. On this subject, she had all the innocency of the dove, but without the sagacity of the serpent; she knew little of human character beyond what she read in her own heart. Her modesty had always restrained her young friends from making it the matter of conversation or merriment; and her imagination had not been inflamed, her mind perverted, by the perusal of extravagant and ill-principled fictions.

These attentions, therefore, while they were such as might be offered indiscriminately to any young person, were received with simplicity and gratitude, as a proof of respect for her beloved relative; and when they became an unequivocal expression of something more, she was anxious and disconcerted. She was most desirous of shunning them altogether; but the difficulties of her situation seemed to make it impossible.

It happened that a matronly person, who had recommended herself to Martha by her kindness and piety, had early noticed these attentions. By many hints she had dropped, Martha was aware of this, and she thought the best use to be made of it was to confess the sense of impropriety which possessed her, and to crave the advice of one who had been a mother and a wife, on the best means of meeting the difficulty.

But this good lady, with very slender capacity to give advice on such delicate subjects, was one of those persons who have an avowed pleasure in *bringing young people together.* She was not, therefore, in the least inclined to confine her counsel within the limits which Martha had prescribed to it. She assumed at once that Martha's uneasiness was quite unnecessary; and then descanted freely on the folly of discouraging an individual to whom, and to whose connections, she could allege no objections. Martha waived all remark in her reply on the person himself, and contented herself with objecting on account of her youth, but "it was a good thing for young people to be early attached;" her health, but "she was getting well every day;" her separation from her parents, "her parents certainly ought to know, but there was time enough for that."

From the spirit of this advice Martha's heart involuntarily shrunk; but it left her more irresolute what to do, and not less uneasy at remaining as she was. She pondered anxiously her situation; and the more it was the subject of reflection, the more she felt that the notice taken of her was such as, in her present circumstances, she ought not to sanction; while it was of such a character as to make it difficult to decline, without an assumption which modesty forbade her to make. She did not blame the cause of her secret perplexities; but she became increasingly embarrassed and unhappy.

No alternative seemed left to her except hastening her return to London. She therefore wrote to her parents, enlarging on the improved state of her health, and begging that, as the end of her visit was so well accomplished, she might be restored to the bosom of her family. The required permission was granted; and Martha, with a glad heart, fled like the wandering nestling, from a sense of exposure and solitariness, to the warm embraces of her family.

Martha had reached her home, but failed to find all that quiet happiness which till now was identified with the place. Her distress while at C——, and her eagerness to return to her friends, had convinced her that her mind was perfectly free; alas! she was not prepared to see that this very eagerness gave alarming testimony to the contrary. She was therefore surprised and concerned to find, when she had realized the separation which was at once to deliver her from thought and feeling, till thought and feeling should be proper, her mind involuntarily reverted to the scenes she had quitted; and that occasionally the recollections it presented would raise a sigh or a tear, which she strove to repress and could not.

In her prospective return, too, it had been her spontaneous purpose to confer fully with her parents; but now she possessed the opportunity of doing so, she had no wish to employ it. Habit and conscience often urged her to it; yet when about to make the attempt, her tongue was locked, her lips were sealed; and she met their unwelcome pleadings with the best excuses the case could supply. She would urge upon herself that she had really nothing to say—that nothing might ever come of it—that if any thing should, it would necessarily first reach her father—and then would be the time to explain—and till then she would resolve not to think of it—and the only sure way to avoid thinking was to avoid speaking. Thus she sought to delay what it was so difficult to do. It was too late for her to see that her excuses were vain; that it would have been easy to confer with her friends had her thoughts been wholly uninterested; or that the very difficulty in now doing so was a powerful argument against further delay. Alas for us! how few are the precious moments of reason! They are only those in which passion is dormant; when this sorceress is awakened, she casts her illusive lights on all things—she blinds the sight of the weak, and discolors that of the strongest.

The act of separation, which is commonly such a touchstone of friendship, was operating very differently on another party. Martha had declined entering on any correspondence without the approbation of her parents; and of course it was the business of the person seeking such intercourse to make the application. She had abundant reason to think the event of such an application would quickly be tried; but, from whatever cause, weeks passed away, and nothing transpired.

The worst effect of this omission on Martha was, that it supplied her with an excuse for allowing her mind to return to the subject. She persuaded herself that she was indifferent what reply might be given to the question by her friends, if it were only fairly proposed. But while it was not put, and while she could not entertain a doubt of the honor of the person who was bound to put it, she thought herself at liberty to recur to the state of suspense; she did not ask herself whether she could distinguish between the *state* of suspense and the *subject* of it.

Martha had promised a correspondence with the lady to whom a reference has already been made; and she now looked to it as the likely means of delivering her from suspense. On her part, there was a careful avoidance of the subject; but on the side of her friend, this was not expected, nor, to say the truth, desired. Her letters were now received with an eagerness for which Martha was not anxious to account; and, if they did not contain some allusions to a nameless party, she was more disappointed than she was willing to admit.

This unacknowledged expectation, however, had not to suffer much of disappointment. Her friend always met the subject as a favorite one. She was the more earnest in it because Martha had, once for all, dismissed it, and begged that it might be forgotten. She contended, that if the step which it was honorable to take had not been taken, it must be ascribed to an adequate cause. She said every thing she knew, and imagined more, as likely to produce a delay. And she uniformly communicated whatever she could that was calculated to impress the mind favorably of the party and his connections.

This was sincerely and kindly done, but not wisely. It was giving stimulants where sedatives are required. It was keeping the attention awake to a subject on which it should have been induced to sleep. In this medium, too, she could dwell on it with more of self-deception—it was *her friend's letters* for which she was looking. And these letters occurring at short intervals, not only kept her thoughts alive, but imparted to them, from time to time, most dangerous nourishment.

Our passions, those enemies to our peace, assail us, like the Roman gladiator, with a sword in one hand and a snare in the other; and the sword is often brandished only to allure the attention from the snare which is to overthrow us. Martha might have been prepared, by her simplicity and delicacy, to resist any open attack; but her inexperience and susceptibility blinded her to the wiles of her foe. Her feet therefore had been from the first imperceptibly entangled; and what from uneasiness, suspense, disappointment, and the injudicious counsels of friendship, the nets were only gathered more inextricably about her.

As month after month rolled over her, Martha had power more clearly to watch the workings of her troubled bosom. Reflection was forced upon her; and as she reflected, she was carried unconsciously to the conclusion that she had been disposed to give a preference to one who was unworthy of it. Had this conclusion, heart-sickening as it was, been admitted, it might have roused every thing feminine in her character to a victorious struggle; but it was resisted and put down. It was too foreign to her heart readily to admit a suspicion of a character which had won her esteem by its show of piety, generosity, and feeling.

Yet, while she refused to recognise this conclusion, her conduct began to be regulated by its influence. The thought of her heart not only shrunk more decidedly from every other eye, but shunned instinctively her own observation. It breathed no sigh, shed no tear, preferred no complaint, uttered no reproach; but it preyed silently, constantly, upon her inmost spirit.

Martha strove, powerfully strove, to be to her friends what she had uniformly been; but her *choice* was to conceal herself from all mankind. Her solitude, however, was without restraints, and she could no longer fill it with useful pursuits. She would sit, with an introverted eye, from hour to hour, poring on the conflict of her feelings, till she sunk into revery and abstraction. Her bright morning of joy had been suddenly overcast; and all the gilded prospects which opened to the eye of youth in endless perspective, were enveloped in a thick gloom, that she thought would never more be dispersed!

Martha uttered no reproaches; nor is her brother disposed to employ the language of reproach; the subject is too sacred. But a *principal end* of introducing this chapter would be lost, if it were not rendered *cautionary* and *instructive*. Those, I trust, of Martha's sex and age, would be especially open to receive benefit from this portion of her history. Let them accept all common attentions with that unconstrained kindness which is their proper reward; but the moment these attentions would assume another character, let them pause and decide on the state of their mind. If the mind is averse to them, let them be steadily discouraged till they cease; and if there is no objection arising to them, let the voice of parents, or, in the want of them, of some judicious friend, be solicited; and let them advance not a step further until they have the sanction of those whose authority they are bound to respect, and possess an exact understanding on the ground of their intercourse. If these proprieties of conduct are not thought of by the suitor, there is much the greater need that they should be regarded by the person solicited.

Where the judgment has once decided, be severely jealous of any after-pleading of feeling. From no loose ideas of honorable intentions—suitable connection—difficulty of resisting—sentiments of humanity—invincibility of passion—or a thousand other imaginings—allow yourself to hesitate or to trifle. You are on enchanted ground. The inclination that leads you there is likely to leave you there till you are fascinated and ensnared. In such temptation your safety is in flight, and the flight is for your life! "Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away." Let not the thoughts revert to the forbidden object. There are some objects, which, like the Geysers of Iceland, while we admire them, scald us.

It must be conceded, that the kindest parents, in the very exercise of their kindness, sometimes err in the treatment of this delicate subject. From the manner in which they have too often seen it held up to young and innocent minds, as the end and scope of all education, of all hope, and of all effort, they have turned away in disgust, and have not stopped till they arrived in the opposite extreme. They have wholly proscribed the subject in conversation; they have exercised a visible jealousy over every thing that led to it, without assigning their reasons; and if the feelings connected with it have, in general life, at any time, risen to their view, they have submitted them, at once, either to ridicule or to condemnation.

Now, there may be much more of good principle and feeling in the one case than the other; but it may be doubted whether, in their consequences, both are not equally injurious. Certainly the determined avoidance of the subject cannot prepare the young and unsuspicious to meet it with prudence and wisdom; and the slightest knowledge of the human heart will convince us that such a mode is not likely to exclude it from the thoughts. To our nature, alas! the forbidden fruit is ever the most inviting.

It will be well, too, if, when the hour of trial comes, such a method do not dispose our child to withhold her confidence. She would, no doubt, violate her duty in doing so; but if, with every thing to encourage her, there is so much to be overcome before she can commit her secret thoughts to her dearest friend, what must be the power of filial devotion to enable her to approach a subject which has always been made inaccessible, and to reveal sentiments which have never been regarded with sympathy? Is it wonderful if, under such circumstances, the young heart has shrunk from its duty for the first time; and thus lost, in its deepest need, the advice and confidence of the most natural and valuable of friends?

May not the better course be, in this case, as it is allowed to be in almost every other, that which is most direct and open? Since the thoughts will run in this direction, more or less, is it not better to provide them with a safe and proper channel, rather than, by vainly resisting their progress, to cause a most dangerous accumulation? Let not the subject become a topic of usual discourse; but let this be avoided, not by a formal prohibition, but by the general tone of parental authority and character. On the fit occasion, let it be met with candor and seriousness. Let it be stripped of all mystery, that curiosity may have no nourishment. Let it have its fair weight among the events of life. Balance against its fascinations, its responsibility, and against its promises of happiness the hazards to which it exposes that happiness. Let there be sufficient familiarity on the subject between the parent and child, that she may feel the way to it accessible whenever she may desire to use it. Let her just sentiments be approved, her extravagant ones qualified; and her every sentiment, how foolish and trivial soever, be sure of a patient hearing, and a sympathizing heart.

Particularly it is of moment that this confidential intercourse should not be postponed to too late a period; the young mind has often thought and felt much on the subject before the guiding hand has directed it to those reflections which may fortify it in the hour of attack. It is needless to say it has been premature; then its affectionate guardian must condescend to be premature likewise. Wisdom will always prefer the means of prevention to those of cure; but in this case they have a stronger claim to preference than in almost any other. The remedy may be applied to the wounded spirit with *hope;* but the lessons of wisdom, falling on a heart still at rest, shall distil as the dew, and reward the strongest *confidence.*

In conclusion, what shall be said of those young persons who, bounding fresh on the novel scenes of life, and intent only on their own gratification, trouble the peace of many a happy spirit, by successively offering such attentions as nothing could justify but their continuance and rightful consummation? The *least* that can be said is, that such a course begins without honor, and ends without satisfaction. Is it to be pleaded that the intentions were honorable, that no promise was violated, and that the most that can be censured is thoughtlessness? Let the plea have all the weight it deserves; but let it be remembered, however, that many a promise may be made, such as heaven will sanction, and every honest mind consider binding, where not a line is written—not a word uttered. If honorable intentions are to be urged, let it be understood that these only exist as they are sustained by honorable conduct; and that he who can pay flattering attentions to one person which he would not to any other person in like circumstances, and carelessly transfer them to a second, may indeed possess good principles, but in this instance is not actuated by them.

Can it be endured, that on so serious a subject utter thoughtlessness is to be pleaded in extenuation? Because I judge myself secure, am I to be careless of the danger of another? Because I can trifle, am I to trifle on, indifferent to the wounds I may probably inflict on a mind less gross and more susceptible than my own? Thoughtlessness! Inconsideration! Let him who, in reckless inconsideration, wantonly wounds a tender and innocent spirit, and eventually seeks his connubial happiness elsewhere, enjoy it as he may! There is a Hand above him that registers in fearful characters the deed of folly and of negligence. And O, if there be any sorrow natural to our suffering state that makes its way direct to heaven, it must be that pure, deep, unutterable sorrow of the virgin heart, which scorns to tarry on earth, and which arises from insincere professions and inconstant attachments!

CHAPTER VII.

MENTAL EXERCISES. 1810—1811.

SENSIBILITY has had her honors done by a thousand hands, and her praises sung by a thousand voices. With her admiring votaries she is the substance of every virtue, and the soul of every grace.

Were such expressions simply extravagant, they might pass; but as they are hurtful, it is necessary to correct them. Let her young and fond admirers know, then, that sensibility is a gift, like some we read of in Arabian story, of doubtful character, and which will benefit or injure us *as it is used*. As the handmaid of an enlightened mind, she bears the key which commands the richest treasures of earth and heaven; as the mistress of a weak and enslaved judgment, she "shows the path and leads the way" to chambers of vexation, anguish, and despair. Without sensibility there can be no enjoyment; without something more and better, our very enjoyments are poisonous.

An excess of sensibility was the weakness of Martha's character; but she was not yet aware of it. Already we have seen something of its unfavorable and dangerous influence, and we must continue to trace it in more serious connections.

The distress of the heart is not limited to place or subject; wherever it may spring, it spreads itself over the whole soul, and all its engagements. Happy as Martha had recently been in her religious enjoyments, her happiness was deeply affected by the present state of her mind. She could no longer engage in the most sacred exercises with her accustomed pleasure. She had lost her earnestness in prayer, her quietude in meditation, her joy in the house of God, and her elasticity in performing the works of love and mercy. Her thoughts were distracted; her will was fluctuating; her imagination was wayward and rebellious; and her heart was restless. The restlessness of her spirit was communicated to every service of the closet and the sanctuary, and she became growingly weary of exercises which her conscience could not approve, and by which her mind was not tranquillized.

So painful a state of mind was dangerously aggravated by Martha's susceptibility. This temper obscured the lights that still remained on her path, and made the darkness such as could be felt. It exaggerated the dangers of her situation, and discouraged her from seeking deliverance. It magnified the character of her offences, and forbade her to lift her hands for pardon. It debilitated her resolutions, resisted her hopes, and multiplied her sorrows. It made what was perplexed, inexplicable; what was gloomy, terrible; what was bad, worse. This very temper, which in her happy moments had disposed her to dwell unduly on the Divine mercy, now, when its consolations were wanting, presented to her only distorted and hopeless images of the Divine justice.

In this dark and dreary day of the soul, ignorant as she was of the Christian conflict, assailed by a condemning conscience, and weakened and depressed by her constitutional infirmity, Martha's hope had perished had it been of human mould, or sustained by human energy. But her hope was divine and Scriptural. It was cast down, but not destroyed. It was often conquered, but it continued to resist. The winds blew against it, the rains fell upon it, the floods swelled and raged about it; but it remained—for it was built upon a rock.

Martha, in the first reverse of her experience, was little disposed to favor the struggles of this living and irrepressible principle within her. She discredited its suggestions; she questioned its nature; and was inclined rather to yield herself to the calm of despondency, than continue in the agitations of conflict. Her heart had been paralyzed by fear which her sensibility had nurtured; it was worn and exhausted by ceaseless warfare; and she seemed resolved to seek rest somewhere, though it should be on the ground of an enemy. The utmost that hope could do for her was to make her state less dangerous, without making it more easy; it kept her unwillingly awake to a sense of her exposure and unhappiness.

Towards the close of the year, Martha revealed her distress to me, most carefully avoiding any remark which might have led me to what she was determined to conceal. We had not been much together since we parted at B——; and the contrast of her present with her former appearance struck me painfully. Her feverish hand, her flushed complexion, and her agitated frame told me that disease had renewed its influence; and that her mind was robbed of that serene joy which possessed it so fully, when it was our privilege to hold daily and free communion. I have no distinct recollections of our converse on this occasion; but the substance of it is on my memory, and as far as it is to my purpose, I shall bring it under notice.

It will immediately be seen, that in giving advice to my sister, I was in similar circumstances with the medical attendant prescribing for a patient who purposely withholds one-half of his case, and yet expects relief. I was likewise discouraged by my limited acquaintance with the changes and trials of Christian experience. The most I could do was, not to apply the *best remedies* with the greatest skill, but to apply, with a gentle hand, those remedies which I had lately found effectual to my own healing.

I soon perceived that Martha's chief sorrow arose from the serious doubts which possessed her on the reality of her religious professions. She had incautiously mingled her hopes with her enjoyments; and now that these were gone, she was tempted to think nothing was left; that she had been deceived herself, and had deceived others; and that her religion had been superficial and transitory as the morning cloud, which passes away and is seen no more.

Without offering any distinctions between the joys that are false and those that are real and Scriptural, which might have perplexed her, I attempted at once to show that her present desponding conclusions were not authorized by her existing state of mind. To accomplish this object, it was my concern to illustrate the Christian course as a course of inward warfare. I saw that, with most young disciples, Martha, while she admitted the doctrine of a continued conflict in the Christian life, had not fully realized it to herself. When, therefore, this portion of her creed was reduced to experimental certainty, her faith and hope were unsettled; she was led to imagine that some trial had happened to her, which was not common to the saints.

I insisted that her case was not peculiar, but common to the people of God; that conflict was not an *accident* of Christian life, but essential to it; that it belonged not to the commencement of this life, but that it ran through every stage of it; that it was not a conflict merely with the world, with the powers of darkness, or with the disorderly appetites of the body, but that it was a deep inward, unceasing warfare against *ourselves*—our original and strongly-rooted principles, desires, and propensities. I supported my remarks by the masterly and admirable exposition of the subject in the 7th of Romans; and maintained, with the apostle, that a constant and decided conflict of the spirit against the flesh, of grace against sin, of the new nature against the old, painful as it may be, is both a more *safe* and *accessible* evidence of Christian character than the most assured hopes or abounding joys.

My next effort was to prevent her anxious search into the *past* for the proofs of her sincerity, when her thoughts might be profitably directed to her *present* duty. I urged that it was really of little moment whether she could or could not obtain this satisfaction, compared with *believing now* on the Son of God. That what *we have been* is not to discourage the sinner, or to prevent the saint from making an immediate application to the Saviour. That religion in its very nature is a continued intercourse with him; it is living in him, moving in him, and deriving from him, habitually, sanctity and grace. That we are always to be "coming" unto him as though we had never come before, confessing our sins, reposing on his righteousness, and imploring his salvation.

I pointed out, with earnestness, that if these views were important in every state of the Christian life, they were particularly so to her under her present darkness of mind and perplexity of evidence. I enforced the necessity, without seeking for obscured evidences, without waiting for an improved experience, of her simply acknowledging her felt demerit and sin, and pleading the unfailing promises of mercy to the unworthy; and I assured her, with the confidence of proof, that this would greatly assist in baffling her adversaries, and breaking the spell which her distressing fears had cast upon her.

In conjunction with these observations, I referred her to some parts in Newton's Letters, Stafford's Sermons on the 7th of Romans, and Gurnall's Christian Armor, which I had recently read with advantage, that she might peruse them at leisure.

Martha's doubts, however, were not entirely confined to her *personal interest* in the blessings of revelation; they were sometimes extended to the truth and genuineness of revelation itself. When her enemies could not succeed in wholly driving her hopes from their hold, they sought to shake the very foundations on which they rested. Hitherto, Martha had given her faith to revelation on the force of its internal and experimental evidence. It had revealed her thoughts, and given her the express image of her character; she had tasted and felt its proposed blessedness. This was the most efficient of all evidence, and she had been satisfied with it. But now, when she was tempted to doubt the reality of all she had felt and enjoyed, she was led occasionally to ask, whether the very truths themselves on which she had built might not also be illusive and unauthorized.

A sense of ignorance produces timidity. Martha was aware that she had neglected the general evidences by which the Christian religion commends itself to our judgment; and the suggestions of doubt were the more frequent and troublesome. Her memory, too, took the color of her mind, and quickened into activity some common place objections of infidelity which had been uttered in her hearing at a considerable distance of time for her annoyance, but which had been so dormant, that she scarcely thought they had a place in her recollection.

It was of vital importance to her peace of mind that from this subject at least all doubt should be excluded; and as it was simply a sincere and just decision on the weight of testimony supplied that was necessary, nothing seemed required except a clear and combined exhibition of those external evidences by which revelation has been sustained against all attack, and has gathered confidence from examination, while human creeds and carnal religions have perished by the very hands that wove them.

As far as conversation would admit, I touched on the leading and most tangible proofs which the subject affords, carefully dwelling on those which had most impressed my own mind. I then put into her hands successively, Doddridge's Sermons on the subject; Halyburton on Natural and Revealed Religion; Skelton on Deism; with two or three anonymous articles on the truth of revelation, that her thoughts might continue some time in one line of reflection, and that the object to be contemplated might be studied in a variety of lights and aspects

Martha was much interested in this intercourse. I did not expect her to be suddenly relieved; but her countenance was somewhat clearer, and her heart evidently lighter, than at the moment of our meeting. I had a stronger conviction than formerly, that an indulgence of excessive feeling was likely to be a snare to her; and indeed I could not avoid ascribing her present distress principally, if not entirely, to this undue sensibility, operated on by a growing perception of human frailty and sinfulness. It was a favorable opportunity, and I resolved to acquaint her with my impressions.

Martha had said she wished to know the worst of herself.

"The worst I know of you," I replied, "is that you have too much feeling."

"O brother, I wish it were!" she said, incredulously; "surely we cannot have too much feeling if it is right feeling."

"But my dear, if right feeling, as you term it, is *excessive*, it becomes *wrong* feeling."

"But one cannot always govern one's feelings," she continued: "and is it not better to have sometimes an excess of feeling and suffer for it, than to sink into indifference and selfishness?"

"Yet why," I replied, "should you determine on choosing one of two extremes, when there is a middle path of safety and comfort open to us? I do not commend indifference; I do not blame sensibility; I condemn the *excess* of it.

"I beseech you," I continued, with greater earnestness, in these words, or words to this effect; "I beseech you, my dear, not to trifle with this evil. I consider it to be your natural infirmity; and if you nurture and indulge it, innocent as it appears in your eyes, it will be as a viper in your bosom. I cannot help ascribing all your present uneasiness and sorrow to this source—indeed I cannot!"

Martha heard a voice in these words which I could not hear; they sank into her heart, and she became thoughtful. I knew not that they bore so large an application as she was making; but I considered that her reflections, once fixed on the subject, would be of abundantly more advantage to her than any additional remarks I could offer. That her thoughts might not be prematurely disturbed, I left her to the meditations she evidently courted.

Martha's reflections were not those of an evening; they ran through several days and weeks of this period. All our conversations had been interesting to her; but her attention was especially arrested by the closing one, which, from her peculiar situation, fell like a sudden gleam of light, on a weakness of character which, until then, she had considered an excellence. She found it difficult to receive the unpleasant truth; and her pampered feelings had innumerable specious pleas to urge in their own favor. But Martha was always ingenuous with herself; and her indulgence passed into jealousy, her jealousy led to watchfulness, and her watchfulness to detection. She saw how easily an ungoverned sensibility might mislead the judgment, betray the heart, and undo the character which, in all things else, may be truly admirable. More than this, she saw that a sensibility, refined and noble as it may appear, which is not under the rule and direction of high religious principle, is only another name for that gross selfishness which it professes to scorn and reprobate.

With this discovery arose a sense of duty. A disposition which was evil in itself and injurious in its consequences was not to be tolerated in a mind set against all known sin. Martha therefore declared hostility to it in all its excesses. But, on a review of her conduct, or rather want of conduct and activity in carrying out this resolution immediately, she was induced to fear she had mistaken a *declaration* of warfare for war itself.

However, the highest elevation is to be gained step by step. Martha had made one important step in detecting her weakness; another not less important in resolving to overcome it; the next step was to be taken unconsciously.

Few habits are more difficult of conquest than that of listless revery. Though contrary to her natural disposition, Martha had indulged in it so long as an opiate to her sorrows, that it nearly assumed the force of habit. This habit was to be imperceptibly weakened. The books I had put into her hand for perusal could only be read in the hours of retirement. As her progress would be the subject of inquiry, she was obliged to read them; and as their contents would be brought into conversation, she must give her best attention to them. These considerations, united with her sisterly affection and the weight of the questions to be discussed, brought her mind to the work.

The exercise, once begun, became easier and frequently pleasant. The authors she was daily consulting were treating the most serious subjects in the most serious manner; and gradually their spirit was diffused over hers. Her mind became calm and reflective. When not engaged in reading, she no longer resigned herself to a wandering imagination: but endeavored so to engage her thoughts on the past as to become better acquainted with herself and the dangers of her situation.

The agitation of the passions affords a valuable opportunity for self-knowledge. The heart at ease, like a fountain at rest, appears pure, transparent, and lovely in reflecting the loveliness of heaven; but let it be violently disturbed, and its turbid waters will throw up to our sight nothing but mire and dirt. Martha had now sufficient command of herself to dwell on the painful, but subsiding exercises of her mind, and they afforded her some new and deeper perceptions of her religious character. She saw much more of the natural unbelief, ingratitude, and selfishness of the heart than formerly. She saw how little submission she had to the will of God, when that submission was actually tried; and how little reliance on the Divine goodness, when that goodness ceased to be apparent to the eye of flesh. Now that all this was so evident, she wondered that it had not been seen before. Her blindness and folly seemed equalled only by her other iniquities; and her spirit sank into the nothingness of deep and genuine humility.

Meanwhile, the year waned away to its close. To Martha it brought, not only those impressions of which every reflective mind is conscious, but the sacred recollections of her covenant dedication at the termination of a former year. The period was sanctified to her profit. Her mind was touched by the frailty of life, and awed by the approach of eternity. She was reminded of all her follies and sins, and confessed them in all the tenderness of grief. As she sank in penitence she rose in confidence. She remembered the years of the Most High, and encouraged herself in her God. Her thoughts dwelt on the sacrifice and merit of her Saviour, with a most vivid sense of their unspeakable value; and she once more gave herself up to Him whom she was bound to serve. Hope, like the bow of promise, gleamed on the darkness of the retiring storm, and told of brighter days to come.

The following extracts of this date may serve further to illustrate what she felt, and how she was rising above her feelings; how she was abased under an increased conviction of her sinfulness, and possessed of higher sentiments of the Redeemer's excellence and grace.

—" I thought this letter would have been composed of the language of despair; but through the rich mercy of God, hope is again lifting up her head. O for a heart to love and praise Him, who has given us the valley of Achor for a door of hope!

—" I seem like the Israelites on their coming up from Egypt. If they looked behind them, there was Pharaoh with his host—if before them, there was the Red Sea; there was no way of deliverance. Instead of crying to the Lord, they began to murmur: but the Lord did not deal with them as they deserved; and I would hope he will not with me. O Lord, return, return, and take possession of our hearts, and enable us to live and die in thy service and to thy glory!

—" This morning my distracted mind was much supported by the sweet promise—' With every temptation He will make a way for our escape, that we may be *able to bear it.*' It was a beam of hope when my mind was sinking. I had before thought there was no passage in the word of God exactly suited to my present state of trial.

—" What a sweet prayer is that of Peter's when ready to sink—' Lord, save, or I perish!' I never saw so much beauty in it before! But when, in trying to avoid one danger, we find ourselves falling into another, it will make us cry *in earnest*, Lord, save or we perish!—O to lie low, *very low*, at the feet of Jesus, *deeply* sensible of our own weakness!

—" When I look within, I find—what shall I say? Ingratitude is too cold a name for the baseness of our conduct towards God. I feel what I deserve; but this leads me to Calvary. There the mystery of the Divine forbearance is unveiled. Yes! God hears our advocate on high, and will for ever hear. Herein is love!

" Not to be thought of but with tides of joy,
Not to be mentioned but with shouts of praise."

—" My mind is dark and carnal. But what a mercy to have a desire (though a very faint one) for *complete* deliverance from sin!

—" My mind is, as usual, dark and indifferent. O that it were with me as in months that are past! Yet is not the winter necessary as well as the summer? But I am ready to say, it is winter all the year with me. O that spring-time and harvest may come to me! Hope beams while I am writing, and I am ready to affirm that the summer will return.

—" I feel not only lukewarm, cold, and indifferent, but full of rebellion, pride, perverseness, and ingratitude. I am weary of myself; but is it from hatred to sin, or the accusations of conscience? You are ready to say, is there *no* balm in Gilead? is there *no* physician there? Yes, there is! And if I did not hope that that balm would one day be applied to my heart, I should be *quite* in despair. But when I attempt to pray for it, a lethargy seems to hang on me and prevent me. I doubt not the willingness of Jesus to save, but I doubt my willingness to be saved in *his way*. O blessed Saviour, have mercy on a wretched sinner, who feels her weakness, but who is too proud to own it—who does not like to stoop to come to Thee, as possessing nothing but sin. Take away my pride, my selfishness, my sin!

—" I cannot help taking up my pen to invite you to praise the Lord with me and for me. I do hope the Lord is again reviving his work; but I rejoice with trembling, because of this body of sin and death. I have felt the perverseness of my will subdued; I have been enabled to bless God for my trials. I have had more pleasure in reading the Scriptures, and I hope more love to the Saviour. O the goodness of God! Will he yet be gracious? Will he again grant me the smile of his countenance, after all my abuse of his mercies? O for deepest humility! O that redeeming love may henceforth be my theme!"

CHAPTER VIII.

RESOLUTION. 1811.

The mind is like the rocking-stone—a baby-hand may set it in motion, but the might of the mightiest cannot readily bring it to rest. Martha's peaceful spirit had been agitated by what was in itself a trivial occurrence; yet the master-hand of religion was necessary to rectify the judgment, and allay the pertubation of the passions. Even in the application of this power, *time* is generally to be brought into the account; for the passion will often remain in motion after the cause is removed, as the sea is seen to roll and break when the winds have ceased.

The fulness of Martha's distress had arisen from religious causes. She had lost all pleasure in those duties which were so delightful. She had prayed without life, worshipped without composure. Her thoughts had been confused and distracted. Distraction had brought darkness, darkness had brought guilt, guilt had brought doubt. She had questioned her whole profession; and, to use her own words, had concluded that her iniquities had separated between her and her God. Under such impressions, she was not aware of the influence of any *secondary* sorrow; but no sooner were her fears appeased on this principal subject than her mind was alive to meaner anxieties.

Her thoughts involuntarily reverted to those circumstances which had originated all her sorrows. Accustomed to run in this channel, they could not at once be completely diverted, and there were peculiarities in the case which invited them in this direction; particularly the continued representations of her friend at C——— had this tendency. She always touched on the subject, more or less, in her correspondence, and always with the same confidence. She was sure that all was right—that a declaration would be made—and she assigned specious reasons for its delay, some of which, indeed, would have had considerable weight on the most impartial judgment.

It was impossible that her mind should remain uninfluenced by such assurances. Martha was desirous of believing them, not on her own account, but for the sake of another. She thought that she cared not for the result of the affair; she was only anxious that her opinion of the party should not be changed. In defiance, however, of her gentle and unsuspecting nature, that opinion was insensibly altering. If, indeed, any unwelcome suggestions arose to her mind, she would repress them, and exclaim, "It cannot be—it cannot be;" yet her thoughts shrunk from the confidence which these negatives implied; they hung in doubt—in doubt of the truth and honor of one whose conduct seemed to affect her estimation of human nature generally. "This suspense!" she would say—"this suspense—any thing is better than this suspense!"

These were only the occasional wanderings of a mind not as yet fully controlled. But Martha now possessed as clear a perception of her state as any one can pretend to, where the feelings have been at all engaged. She acknowledged to herself the weakness of her character, and pursued it in all its most dangerous tendencies. In the trial which still entangled her straying thoughts, she saw and felt distinctly what was to be done; that to banish suspense, she must destroy expectation; and that expectation was to be destroyed, not by balancing powerful reasons against the weaker, but by the exclusion of the subject altogether from thought. Religion, which had made her way plain before her face, gave her strength to enter on it, thorny and rough as it was to fleshly sensations.

The first step in this course led her to dispose of her C——— correspondence. She had valued it for its own sake, and it was difficult for her to abandon it, associated as it had been with many marks of Christian friendship. But it had injured her, and it would still injure her. The very sense of her weakness was her strength; for it would not allow her, in this struggle, to leave any known advantage in the hands of her enemy. Her resolution was taken, painfully taken; and though not avowed, was soon accomplished. That correspondence quickly expires to which one of the parties becomes indifferent.

The next measure was strictly to forbid herself the perusal of any book which should have a tendency to feed those thoughts she was seeking to subdue. Happily, Martha did not see, in all its extent, the importance of this resolution; for she had no acquaintance with that class of books which abounds with an exuberant and vicious sentimentality. But she had found, in her present state of mind, works that were not only unexceptionable but truly excellent, dangerous to her. She considered her mind as diseased. What others might feed on with ease and advantage would do her an injury; and therefore it was her duty to abstain. In this conviction she experienced a jealousy towards all works of imagination, whether in prose or rhyme; and avoided every thing that might excite sensibilities already too quick and pungent.

Finally, as a means of peculiar value, she resolved on keeping her attention fully engaged and preoccupied. She had already felt the efficacy of this remedy, and sensible benefit urged her to a complete and persevering trial. Her salutary purpose was confirmed by a sentence in the letters of Henry Kirke White. He expresses it as his conviction, "that a life of full and constant employment is the only safe and happy one."* Martha had a strong sympathy with the character and sufferings of this young and amiable martyr to ambitious excitation; his opinion fastened on her memory, and frequently arose to her thoughts in the moment of need.

Let it not be supposed that this moment of need never came, or came but seldom—that having once taken her resolution, it was without difficulty fulfilled. No—it cost her many and sharp encounters with herself. While she kept to the *letter* of her purpose, the *spirit* was not always attainable. If the hands were busily pressing the needle on its progress, the mind would wander from so mechanical a task. If she turned to the page of knowledge, it was often necessary to review, and review, the same few sentences she had read, to possess their meaning. If she thought, her thoughts would frequently make their way, by a most circuitous course, to the borders of forbidden ground; and her mutinous imagination would find resemblances in present objects to things that were to be forgotten, where really nothing but disparity existed.

Amid these discouragements, however, Martha remained steady to her purpose. Her mind was differently affected to what it had been in her former conflict. She was now satisfied that there was no collusion between her and her enemy. If she could not always forget, she always strove to forget. If she could not do all she desired, she desired to do all she ought. "To will was present with her:" and if she could not secure success, she was yet determined, in a strength above her own, to exercise resistance to the last. She had therefore for her companion an approving conscience, which shed joy and confidence on her spirit. She partook of the blessedness of the man who resisteth temptation—almost the exclusive blessedness of this frail state. For all are exposed to temptation; the only difference is between those who yield and those who resist. Martha was enabled to resist; and she found that there is unspeakably more gratification in conquest than in compliance.

But the body will sometimes sink under a conflict for which the mind is adequate. The complicated distress and depression of Martha's spirit, during several months, operating on a frame naturally delicate, had brought her health once more into a hazardous state. Medical advice was again sought, and again she was ordered into the country. At her especial desire, she was to go to Cheshunt; and arrangements were made for her and her young friend of that place to reside together.

Our parents allowed no great domestic event to transpire without an extraordinary act of domestic worship. As Martha's separation from her family was likely to be permanent, it would have been sufficient to authorize this service; but as their younger son was about to change his home for the business and temptation of the world, and as I was now looking to a settlement in some part of the church of God, the situation of the family appeared eminently eventful; and it excited a proportionate degree of parental anxiety.

This anxiety and care they sought, by prayer and supplication, to cast on Him who had so often shown that he cared for them. An evening was set apart for the solemn and delightful purpose. Doctor Winter, my mother's pastor, presided. He read and paraphrased the affecting passage which records Jacob's departure from his father's house. He presented a most earnest and appropriate prayer, acknowledging the mercies of the family, and particularly noticing the circumstances of each of its members. The service, in its own nature, was interesting: and there was an unction upon our worship. The heart seemed enlarged to pray, the lips to sing praise, and the thoughts to meditate. The feeling of one was the feeling of all; it was the communion of saints, the communion of heaven. Our parents wept from gratitude, anxiety, and love; and their children wept in sympathy with their sentiments. Those tears were among the happiest shed by mortals! Martha and I frequently alluded to the prayers and pleasures of that night; it was marked by one of those monumental pillars erected and ascribed to the Divine goodness, in the way of our pilgrimage, which it did the heart good to look back upon.

With the blessings of her family on her head, Martha went to Cheshunt, and took up her proposed residence with her friend. They were now alone, and had nothing to annoy their intercourse. The change was decidedly advantageous to my sister. She was not in solitude either by day or night; and this assisted her greatly in controlling her thoughts. Her friend, too, was as judicious as she was kind in her conduct. She diverted Martha's attention when it was sinking into herself; soothed her spirit beneath the occasional weight of nervous depression, and engaged her mind by a variety of nameless light and pleasing female occupations. In every thing she watched over her peace of mind, and conversed freely on those religious topics which were most likely to promote it. These attentions were medicinal. They worked insensibly, but daily and effectually. Martha, who could not underrate an expression of kindness, often spoke of them as invaluable to her at this period.

According to her ability, and beyond her ability, Martha strove to make her daily walks, walks of usefulness. She could not be happy in seeking her own benefit, unless it was connected with that of others. She reproached herself for having cooled in the works of benevolence, and anxiously sought to redeem the time. She introduced herself into the neighboring cottages; and soon made friends to herself of the old and young. Many of the children she undertook to instruct; and pressed on the attention of the parents, in an easy and familiar way, the most important subjects of temporal and eternal interest. The sick of her own sex were objects of especial sympathy; and to all, and everywhere, she sought to distribute tracts, a favorite mode with her of endeavoring to do good. Much may be done by these means at a very small expense: but Martha cheerfully consecrated to them her entire pocket money.

An undue ardor in accomplishing an important object will sometimes endanger it. Martha had so sedulously improved the advantages of her situation as almost to exclude herself from her beloved retirement. She was not aware that by violent restraints she might produce a revulsion of mind; that society might be rendered most wearisome, and retirement become an object of unappeasable solicitude.

Circumstances, however, supplied the place of experience. The season of the year advanced; her strength was considerably increased; and she felt herself able to go a sufficient distance from home to retrace those quiet paths of which she had so pleasant a recollection. She thought that retirement in this mode, as it was most inviting, so it would be harmless. She had found that, in the presence of nature, she was "never less alone than when most alone;" her mind had objects to dwell upon; objects that could not injure it, and in which it delighted. She listened therefore to the yearnings of her spirit; and many a summer's evening she strolled away from human intercourse, to intercourse more safe and refined.

In communing with objects that led to reflection, it was not possible that her reflections should always preserve the character she desired. They would sometimes sink into gloom; sometimes start aside to interdicted things; but they were more commonly obedient to her will, and of a profitable tendency.

Martha looked on nature with an altered eye; but there was nothing in her aspect to offend the sight. Nature had heightened her gladness in her most happy days, and now she soothed a spirit struggling with its own weaknesses and the sufferings of this mortal state. Her very pensiveness of mind, far from being an impediment, gave her a deeper relish for her charms. Her pent sensibilities flowed strongly into this channel; the more they were indulged, the more they asked indulgence: till, in the idea of the exercise being safe and salutary, it was likely to become excessive, and therefore hurtful. How difficult is it to say how far the passions of the heart may go! How much more difficult, when they have reached the admitted boundary, to say—Thus far, but no farther!

Martha must be forgiven, if occasionally she lost all idea of hazard, in the fulness of enjoyments which were so congenial to her newly-awakened tastes, and so calculated to raise her above worldly sorrow, or soften down its rough realities. The cup of joy had been too much alienated from her lips, and she drank of it with proportionate eagerness Nature, in the glowing splendors of morning; nature, in the solemn infinitude of night; nature, rocked by convulsive storms; nature, reposing on the bosom of silence; nature, shrouded in folded clouds; nature, smiling under the blessed light of heaven; nature, in all the freshness, bloom, and beauty of youth; nature, dishevelled, decrepit, and dying with age; nature, in all her endless varieties of form, of color, and of aspect, was still familiar, still delightful.

Martha at this period did not think of delineating her feelings. It was enough for her to see, to feel, and to enjoy. She did not deceive herself into enjoyment that she might *record* it, and record it that she might *exhibit* it. It was enough that she was happy; and if in this respect she could think herself happier than many, she considered herself, not the superior person, but the more privileged.

The following lines, therefore, were written at a later date; but as they are evidently recollections of pleasures very much associated with this time, they find their proper place in this chapter. As a preface to these, and any other verses that may follow in the progress of the narrative, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that they are by no means introduced to claim for the subject of this memoir "all sorts of talent." Many lives have been so written, as if, whatever excellence might be proved to belong to the individuals, all would be vain, unless it could be shown that they *made verses*; and such contemptible specimens have sometimes been brought as evidence on this important particular, that the eye can scarcely meet measured lines in such connection without ridicule.

In exposing myself to this danger, I have simply to state, that nothing of the kind is brought forward to prove that Martha had talent of any order or degree. It is brought forward, and with reluctance, to illustrate her *moral character*; and if the introduction of the pieces that appear were not thought necessary to the development of moral tastes and pleasures, they would certainly have been omitted, rather than risk a charge which in too many cases has been justly preferred.

Oft to these wond'ring eyes hast thou reveal'd
Such finish'd beauty, that, in rapture lost,
My soul has seem'd inebriate with joy.
O, I have gazed upon the dewy morn,
Distilling fragrance from each shrub and flower,
All various, all harmonious, till I felt
New life within!—Exulting, I have watch'd
The golden radiance of the setting sun
Tinging the meads with glory—striking deep
Into the thickest shade, until my heart
Has glow'd beneath its beams. And I have watch'd
The evening star rise slowly; trac'd its course,
And felt as if I follow'd in its train.
Nor yet unfrequent by the lake's cool brink
I've sat sequester'd, panting for that peace
Of which it seem'd the emblem. Nothing there
Incongruous seem'd: around, the waving trees
Reflected in the stream; the distant bells
Just heard at intervals; and then the hum
Of the lone beetle, or the plaintive note
Of some sad songstress, spoiled of her young.
In such a scene, so tranquil, so retired,
Scarce has the pulse of life appear'd to beat
And e'en the clock ofttimes has been so still,
As if it dare not vibrate. I have stood
Gazing on thee, sweet nature, till my soul
Has been uplifted with devoutest love
And holy admiration. I have long'd
For other powers to celebrate the praise
Of that infinite Wisdom, perfect Love,
And pow'r omnipotent, which could devise,
Create, and then maintain the wondrous whole!
Thou dost proclaim His glory; yet art thou,
In all thy beauty, but the passing shade
Of that bright world where He himself resides!
Yet will I meditate upon thy charms—
With thee converse in all thy hidden grace,
Let me still see thy features, and direct
My heart beyond thyself, the fairest type,
To that celestial Eden, where my soul
Shall range at large, and see the great Supreme!

CHAPTER IX.

MENTAL IMPROVEMENT. 1812—14.

The wheel of Providence is constantly making its revolutions, and throwing up the most unexpected events. At the close of the year 1811, I accepted of a pastoral charge in London, and designed making a temporary residence with my parents. Martha could not allow herself to be out of the way. She forgot nature; contended that her health fully admitted of her return; flew to the arms of her friends; joined in the solemnities of ordination; and became an inhabitant with me of the same dwelling. Thus the arrangement for her at Cheshunt, which was considered permanent, was comparatively of slight continuance.

I remained with my sister in these circumstances upwards of two years. Instead of passing through this period week after week, or month after month, I shall endeavor to give a miniature sketch of the whole under a few leading particulars, not scrupling to carry an occasional remark into future life, if it will prevent the awkwardness of repetition. By this method I expect the reader will command a clearer and more compressed view of my sister's occupations and progress.

After our mutual rejoicings at being thus brought together, the first thing that occurred to us was, that a fine opportunity was furnished for superintending Martha's mental improvement. I soon found that the pupil had calculated upon this even more than her teacher, and I was prepared to enter on the pleasing task with greater alacrity. No instructer ever had a fairer field to cultivate. There were no perversities of will, no vexations of temper, to contend with; and her powers of mind, without being extraordinary, were good. The soil needed the hand of cultivation, and it would reward it bountifully.

As in husbandry the ruling principle is to adapt the seed to the soil, so in education the great secret is to accommodate the lessons to the dispositions and capacities of the pupil. Education cannot be carried to a successful issue but as this principle is recognized and respected. If two young persons, the one with a searching understanding but dormant invention, the other with a luxuriant imagination but feeble judgment, are submitted to exactly the same process of education, it is obvious that, whichever plan be adopted, it will, in *one case*, be rather an injury than a boon. The elements of knowledge may be given to two, to twenty, or, such are our mechanical improvements, to hundreds in class; but *education*, in the complete sense of the term—that education which consists in forming right principles, just tastes, and benevolent dispositions—can only be given by bringing the person taught into immediate and familiar contact with a teacher who has a penetrating eye to seize on the points of natural character, and a steady hand to prune what is excessive, and to nurse and strengthen what is feeble.

Into these simple views Martha was fully prepared to enter. She was just as ready to admit the weak parts of her character, and most desirous of adding to the means already used to fortify them. The object, of course, was to exercise, expand, and invigorate her mental powers, as distinguished from the affections of the heart. To accomplish this, it did not appear desirable or necessary to bind down her attention to a dry and abstruse study which should answer this end *only*; it was rather wished to keep the mind actively engaged on those subjects which, apart from the *discipline* they brought with them, would be useful to her in future life. The plan, therefore, was of the most simple character.

We began at the beginning. As an introduction, Martha read Watts's Improvement of the Mind, twice over; and, as a text book for her future studies, she made herself familiar with the contents and arrangement of Millard's Cyclopædia, with slight variations. She then went through Murray's Grammar, for which an abridgment had already prepared her, not merely committing its rules to memory, but understanding and applying them. With the grammar we united geography; the outline was supplied by Turner and Goldsmith, the detail by Pinkerton.

When these were made easy, she proceeded to history, and read Prideaux's Connection of Sacred and Profane History; Rollin's Ancient History; selections from The Ancient Universal History on the Jewish, Grecian, and Roman Empires; accompanied with an abridgment of Spence's Polymetis, and the occasional use of Bryant's Mythology. On modern history she studied Goldsmith's abridgment of the History of England, with large selections from Rapin; Adolphus's History of the Reign of George III.; Custance's Constitution of England; Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth; Russell's Modern Europe; with references to the Modern Universal History, and some historical articles in the Encyclopædia.

With history we soon associated natural philosophy. On this subject she studied Adams's Lectures, Rowning's Natural Philosophy, Parke's Chymical Catechism, and some articles in the Encyclopædia. To natural philosophy we attached natural history, and made use of an abridgment of Buffon in three volumes, with Durham's Physico and Astro-Theology.

To these succeeded philosophy, properly so called. The authors studied were, Enfield's History of Philosophy; Locke on the Understanding; Reid's Essays; Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind; Watts's Logic, &c.

In directing Martha's course of self-instruction, it was not designed to bring down her sensibilities to the present tone of her mind, but to raise her mind to a decided pre-eminence over her feelings; and while her thoughts, her judgment, and her memory were kept in exercise with evident advantage, there did not appear to be danger in cultivating those tastes which feed on whatever is beautiful or sublime in the works of man and of God. If, in the act of cultivation, those tastes should be strengthened, they would also be corrected, and would become more safe by being more discriminative. I fear, indeed, I must not say that inclination gave no additional weight to this argument; for I could not willingly see her excluded from a world of rich and pure enjoyment. The effort was not to expel her from her paradise, but to extract the sting of that serpent which made it hazardous to dwell there.

Connected, therefore, with the course already specified, Martha read Burke on the Sublime, Alison on Taste, Kaim's Elements, and Blair's Lectures, united with the unexceptionable productions of some of our best poets, the essays of the Spectator, Rambler, and Idler, and a select few of that very small class of prose fictions which have a tendency, in the most attractive manner, to expose the fallacies of passion, to brace the mind to firmness and perseverance, and to acquaint us with the ensnarements and unhappiness of a most alluring world.

It cannot be supposed that in these pursuits *religion* was forgotten. When Martha had made herself mistress of those religious treatises named in a former chapter, she continued her studies through this period by reading successively, but perhaps not exactly in the following order: Paley's Natural Theology, and Moral and Political Philosophy; Butler's Analogy; Beattie on Truth; Gregory's Evidences; Gisborne's Duties of Men and Women; with some of the most valuable pieces of Witsius, Owen, Baxter, Watts, and Edwards. To these should be added, apart from the miscellaneous books of the day, by some of which she was much edified, Mosheim's Ecclesiastic History, and many volumes of religious biography, a line of reading in which she found great pleasure.*

It is not to be concluded that Martha always brought to these pursuits the same temper of mind. Sometimes, with an unexplored library before her, she would be tempted in her eagerness to drink down all knowledge at once, to run promiscuously from book to book, without acquainting herself with any one of them. It was then necessary to remind her that a superficial acquaintance with books is not knowledge; that there is no path to knowledge but that of patient industry. Frequently I repeated to her the maxim of Locke—that to learn much we must learn a little at a time, and learn it well; and as often the maxim of Lord Burleigh—that to do any thing well, we must do one thing at a time.

Occasionally, this ardor would subside into discouragement. The new world opened to her sight was so spacious and unwieldy that she should never be able to traverse it—so much was to be done, it was in vain to attempt any thing; and she was sometimes in danger, from the conviction that she had too much to do, of really doing nothing. Generally, one kind word from her teacher would dissipate this depression; and her mind was fortified against its return by making her sensible of her progress, and by assurances that, however small it may at first appear, it would be effectual if continued; that the world before her, like the material one we inhabit, was to be compassed by resolute perseverance, in adding one poor short step to another; and that those who had explored the most of it were at least as remarkable for their irrepressible activity as for their native genius.

It might sometimes occur that Martha's attention would linger so long on a work which filled her imagination and interested her feelings, as to consume the time allotted to some drier study; but it admitted of an easy remedy. There was a tacit acknowledgment between us of Martha's deficiencies, and of the adaptation of her present pursuits to overcome them; and an exchange of looks was always sufficient to correct the irregularity. Her expression was that of gentle affection, and seemed to say, "Yes, brother, I thank you—I have been foolish, but I will avoid it in future."

These, however, were only exceptions from a general rule. Martha, on the whole, gave herself to these pursuits with an energy which surprised and delighted me; and which would have afforded greater surprise, had I then known how powerful an exercise of self-denial it involved. Her diligence was even greater than I was aware. Since her papers have fallen into my hands, I have met with several abridgments of books she perused beyond what I knew to exist, and which evince as much skill in the selections as industry in the performance.—They are now sad memorials of a hand that slumbers in dust.

Altogether, these exercises were highly beneficial.

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* Martha's course of reading is here traced, because the writer knows the youthful and inquiring eye will pass over it with gratification; but, at the same time, he does not wish it to be considered altogether unexceptionable. Some books may not stand where he should now place them. Some works that are not named would be introduced; and a few of those which are named require to be read with caution, and praised with qualification.

They occupied her thoughts and fed her understanding. They refined her tastes, and gave her confidence in her own judgment. They raised the tone of her conversation, and spread abroad the concealed excellences of her character. They multiplied her sources of gratification, and taught her to partake of them without injury—with abundant advantage. Her profiting, which appeared to all, became, in some degree, sensible to herself.—She always referred to these studies as, considering all the circumstances, fraught with singular and indefinite importance.

Lest it should be supposed that Martha necessarily gave all her time to these attainments, I subjoin a table for the allotment of her hours at this period, which I have found in her memoranda. It will show how much may be done by a regular appropriation of a comparatively small portion of time to our object, and that Martha was conscientiously concerned to have all her time rightly occupied.—It of course applies only to the time spent at home—we shall have occasion to see how it was devoted when abroad:—

“ REDEEMING THE TIME.

Rise at six, when my health allows.
Read till family prayer.
Breakfast, eight o'clock.
Retire for private devotion.
Read a hymn and Scriptures in order.
Go to market.
Attend to domestic concerns, and work till twelve.
Read till one.
Work till two.
Dress—Dinner—Read till four.
Tea.
Read and work till eight.
Devotion.
Supper.
Family prayer.
Work and converse till retire.”

I find, in the same connection, the following notices; and as they are congenial with the subject of this chapter I introduce them:—

“ Dr. Hartley advises his sister to seek cheerfulness in constant employment. Let me remember this.

“ In the company of my superiors let me be generally silent, and ready to receive instruction, that I may be able to impart knowledge to my equals.

“ Is my mind inactive ? Let me read the lives of eminent young persons—mark their attainments in piety and knowledge—Blush !—And let not another day of my life pass away without having done something towards the cultivation of my understanding.—Am I disposed to be vain of a little knowledge ? Let me go to the same school, and there learn that I know nothing, and that in proportion as I know any thing as I ought to know it, I shall be humble.”

CHAPTER X.

DOMESTIC CHARACTER. 1812—13.

The proper sphere of woman is so strongly delineated by a Divine finger, that it must be apparent to every eye which is not wilfully blind. Those who question or deny it start aside from their orbit, and by their irregularities give and receive a disastrous influence; while those who contentedly move in the circle assigned them, not only fulfil the pleasure of their Creator, but, in silence and without observation, like the moon in heaven, are shedding around them a refreshing sympathy that shall gladden many a heart, and a gentle light that shall guide and confirm many a hesitating footstep.

Martha, on her return home, had the domestic management of the household put entirely into her hands. This arrangement was made very much at my solicitation, as I was unwilling that her attention should be engrossed by mental pursuits, and very desirous that she should be trained to the exercise of those domestic virtues, which are indispensable to the excellence of female character.—Hitherto her thoughts had not been occupied in this direction; I had sometimes concluded that she was indifferent to the “study of household good;” and it was with some anxiety, that I paused to observe how she would occupy an untried situation.

It was with proportionate satisfaction I saw her enter on the proposed duties with the greatest readiness of mind. Her attention, I found, had been lately brought to the subject of domestic economy, as a study of high importance to young females, by some admirable observations from the pen of Mrs. More; and now that the subject was fairly under her notice, her good sense at once suggested what was due to it, and what due to herself. She was moreover influenced, as I afterwards learned by the resolution she had formed of keeping herself fully employed. A *change* of engagement was necessary to accomplish this purpose, as the mind cannot dwell continuously and always on the same object.

Having accepted of her new duties, Martha did not choose to meet them with petty expedients, planless bustle, and culpable ignorance. She had too much spirit to give occasion to those who were to obey her orders, for questioning her competency to command; and too much conscience to permit herself to be a party in transactions, while her ignorance prevented her deciding on their equity or injustice. She determined to acquaint herself with whatever it was proper for her to know. She therefore thankfully received the lessons of experience which a kind parent could supply; carefully minuted any valuable hints which she could otherwise obtain; and as carefully read over a few select treatises on the subject, which might enlarge or confirm her information.

Martha's first concern was, to lay down a plan of expenditure adapted to her means, that she might not be embarrassed in the appropriation of her money. To accomplish this, she entered into calculations of the average expenses for the week, month, and quarter, taking care to keep within the line of possibility. She knew, therefore, how the expenses of a week would affect those of the year; and was not liable to be surprised, at the end of a considerable period, into arrears for which she had failed to provide.

Martha soon found that arithmetic is the handmaid of economy, and resolved to improve herself in this neglected branch of female education. Her daily duties insensibly assisted her in effecting this resolution. She kept a correct journal of her current expenses, preserved in order her bills of charges, and was prompt and punctual in settling with her tradesmen, that they might never be tempted to seek illegitimate profits. She took much pains to acquaint herself with the real value of things; and as a great means of realizing the object, she generally made her own purchases. It was a practice with her, not of option, but of uniform obligation, to satisfy herself of the quality and quantity of articles delivered before they were used; that what was an affair of *business* might never become one of frequent and unwholesome suspicion.

It was soon ascertained by Martha that comfort is not proportioned to expense; and, indeed, that often no two things are farther apart. Here then was room for skill and taste to operate; and so successfully were they employed, that I believe few young persons, with an equal cost, could have prepared a table of such pleasing and simple combinations, or could have given to a family habitation more the air of comfort.

The detail of domestic service was made easy by being reduced to *order*. Every thing had its place; every event had its time; and each servant had her respective duties. Hurry was avoided by avoiding delay; confusion was prevented by observing rule. Something was always done, and with so little inconvenience that one wondered when it was accomplished.

Martha endeavored to support her authority with her servants by reason and justice. She knew what could be done, and how it was to be effected. She did not, therefore, make impracticable demands; and she was aware when to praise and when to blame. She never allowed herself to be governed in her conduct towards them by humor or caprice. They could calculate on her approval or disapprobation before it was expressed. It was never in their power to say, "My mistress is out of humor, and do what I will, I cannot please her;" a declaration which, if made with truth, will sap the basis of all authority.

If Martha, at this early age, scrupled to assert her authority in all its naked strictness, she more than supplied the deficiency by her steady conciliating kindness. With her servants she was not familiar, she was not distant, but uniformly discovered, without effort, a concern in their welfare. She read to them; she conversed with them; she assisted them in getting up any articles of apparel; she noticed any slight indisposition with sympathy; and gave many spontaneous proofs, such as a kind heart will often suggest, of her regard to their comfort. Her interest in their welfare inspired them with a desire to please her; and the desire to please made even drudgery a lightsome burthen. She taught them to love her, and this taught them to love their duty.

In her utmost frugality there was not a particle of niggardliness. Her economy was exercised on things rather than persons; and she would go as far as fidelity to her trust would allow, in subduing ill-will and unthankfulness. She never grudged what was *necessary*, because she never permitted what was superfluous. Every thing was done "without envyings and without ostentation." She took a share cheerfully in entertaining visiters to the family; and her whole manner, rather than any set words, expressed "a kindly welcome," which put the heart at rest in her society.

Every important attainment is made progressively. It is scarcely necessary, therefore, to remark, that Martha did not make herself mistress of her arrangements by any sudden effort, or that she had in her progress to contend with numerous difficulties. Domestic comfort, more than any thing besides, springs from the happy organization of a surprising multitude of small parts. In a machine of so many and such minute divisions, something will get wrong, and will threaten to interrupt the movement of the whole. Martha was made fully sensible of this; and observed upon it, with a truth which the best read in human nature will confirm, "That a number of small vexations always occurring, are more trying to the temper and resolution than one serious calamity."

In harmony with this just remark, I cannot avoid uttering a conviction, that those females who shun and dislike the duties of domestic life, as *below* them, would really find, on candid inquiry, that they are *far above them;* that they have not a mind strong enough, or motives pure enough, to discharge them. The detail must be seen; but if it is exclusively seen, it will appear trivial, perhaps revolting; there must be mind enough to comprehend the *total*, and to perceive how it bears on human life and happiness. There must be a perseverance that will steadily travel to this result, and a patience that will endure the numerous petty interruptions to its progression.

Exalted *motive* is equally necessary to these duties. In the retirement of home there is nothing to feed vanity, and but little aliment for selfishness. The theatre is too small for display, and the spectators are too homely to afford excitation. There is much to be done that is not seen; and a thousand little provocations to be borne without sympathy, as they are too trifling to be repeated. If every thing moves well, it is perhaps without observation; if any thing fails, it is sure to be discovered: as a watch may go correctly the whole day unnoticed, but should it stop for five minutes it will certainly be detected. It is evident, that a person who meets such engagements as these, with no higher motives than vanity and self-love, will disregard and despise them. She will neither be happy nor bestow happiness. She may, by necessity, remain in the centre of her family, but her mind will be "not at home." She will be sighing and vaporing for some other pursuits, either worldly or religious, in which she can do something that shall be applauded, and can receive her applause from a larger circle of admirers.

If Martha's spirits were ever in danger of yielding to the discouragements of her domestic employ, she was supplied with an effectual remedy in her *benevolence*. She was not thinking of herself, but of others; and if occasionally her strength was exhausted, her mind chafed, and care was creeping over her countenance, she would instantly become herself again, under the cordial conviction that she was promoting the comfort of those dearest to her. Their acknowledgment was an ample reward for her largest exertions. How often have I seen her features brightened with heartfelt joy, on receiving the caress of the father, the kind word of the mother, the approving glance of the brother, which expressed gratification in her attentions!

We are often more impressed by the *manner* of doing a thing than by the act itself; and after all that has been stated, it was rather by Martha's manner than her services that her family were delighted. She did not "do her best," and then carelessly wait for its effect. She did not spread her table, and then depress its attendants with a saddened aspect and ill-humored complaint. She considered the hour of meals as the hour of recreation; and she was anxious to connect with it higher gratification than the animal palate can partake. She looked to it as a season of pleasure, and she therefore met it with smiles. There was an interest and earnestness in her manner, which gave a charm to the simplest food and the slightest attention. Nature had not, perhaps, given her that quick observation of trifling circumstances, on which so much of domestic urbanity and comfort depend; but benevolence more than supplied the deficiency; for love has a superior sight to sagacity. Her affectionate eye would run in a moment over the well-known features of her family, and catch as quickly their several expressions. An unerring sympathy would prompt her deportment. It would tell her when to speak, when to be silent. It suggested what attentions would be acceptable, and what oppressive. It would dwell on her countenance with most fascinating power; and would not fail to bring its object under its genial influence. Few, very few knew so well how to heighten joy, or diminish grief; or have had such benevolent pleasure in reducing their knowledge to practice. It was difficult, if not impossible, to remain sad in her presence. The thought of her, in the mind of the family, was identified with cheerfulness; and I have often marked with surprise, how her influence would insensibly chase away anxiety and fatigue from the countenance, as the morning mist is dissipated by the smiling and gentle approach of the blessed light.

But the most pleasing recollections I have of this period are connected with the winter's evening. Many a time, when the course of daily duty has been run, when the world, with its noise and turmoil, has been shut out, when the frugal repast has been shared, has Martha wheeled back the table, and pressed us to form our chairs round the lively fire which she always took care to provide for us. This was her opportunity. In this magic circle there was no resisting her influence. She had often tried it, and as often found it successful. Frequently, in the consciousness of her power, as we settled down snugly in our seats, she would say, "There now we are happy;" assured that if we were not already so, we were in the way to be so. And if she could once see her assertion confirmed by her winning kindness, she herself was more than happy—happy in bestowing, happy in receiving.

Conversation usually began with her, and always in the most easy, generally in the most playful manner. When she had won attention, she had some anecdote to narrate, or some striking portion from an author to read, or some question to start, which had occurred to her in her day's pursuits. Frequently she would report to me her progress in the books she was studying; and this would often lead to discussions on their style or their subject. Whether these discussions were serious or sportive, she was always intent on making them interesting to her parents; and wherever the conversations commenced, they commonly ended in religion, an element in which we were all peculiarly at home.

If religion became the theme, it was not because the tone of conversation was sinking, but because it was rising above ordinary things. Religion did not depress our cheerfulness, it refined it. How often has the hour of "sweet domestic converse" been imperceptibly prolonged, when this has been our subject! How often has it been dwelt upon, till life's tumult was forgotten, or heard only murmuring in the distance; till, alive to our present state of pilgrimage, we greeted each other as citizens of a better country; till our hopes blended with our meditations, and our meditations were lost amid the harps, the joys, the society of that blessed world!

Then followed the evening hymn and the apostolic prayer—and the unanimous, fervent Amen. Then came the parting words, the kind wishes.—Martha's heart always overflowed with them. The softness of her voice, the beaming of her eye, the gladness of her smile, the happiness of those hours, they are with me still—they will never depart!

The feeling attached to these enjoyments, and the value set upon those domestic attentions which have been briefly illustrated in this chapter, may, by those occupying the earlier period of youth, be considered somewhat overcharged. This, however, is not the *season* in which they are generally secure of a just estimate. In the first heyday of youth, when the heart is hurried with the anticipation of novel enjoyment, when the illusions of hope rest on every object, and promise a day without clouds, a life without fear, and pleasures without end, happiness cannot be recognized in the simple guise, the retiring habits, and quiet tenor of domestic life. It is only as these spells are broken by the rod of experience, as disappointment treads in the footsteps of hope, as vexation mingles with pleasure, as the bleak winds of worldly adversity chill and depress the undue ardor of the spirit, that it is disposed to return to those humble scenes which it had scorned. *Then* home is charming; and the tongue that knows no guile, and the heart that yearns with sympathy, and the thousand attentions and thousand decencies which flow through domestic life, all unpretending as they are, are sure to be rightly appreciated. Happy is he who, in such a state of mind, can still find in the mother, the wife, the sister, these real consolations! thrice happy he who, early taught to form a just estimate of happiness, has *always* drunk of these peaceful waters, and has only found their sweetness increased by the bitter draughts which a vain and insincere world has forced upon him!

CHAPTER XI.

DEVOTEDNESS. 1812—13.

No sooner had I accepted of a charge in London, than Martha determined on uniting herself to it; and on the 3d of January, 1812, she was admitted into my fold, and I became her pastor. The solemnity of the act, and the period of the year, caused her mind to revert, with peculiar seriousness, to her former exercises of dedication; and giving herself again to the Lord, she gave herself to his people, desirous of continuing in the apostle's doctrine, in breaking of bread, in fellowship, and in prayers.

Martha regarded this sacred connection, as not merely bestowing privileges, but as imposing obligations. She thought of herself as of the least of all saints; yet she considered that the least and the poorest was possessed of some one talent; and that there was the same proportionate responsibility resting on the application of one talent as of many. She was aware, too, that her situation brought with it peculiar claims. She was not only a voluntary member of a Christian church, which had a right to demand of each member a devotedness to the common prosperity; she was the relative of its minister; and if she was previously intrusted with the talents of example and influence, she felt that they were now increased in their weight and value ten-fold. She had been faithful over a few things; Providence now committed to her many; and it was her anxious desire so to keep and employ them as in the sight of her helper and her judge.

The instruction of the young first engaged Martha's attention; that labor of love in which she had always delighted. I was at this time organizing the Sabbath-school, and she became a most valuable assistant. She conferred with me on the arrangement of the female department; awakened feeling towards the object, as one of eminent importance; and proposed herself as a teacher. Her example was quickly emulated; and she became the centre of an excellent band of serious young persons, who were ready to communicate what they had freely received.

Not so much from the whispers of prudence as from her characteristic humility, Martha resolved on taking the *youngest* class. To the interests of this class she cheerfully devoted herself. She kept a list of the children who composed it, with their addresses; and if any of them were absent without reason, she visited them. She carefully put down any simple questions or remarks which occurred to her, as suited to the capacity of her little charge; and she made a selection of tracts and books for their perusal in the intervals of the Sabbath, which were lent to the children as rewards for attention and industry. In adopting such rewards, her eye was directed to the improvement of the parent through the child; and that she might be satisfied the means were adapted to the end, it was an established rule with her, not to lend any book which she had not read, and could not fully approve.

Martha was uniformly desirous, in these exercises, of preserving on her own mind, and of infusing into the minds of her children, the *spirit* of the day. She thought she had seen the Sabbath profaned, by giving too much of a secular character to the instructions and manœuvrings of the school. She governed her conduct by the *necessity* of the case. It was necessary that a child should read, that it might become acquainted with the Scriptures; and to read, it was needful to spell.—To these, therefore, she confined herself; and if more, belonging to the elements of general education, was to be taught, it must be on a day, and with associations, less sacred. Over those common lessons which conscience approved, Martha sought to spread a religious character. It never appeared to herself or her children that the principal end of their meeting was to read, or to spell, or to repeat: the acknowledged end which was pressed on the attention of the youngest was, to become acquainted with the holy Scriptures; to keep holy, by the service of the school, and the worship of the sanctuary, the Sabbath-day; and to anticipate, by prayer and hope, that better and happier life of which the Sabbath was both the emblem and the pledge. It has been for the want of such serious views, that many a child has learned to undervalue the Sabbath, in the very bosom of a Sunday-school; and that many a teacher has lost that sanctity of feeling, which once put him at a distance from worldly and daily pursuits.

To the eye of a visiter, Martha would seem to have been benefiting twelve or twenty poor children. This would more than have satisfied her for her exertions; but in reality she was blessing ten times that number. Her spirit diffused itself through the room. Her young companions in the good work copied her plans, and followed in her track. They would not be late when she was punctual to the minute; they would not be harsh when her manners were so affectionate; they would not be dilatory while they were admonished by her persevering assiduities. Such was the efficacy of her gentle influence, that they all speedily became as one hand and one heart. The school became conspicuous for its order and improvement; and it yielded those rich and pleasant fruits which, as a method of instructing the poor of the land, it is adapted to produce beyond any other imagined plan.

There are, undoubtedly, existing plans which have more of ostentation and of promise about them; and it is well if we are not dazzled by them. The trained and officer-like master, who marshals his five hundred children with a word, or, if he please, with a nod, is a much more imposing figure than the humble Sabbath-school teacher, almost concealed in the midst of the dozen children, which he is endeavoring to instruct; yet, on a close comparison, he may appear in better circumstances to answer the great purposes of education. In both cases a competent portion of knowledge may be given; but knowledge, although it is power, is a power in itself of dubious character. It may explode the whole fabric of civilized society; or it may consolidate, and heighten, and beautify it. To be a power as *safe* as it is great, it must be combined with *principle*. He who is the sole instructer of multitudes cannot hope, should he desire it, to effect this combination; while he who, in the centre of a few, with a serious mind, seeks to familiarize moral and religious truth to the consciences of his pupils, is making knowledge, valuable as it is, a secondary and subordinate thing to what is infinitely more valuable.

The field of benevolence enlarges as we advance upon it. Martha soon perceived that the labors of the Sabbath, might be extended with advantage in some portion of the week. She therefore originated a working-school, which met on one afternoon in the week; and was to be composed of the poorer and elder children, as a reward for their regularity and attention. The design was, to employ them in making simple articles of dress, some of which they were to enjoy, and the remainder were to be given to the poor. While their fingers were thus engaged, an instructive book was read, or a conversation started, which had a tendency to illustrate some duty of domestic life, or impress on the mind the importance of the life to come. The children discovered their relish for this exercise, by a most punctual and eager attendance; and the congregation so fully sympathized in the plan, that neither money nor materials were ever wanting; and, in the end, all the children composing this school appeared in a uniform exterior dress, the mixed fruit of their industry and Christian kindness.

This labor of love operated admirably beyond expectation. The working-school became a sort of honorary and beneficial appointment, to which the other children were aspiring by exertion and good behavior; while the senior children, who from time to time composed it, were brought into closer and more endearing contact with their steadiest and kindest instructers. It was this intimate and personal intercourse, which Martha always valued so greatly, as a means of promoting the ends of moral and religious education; and she was affectionately concerned to make the very best use of it. Frequently she would talk apart with the children, on their respective failings or duties; many of them she encouraged to write to her, that their minds might be improved, and that she might have an opportunity of imparting the most important lessons in a less perishable form; and most of them, in turn, were trained to the work of benevolence by attending her to the habitations of sickness or of poverty.

It was delightful to see her, when the duties of the school were closed, going forth with one or two of her pupils, like an angel of mercy, in search of wretchedness, which she might remove or mitigate. Her children always bore some article of clothing, which their own hands had formed, and which their own hands were to bestow, that the difficult lessons of charity, might be nourished by sympathy and established by habit. Happy was she if, in thus relieving existing distress, she could see the first young tear of generous compassion, glisten in the eye which had never before dwelt on want or sorrow, in which it was not concerned. And this happiness was often hers. Many a time, to me has she spoken of these instances of kindly sensibility, with correspondent feeling; and now her scholars, some of whom have risen to maturity, and are walking in the truth, speak of these visits as making, more than any thing, a deep and favorable impression on their hearts.

The circle of her charitable ministrations still expanded. Her connection with the Sabbath-school necessarily brought to her knowledge much of poverty and sickness; and her connection with me and the congregation, which, from being greatly identified with the port of London, is subject to trying and sudden reverses, gave her the opportunity of becoming acquainted with a yet greater proportion. The opportunity was well and gratefully employed. She was eager in ascertaining the existence of distress, and as forward in concerting measures for its relief.

The will is every thing. Martha had rather a fixed devotedness to the work of charity than ample means for its promotion; but it is surprising what this accomplished. It gave her energy to strike upon a multitude of devices for advancing the ease, comfort, and friendships of the poor, the sick, and the dying, which would not have occurred to any mind little affected by the object; and it supplied her with confidence in drawing upon the resources of others to assist her in their execution. Frequently, when I have seen her involved in these services, or exhausted by them, I have been disposed to say, "How much can be done if we have the will to do it! How much is to be done without money, or at small expense! How little do they do who merely give *money!* Theirs is only a *fine* to the undeniable claims of charity—hers is the '*labor of love*.'" The example that is insensibly exciting such reflections as these is as great a blessing to those who behold it as to those who are the direct objects of its compassionate exertions.

These solitary visits to the habitations of mourning were decidedly her favorites. She met with her own sex, met with them alone, met with them in the season of helplessness, of want, perhaps of desertion. There was no eye from which modesty might teach her to shrink; no restraint thrown on her intercourse; no fear of having occupied ground which others might possess to more advantage; nothing to feed vanity, to produce observation, or create embarrassment. She felt herself at liberty to confer with the individual as a fellow-pilgrim through the wilderness of this life to another; as subject to the same fears and foes, the same wants and weaknesses, the same hopes and destinies. She entered entirely by sympathy into the state of the sufferer; and all her sensibilities were alive to do, to say something that might lighten the burthens she had to bear, or smooth the path she had to tread, or brighten those coming scenes which, to most of our race, are overhung with ominous and impenetrable gloom.

Even the act of blessing has its disappointments. Martha did not find all her efforts for the poor and afflicted successful. Some were indifferent; some were ungrateful; some were promising as the morning dew, but as deceitful too. These dispositions would distress her, but they never impeded her in her ardent course of benevolence. Neither gratitude nor success was the standard of her duty. She had learned of Him who is kind to the evil and unthankful as well as the good and gentle. Unworthiness did not kindle her into anger; it melted her to pity. She looked on the subject of it as the more miserably diseased; and was under the greater concern to apply those remedies which alone can rectify the perverse mind, and heal the depraved heart.

These instances, however, were exceptions from a general rule. Martha confidently relied on Him who has said, our labor shall not be in vain in the Lord, and the average of her success was beyond her expectations. Many a stubborn mind was softened by her kindliness, and many an ignorant one enlightened by her teachings. The withered heart was revived by the unction of her sympathy, and the deserted spirit comforted by the possession of her friendship. The orphan would clap his little hands for very gladness at sight of her; the widow's torn heart would sing for joy at her coming, and the blessing of those who were ready to perish came upon her. I am happy that my memory supplies me with one or two illustrations of the good which she did, and the gratitude with which it was received.

Among the many persons visited by my sister was an aged female, who had seen better days. She was now the inhabitant of a garret. She had survived her relatives and connections, and was confined to her bed by a chronic disease, which required attentions she could neither find in friendship nor afford to obtain from hired hands. Happily, for many years she had lived under the influence of religious sentiment, and it furnished her with her only consolation. But she was of a social nature, and had much delighted in the exercises of public worship; and now she was not merely deprived of these privileges, her very hold on the notice and regard of humanity seemed feeble and precarious. Day after day passed over her, with scarcely any interruption to her solitude. The idea of her loneliness preyed upon her: she might want, and languish, and die alone! Her spirit yearned for some kind hand to help her, some Christian voice to cheer.

What she desired she found in Martha, and was satisfied. She was visited once, and commonly twice in the week, during the short residue of her life. Attentions were paid to her bodily comfort; and her mind was relieved by expressing itself to a friend on those hopes to which it was so earnestly clinging. Martha soon formed a strong affection for this excellent person. Her contentment in penury, her patience in tribulation, her serene confidence in the prospect of death, were lessons which she valued, and which she was anxious to lay to heart. Her visits became quite a thing of anticipation; and while conferring an invaluable good on the last days of an aged pilgrim, she felt herself to be rather receiving than bestowing benefit.

I had heard so much of this good lady that I determined to visit her. I found her in a low, arched room, containing but few articles of furniture, which had nothing to commend them, except that they were clean and in their places. She herself was sitting on the skeleton of a bedstead, supported by pillows. She was evidently eighty years of age or upwards. Time had traced many a wrinkle on her countenance; but there was an expression of intelligence and good-nature shed over them. Her eye asked my name or my errand.

"My name," I said, "is Reed."

"What, sir!" she exclaimed, with a countenance glowing into pleasure, "do you belong to Miss Reed?"

"Yes," I replied, glad to claim relationship with a name which excited such emotions, and amused at the quaintness of the expression, "I do belong to Miss Reed."

"Sit down, sir—please to sit down." I took my seat beside her.

She was too happy for the moment to speak. "You seem," said I, willing to prolong conversation on a name so dear to us both, "very partial to Miss Reed."

"I have reason to be, sir—I have reason. I was so lonely—I was, as David says, like a sparrow on the house-top; and it was fearful to think of having no one to care for one, let what would happen. But Providence sent Miss Reed to me, and she brought other friends; and she is so kind and so considerate, you know, sir. Now I want for nothing; I have, as St. Paul says, all, and abound, sir."

"Want for nothing!" I thought to myself. "Here is an individual who has outlived her husband, her children, her friends; who is feeble with age, and uneasy with pain; whose pain and weakness are the harbingers of a dissolution which cannot be long postponed; who has sunk from better circumstances to humblest poverty; whose whole property would not provide her body with a decent passage to the grave; who says she wants for nothing! This is indeed religion!"

I looked on her with livelier interest. The happy contentment of her features confirmed the expression of her lips. On one side of her was a little waiter, bearing a glass of toast and water, and a cup of jelly; on the other side lay her well worn Bible. "Yes," thought I, "excellent woman, you are right; you have all, and abound. The warm hand of sympathy supplies you with little niceties for the bodily appetite, and the book of God is your title-deed to a rich and everlasting inheritance. What could the mightiest, the wealthiest, enjoy more in your situation? We must all come to this! Though the universe were our own, a draught of water, a little sweetmeat, or something as simple and as common, would be all we could derive from it!"

I had a pleasing conversation with her, the impression of which is still on my mind, though the particulars have escaped my memory. I commended her to the Divine keeping, in an act of worship, and rose to leave her.

She pressed my hand, and acknowledged my attention; "And pray," said she, "give my best love to Miss Reed; I can never forget her goodness: if I had a child of my own, she could not be kinder."

I left her, delighted with reflecting what an advantage and assistance a young minister derived from possessing such a sister.

The remaining instance arose to our notice by a paper which was presented on the Lord's day, entreating the prayers of the congregation in behalf of a family under peculiar distress. On the ensuing day, some inquiries were made, which ascertained the residence of this family; and Martha went to obtain the particulars.

She found the family the tenants of one room, which was dirty and miserable. The mother was sitting over a few dying coals, with several young children about her, without heart, apparently, to make the best of her own situation or theirs. The father lay in bed, with despondency on his countenance, and a nervous fever preying on his blood. It appeared that he had been master of a merchant-vessel, but that, from the failure of the firm which employed him, he had lost his appointment. That, week after week, he had been applying for a fresh appointment, and had failed in procuring one. That, in this interval, it had been necessary to dispose of almost every decent article of furniture and clothing, till they wanted even these expedients to procure their daily bread. That, at length, suspense, disappointment, and the approach of absolute want had overcome his spirits, and brought on his frame a debilitating and dangerous illness.

The family, at this time, were literally without bread, and incapable of seeking it. Martha took up their case with all the promptitude it demanded. She provided for the present calls of appetite; showed, through a considerable period, a thousand kind attentions, and succeeded in collecting a considerable sum, to assist the mother in commencing some little trade, while the father was seeking an engagement in his proper vocation.

But the difficulty of such an engagement was becoming greater; and the wife, instead of supporting her husband in his endeavors, fell into negligent and intemperate habits, and not only expended what had been charitably bestowed, but ran him into the embarrassments of debt. At last, however, he obtained an actual appointment to a vessel, and his prospects brightened. But an individual who had expected this nomination wreaked his disappointment on this innocent man, by inducing a creditor to arrest him for about twenty pounds, and he was thrown into the ——— of the borough.

I heard of his imprisonment and went to see him. The poor man was almost desperate. He had looked to his appointment as the only means of redeeming himself and family from wretchedness, and now it appeared to be lost as soon as gained. The high charges for most miserable accommodations in this prison, by increasing his debt, made his escape every day more impossible; the promises which had been made to him, and which had been broken; the cruelty of a creditor, who cut him off from an opportunity of making payment; the treachery of a professed friend, who would throw him out of a situation with the hope of getting in; the want of confidence in his wife, and the misery of his children—seemed to have alienated his mind from human sympathy, and to have rendered him an outcast from mankind.

I endeavored to meliorate his views, and assuage his feelings, by reminding him of what the afflicted are so apt to forget, that we must not judge unfavorably of all men from the unkindness and infidelity of a few, or even of many. He received the observation in silence. I thought if I could refer to particular instances it would more affect him.

I remarked, "You found many friends when you were in our neighborhood."

"Oh yes, sir," he replied, "many."

"And you remember the kind attention of a relative of mine to your family?"

"Miss Reed, sir! Miss Reed!" he exclaimed, with more animation and a quickened voice. "Oh yes, she was a friend indeed; I can never forget when first she came into our room; she was sent from heaven to save us!"

He became more free and composed. I endeavored to present him with the religious grounds of consolation which were adapted to his trying circumstances, and to direct his mind calmly to the means most likely to effect his liberation.

I left him, rejoicing afresh in that beloved relative whose very name seemed to charm away the demon of desperation from the heart of man, and to restore the alien to his inheritance in the sympathies and hopes of the great human family.

But these recollections, pleasing as they are to me, will not of themselves do justice to the benevolence of Martha's character. Her affections were not localized; they were not influenced by place or party, by name or kindred, by color or clime. The emotions of her heart, like the circles from the centre of a fountain, were strongest nearest home; but they expanded freely to the utmost boundary of human sympathy. Man was her neighbor, her brother, her father; she could not be indifferent to his welfare, though oceans rolled, or empires rose, between them.

She looked at man through those lights which Scripture supplies—as endowed with capacities by which he might rise to heaven, but as sinking down into sensuality, selfishness, and sin; as living without reliance on the Divine providence, or submission to the Divine authority; as the framer of his own wretchedness, and as contributing to the wretchedness of all around him; as shedding the influence of his crime over the fair face of earth, and the fairer aspect of heaven. She mingled her groans with those of "the whole creation," for the burthens and the bondage which sin has imposed; and she sincerely and deeply deplored the state of a world so full of the Creator's mercy, and so void of his praise!

Martha turned her eye from this heart-sickening sight, to dwell on the light and life of the gospel. She contemplated it as rising above the accidents of human character, and the various forms of social and artificial life, and as admirably adapted, by its unity and simplicity of principle, to make its way to the wants of man as man, whether the inhabitant of Christendom or Barbary, of Iceland or Hindostan. She dwelt often, and with sacred delight, on those prophecies and promises which are as highly poetical as they are strictly true and morally important, and which seem to pass over a slain world like the breath of the all-creating Spirit, for its renovation and recovery. In the visions of faith and imagination, she sought to forget the present disordered state of human existence while anticipating the glorious future. In the devout contemplation of this predicted period she found every thing to fill and gratify the mind; a period in which friendship shall fear no treachery, kindness no ingratitude, simplicity no foe; a period which shall be as free from tears as from wretchedness, and from wretchedness as from sin; a period which shall bring with it a day without night, joy without alloy, and life without disease and without end. Then shall the heavens rest in their own eternal light and tranquillity, and the earth rejoice in their favor. Then shall the wilderness blossom as the rose, and the desert be as a land which the Lord hath blessed. Then shall princes rule in righteousness, and the people live in peace. Then shall names and denominations become the mere landmarks of geography or the lights of history, and no more designate the degrading antipathies of the human heart. Then mankind shall become one brotherhood; the world their one blest habitation; and God, the living Jehovah, their guide, their protector, their father!

Feeding on these blessed hopes, Martha was eminently thankful that she lived in the present day, a day in which so many things are moving forward simultaneously to one grand event. Her spirit went entirely with those divinely originated societies which, if not the dawn of a millennial day, were the bright and morning star which foretold its brilliant and quick approach. She, therefore, did her utmost by prayer, by contribution, and by influence to support their noble exertions; and she reposed in the conviction that, earlier or later, by giving unity of aim and effort to the scattered energies of the good and godly, they would ultimately form one great moral power, which shall move and restore a fallen world to its lost orbit of light and glory.

Perhaps, however, the following lines may be the best exposition of her feelings on this subject:—

THE MISSIONARY.

Bless'd be the man whose heart, expanding wide
With love of human kind, and fired with zeal,
Caught from the sacred cross, forsakes for this
His native land, and all his soul holds dear!
Bless'd be that pilgrim! Wheresoe'er he goes,
The barren desert smiles; the savage heart
Is melted into tenderness and love.
The captive exile, bounding from his chain,
Exults in liberty, and pours his praise
In lowly homage to the King of heaven!
If aught I envy, it is not the crown
Bedeck'd with jewels on the monarch's brow;
'Tis not the laurel which the hero wears,
All steep'd in blood; nor, far surpassing these,
The meed of him who, by the midnight oil,
Explores the depths of science, searches out
Nature's unfathom'd mine, intent to gain
His country's honor, and increase her stores.
Ah! 'tis the feelings of that man I crave
Who spreads the triumphs of redeeming love:
Who listens to the heathen's melting song,
Himself the instrument of all their joy:
O happy man! already overpaid
For all his sacrifice, his care, his toil.
God, in the present life, vouchsafes him more
Than houses, lands, and friends, or all combined
And in the life to come he shall receive—
But how can words express, or heart conceive,
What Providence reserves for those bless'd souls
Whom it delights to honor! This we know—
He shall shine forth for ever as a star
Of no mean magnitude; and while he strays
Across the field of light, methinks his ear
Will oft be greeted by the welcome sound
Of Father! Father! O with what delight,
In lowest attitude, will he present
These children of the day to God and heaven,
And all that heaven contains. Ye holy men
Muse on this happiness, so pure, so high,
And be encouraged in your deeds of love!
Arise, ye sons of Albion, arise!
O be not prodigal of time! behold,
The day of your exertion closes fast,
And the still night advances. Myriads die
For lack of knowledge! Shall they thus expire,
Unwept, untaught, while you have pow'r to teach?
Shall they in anguish *die* ere you make known
The balm in Gilead—the Physician there?
Do ye then bear a Christian's hallow'd name,
And so forget to emulate the zeal
Of Him you worship?—O remember Him!
He left the courts of bliss, the highest heav'n,
And condescended, for our sakes, to dwell
In humble clay! A pilgrim and unknown,
He was a man of sorrows, versed in grief,
A spectacle to angels and to men.
When did he shrink from trials? when complain?
See from the cradle to the cross he goes
A weary way, rejected, and alone.
No covert for his head, no want supplied—
No friend to share his sorrows! Like a lamb
Led forth to slaughter and to death he goes!
But to the last, and e'en when Justice pours
The tide of wrath on his devoted head—
E'en then, and for his enemies, he prays!
Well, if ye will not rise to tell his love
Sit still, and take your ease! But there will come
A time, not distant, when your hearts shall grieve
Because you went not up unto the help
Of the Most High! But ah, ye will arise!
I see ye going forth like to a host.
There is a shout within the camp! I hear
The Captain of salvation call you on,
And not in vain the summons! Mighty grace
Has won your hearts and fired them! Your whole life
Shall henceforth bear the signature of Heaven;
For Christ you live, and in his cause you die.
Peace, peace be with you! Holy men, go forth,
Strong in the Lord, rejoicing in his might.
O faint not, ye his husbandmen, who plant
The harden'd soil! The sun, the rain, are His!
He will command the blessing! When you lie
Forgotten in the dust, the seed will spring
Thirty, and sixty, and a hundred fold.
'Tis for the generations yet unborn
To bless your labors and repay the toil;
Your monument, their hearts—their lives, your praise!
God will himself be with you, even *He*,
Who speaks, and it is done! Yes, He will try
Your graces, to confirm them. You may feel
His searching hand within your very breasts;
The gourd in which you boast, he too may smite;
But his own love he will not take away;
Nor shall his promise fail; for he hath said,
The word of life shall not return again
Unbless'd by Him who sent it. He will work;
And *who* shall let? The kingdoms are the Lord's;
The universe his temple! Distant lands,
With one accord, shall celebrate his praise;
The Jew shall worship, and Messiah reign
The King of kings, the everlasting King.

CHAPTER XII.

DISCRETION. 1812—13.

"THERE are some members of a community," said the sagacious and witty Thomas Bradbury, "that are like a crumb in the throat; if they go the *right way*, they afford but little nourishment; but if they happen to go the *wrong way*, they give a great deal of trouble." There are others, it may be added, who, have the inclination and ability to do much good, who yet, by their rashness or ill-humor, produce such a fearful proportion of mischief as to make it at least doubtful whether we are better with or without their exertions. Those are the truly estimable characters in every community of every scale who, in doing good, do no evil; who have energy, but whose energy is reined and regulated by discretion.

Martha, as the sister of an unmarried minister, became a centre to the female portion of a considerable congregation. This was a situation of usefulness, but it was also one of difficulty; and, at her age, and with her susceptibilities, it was not so surprising that she should be zealous to do good herself, and promote good works in others, as that her zeal should be attempered by prudence, and according to knowledge. Yet this excellence was hers in a high degree. She was the friend of the young, the comforter of the aged, a favorite with all. The fresh and kindly impressions formed by her first introduction to new connections were never effaced; they were improved and strengthened by increasing intercourse. It may be said of her, through the whole term of her communion with a circle made up of such different ages, habits, and tempers, that she never lost a friend or made an enemy. Now, though undoubtedly friends may be lost, and enemies formed, not only without the fault, but by the very excellences of an individual; yet, in the absence of these evils, there may surely be found a presumptive argument in favor of discreet deportment. As no subject enters more completely into the happiness of every-day existence, it may be profitable to descend to particulars.

Martha was guided in forming her friendships by *the perception of real piety*. This arose not merely from a persuasion that the heart which is not true to God, could not be true to her, but chiefly from her inability to participate in a mutual sympathy where piety was wanting. Pious herself, she could not have free and intimate communion with those who were otherwise minded. With all her young companions she was kind, courteous, and communicative, hoping to win them to better thoughts and feelings; but it was only with those who were under a powerful religious influence that she could feel entirely happy, because they only were prepared to understand and value the predominant desires, hopes, and fears of her spirit.

In other society, too, she was jealous of her safety. She had seen many hopeful young characters fatally blighted by vain, trifling, ill-chosen companions; and she had too lowly an opinion of herself to suppose that she might stand securely where others had fallen. She always considered that, with such persons, there was even more likelihood of her receiving an injury than bestowing a benefit; and this made her circumspect over herself in the very act of doing good to others, while she sought repose only on the bosom of those who, with herself, were seeking and exercising confidence beneath the shadow of the Almighty's wings.

Martha always entered into society *with the serious desire of promoting her own and others' improvement*. Friendship with her was not a selfish compact, by which she sought the gratification of selfish passions, without pausing to inquire whether it was right or delicate to do so; it was a talent put into her hand, which was to be justly appreciated and used, lest the trust should be violated. Her intercourse, therefore, never degenerated into idle gossiping or mysterious confidence. She never attempted to bind others to herself by tempting them to foolish confessions, which would never have been imagined if they had not been suggested; and which, if they had passed through the mind, ought never to have been adopted by the lips.

Yet Martha's youthful friendships were any thing rather than dull. In her presence, the trifling titter, the vacant giggle, and the noisy rattle, were not found; but the smile of benevolence, the look of innocence, and those elevated and beautiful expressions which beam on the countenance of youth, when raised by great and serious objects, richly supplied their place. She was cheerful without lightness, and serious without sadness. She was not always talking of religion in a few set threadbare phrases; but religion always influenced her conversation, whatever might be its object; and her deep reverence and love of religion was rather perceived in the temper with which she treated of common and temporal things, than by any wordy declarations of its pre-eminent excellence.

She was *slow to take offence*. She never made a friend an offender for a hasty word, or a dubious expression of countenance or conduct. She was not ready to misconstrue motive, or to watch for the frailties of others. She was sensible of the variations of friendly feeling, but she did not allow herself to be governed by them. Trifles light as air were never allowed to come between her and her companions, to distress her by feverish jealousies, and her friend by endless explanations. She looked not to the single word, or look, or act, but to the uniform character; she dwelt not on the momentary feeling, which the individual might regret as deeply as herself; she considered the acknowledged and ruling principles of conduct. She always put the best construction on doubtful actions; and became the apologist of an accused party, where it was not evident that the conduct had been *intentionally* and *morally wrong*. So far as she was personally concerned, it may truly be said that she never took offence except where offence was intended; and then, while she retired from one who was unfit for friendship, it was done with reluctance and pity, not with resentment.

If cause for offence arose, as more or less it will, Martha always sought a *prompt and candid explanation*. If, on the one hand, she did not permit her friendship to be affected by those infirmities which are discovered by the best and wisest; on the other hand, she would not allow her affections to canker and decline under wounds which, though not acknowledged, were deeply felt. If she could conquer an unfavorable impression, she did; if she could not, she revealed her thoughts to her friend. In this delicate act she was entirely governed by the scriptural directions—she spoke to the *person concerned—alone*—and *in confidence*. Her opinion of the impropriety of another never reached the individual second-hand; she never debilitated the best motives to candid acknowledgment by exposing the wrong before witnesses; and the party knew that what was said would not be afterward ungenerously repeated to uninterested auditors.

In these exercises of the heart, the *spirit* was in harmony with the act itself. It was most kind, and meek, and modest. She was the most gentle of reprovers. If ever any had occasion feelingly to adopt the words of the Psalmist on the subject, it must have been those who received admonition from her lips:—"Let the righteous smite me, and it shall be a kindness; and let him reprove me, and it shall be an excellent oil which shall not break my head."

Scarcely need it be remarked that such a person *was ready, most ready to forgive*. She not only expressed herself to be so, but she took care to throw no obstacles in the way of acknowledgment, when it was necessary. There was no assumption—no sense of superiority—no supposed license to tell a friend a thousand unwelcome truths. She prescribed no terms—insisted on no severe and humbling conditions. She never put the high-minded question, "How many times a day shall I forgive my brother?" She disliked the very name of forgiveness, as it necessarily involved somewhat of superiority. But with the name almost never on her lips, the disposition was always awake in her heart; and, had occasion required it, she could have as readily exercised it seventy as seven times a day. It was invariably enough if the conduct or expression *implied* sorrow, without the formal utterance of it; and even in such indications, she was so sincerely distressed, that it would have been difficult to ascertain from appearances, who had done and who received an injury.

The act of forgiveness was as *complete* as it was delicate. She allowed no subsequent event to revive any thing which had been submitted to explanation, and on which she had expressed satisfaction. She could not always act up to the letter of the maxim, "Forgive and forget;" but she did more, she conformed to its *spirit*. She strove not to remember; and she never suffered what might remain on her memory to influence her temper, or to become matter of allusion, in any present misunderstanding.

Where character was at all concerned, it was a rule with Martha *not to listen to rumor and report*. She knew that Rumor had a hundred tongues, and that at least fifty of them were false. Character with her was a sacred thing, and she could not allow herself to alter the good opinion she had formed of any one, without the strongest and best established reasons. She knew that many actions could not be judged of rightly without knowing more than she could possibly know of attending circumstances; and that envy and malignity were ever too ready to give a coloring to such actions, till what was innocent appeared to be inconsistent, and what was merely inconsistent to be sinful. She shrunk from the whisperer, the tale-bearer, the slanderer, and the flatterer, as from beings unfit for friendship, and most injurious to social happiness and religious confidence. The hint, the insinuation, the proffered secret against the character of another, which contribute so much to begin or cement the friendships of half the world, were never well received by her; and those who offered them were pitied for a meanness and degradation, of which they were too little conscious.

As she would not credit report, so *she would not assist its circulation*, even when too truly founded. She could find no pleasure in feeding on the defects of others; they were always seen with pain. If she might, she would close her eyes upon them; and happy was she if she could draw a veil over them from the eyes of others. It was a rule with her, that if she could say no good of an individual, she would not unnecessarily speak evil. She also admired the rule of Bishop Beveridge, which is as delicate as it is generous—"never to praise any one in his presence, nor to blame any one in his absence." That she might the more fully act upon these and similar maxims, she generally sought to converse rather of *things* than of *persons*—an excellent precaution, though less needed, perhaps, in her case than that of most other persons. No one offended less in word than she. I believe she never designedly uttered one sentence for which any human being was the worse. A considerable proof of this assertion is, that throughout a very extensive and entirely confidential correspondence, continued for many years, and treating of many persons and vicissitudes, there is not to be found one passionate, resentful, or uncharitable observation.

I cannot induce myself to bring these remarks to a close without making a brief quotation from he most intimate friend at this period. They apply not so much to her particular friendships as to her general acquaintances; and may serve to show how far she was from limiting her anxieties and regard to a select and favorite few of her own age and sentiments.

"In your sister, even at the early age of sixteen, I noticed what I have found in very few of any age or standing in the Christian profession—a tenderness of the character of others, and an affectionate manner of administering reproof when necessary.

"She would often observe to me, 'Some say that love is blind; but I think real love opens the eyes. If I love a person, I desire others to love her too. I am therefore apt to watch closely the conduct of my friend; and when I discover the appearance of any thing wrong, I wish it to be seen and avoided: for I consider that others, who know less of my friend's good qualities than I do, may not be disposed to put so favorable a construction on the opposite ones.'

"When sometimes noticing the improprieties of professing characters, she would feel most keenly on the subject, and would devise a number of little expedients by which they might be led to see their error, without putting them to needless pain and embarrassment. 'Many,' she would remark, 'do not know what they occasion the world to say of them and of religion. If we could let them know what others are so ready to say of them, I am sure they would alter their conduct. But wisdom and tenderness must be exercised, especially by young persons towards older ones, or we shall lose the end at which we were aiming, and dishonor Him whom we meant to serve. One thing we can *always* do—we can pray for them.'

"This act she was never backward to perform. I have often witnessed the fervor of her prayers for those who did not in all things adorn the doctrine of the gospel. Whenever she heard an individual spoken against, however unknown to her, she was ever prepared to offer some supposition in favor of the accused; either 'the party accusing might be misinformed,' or 'there might be many things in extenuation,' or 'at least, it should be mentioned to the individual, that an opportunity might be given for explanation.'

"Sometimes she would take this duty upon herself, if others would not. Her concern was in this case to convince the parties that she had a sincere interest in their welfare, and a deep sense of their excellences. 'Perhaps,' she would say, 'I am too scrupulous;' or 'I am not sufficiently acquainted with the motives which actuate you;' or 'I have been misinformed;' or 'I am really too young to be capable of forming a right judgment. But I was afraid that others might think the worse of you for it; and I should be grieved to hear any one speak of you with disrespect.' She had often the joy of seeing that her efforts were not in vain; and even where the admonition was despised, I scarcely know an instance in which they were displeased with the admonisher."

In the pursuit of this simple but too unusual line of conduct, it is not to be told what good she effected, what evil she prevented; what fires of anger and ill-will she extinguished, which might otherwise have preyed on the comfort and harmony of many a household; what jealousies, and envyings, and heart-burnings, and strifes, she contributed to destroy in the very birth, which otherwise might have lived to roam over the fair enclosures of civilized society, seeking whom they might devour.

Those will best conceive of the effect of her quiet exertions, who are best acquainted with human life, and have soberly considered, with the most reflective of men, "How great a matter a little fire kindleth." If the whisperer and the calumniator, those plausible but noxious reptiles in the garden of social intercourse, are able to "separate between chief friends," and to break up their mutual and happy connections into two opposing and conflicting parties; what shall be said of the advantages conferred by the individual, who in one instance succeeds in neutralizing the poison which would work so disastrously, and by a steady example teaches others, less wary of the consequences, so to do?

In seeking to advance social happiness, Martha insensibly promoted her own. The blessing of the peace-maker came upon her. She was cherishing a habit most favorable to her own peace and enjoyment. By accustoming herself to dwell on what is bright, and generous, and pitiful, and kind in human life, she was preparing numerous and inexhaustible sources of satisfaction and delight; while those who habituate themselves to watch for what is bad in human character, and to feed on it with secret and envious appetite, are fostering a demon in their bosom, which shall eventually seal their eyes to the loveliness they would not see, and haunt their imaginations with pictures of evil, only evil, and evil continually!

Good arose to her not simply from those acts of mental discipline; she ultimately found herself surrounded by friends, who reflected upon her something of her own kindly feeling. She was amiable, and therefore beloved; she was discreet, and therefore trusted; she was modest, and therefore praised; she was pious, and therefore esteemed. Indeed she had a remarkable power to excite and engage attachment; and was as remarkably successful in the use of it. There seemed to be nothing about her to awaken the fears of the jealous, or to agitate the bile of the malignant. The rough and the gentle, the sensitive and the reflective, all thought well of her, and spoke as they thought; and those who intimately knew her had but one sentiment—it was the uniform, abiding, progressive sentiment of sincere affection.

It is of importance to remark, that the conduct in social life described throughout this chapter was dictated rather by the *heart* than the *head*. Martha owed nothing in her friendships to artful policy, wordy professions, or violent protestations; yet she did not neglect the voice of sober judgment or the maxims of tried prudence. On the contrary, she always deferred to them; she was in the habit of consulting the Proverbs of Solomon on her relative deportment; and she constantly spoke of them as unfolding invaluable principles of moral conduct, mixed with such rich and sagacious views of human nature as to make them an indispensable manual to those who would "cleanse their way" through a polluted and polluting world.

But it was the qualities of the heart which attracted the hearts of others towards her; and so far as I can venture on distinguishing them, it was eminently effected by her *humility* and *love*.

Humility was not merely admitted to be a cardinal virtue in her creed; it was a disposition she diligently sought to cultivate; and it was the influence of this grace that produced so much of gentleness, candor and forbearance. She always strove to think of others as better than herself; of herself as the least of all saints, and the most ungrateful of offenders. She could not be severe on the frailties of another, for she was frail. She could not declaim against the mote in her brother's eye, for a beam was in her own. She could not refuse to forgive her debtor his fifty pence, for she had been forgiven her five hundred; nor, though she was always offending, could she with confidence ask for pardon, but as she was prepared to pardon those who had trespassed against her.

Charity was the companion of her humility, and they reciprocally strengthened each other. This was indeed the paramount excellence of her character, and it subdued all things to itself. It had cast out fear and enabled her "to lay aside all malice, and all pride and hypocrisy and envy, and all evil-speaking," that she might have her conversation in the world in simplicity, and without offence. It never allowed her to wait, in her social intercourse, for the recurrence of the cold, half-forgotten rule of conduct; it spontaneously suggested all that was forgiving, candid, and compassionate. The incomparable sketch of this grace in its excellence, nature, and importance by the hand of the apostle Paul, was with her a most favorite portion of Scripture. It was, in fact, a study to her. If her charity was ever in danger of failing through manifold trials, she studied it, that the feeble grace might be confirmed; if she was ever subject to the world's ridicule for what it might consider the tameness of her spirit, she had recourse to it and was justified; and, at all times, her admiration of it would dispose her to dwell on this lovely picture with insatiable pleasure. Indeed she dwelt upon it till she was greatly changed into the same image. She suffered long and was kind; she envied not; she vaunted not herself, and was not puffed up. She did not behave herself unseemly; sought not her own; was not easily provoked; thought no evil; rejoiced not in iniquity, but rejoiced in the truth. She bore all things; believed all things; hoped all things; endured all things. She had faith, hope, and charity but the greatest of these three was CHARITY.

It is easy to imagine how well these admirable dispositions are adapted to work the effects which are here ascribed to them; how powerful they are in exciting esteem, conciliating affection, and creating influence—the influence of genuine goodness. Without these, the most acute sagacity will fail to weave the ties of a disinterested and imperishable friendship; and with them, and with little else, we shall find in our utmost need, if not many friends, at least some one friend, whose heart has answered to our heart, and who shall be as "a brother born for adversity, and a friend who loveth at all times."

CHAPTER XIII.

TRIALS. 1812—13.

WHERE is the one point in human existence on which any child of Adam can place his finger and say, Then I was happy? When the stream of life is gliding most pleasantly along, there will still be found some under-current crossing its progress; and which, if not seen foaming on the surface, is too surely felt troubling its inward tranquillity.

The period on which we are pausing might be considered a most happy one in the life of Martha. She was esteemed by her connections, beloved by her friends, the delight of her relations; she dwelt among those she loved, and made them the happier by her presence; she was pursuing with success her own improvement, and promoting to her uttermost the good of others; she was free from what are usually denominated worldly cares, and living in blessed sympathy with things unseen and eternal: what then could now arise to give her uneasiness and vexation?

Apart from those sources of painful reflection which were previously open to her, she suffered much during this period from an unexpected termination of her earliest and most intimate friendship.

The intercourse was closed at the request of her parents; and that request originated in a conviction that the two young friends were not exactly suited to each other.

In acting on such a conviction, it is scarcely necessary to say that blame is not to be imputed to any one of the parties. It is readily understood that two young persons may be of excellent character and principles, and yet not be so adapted to each other as to produce their common benefit and felicity. There may be a difference of age, or of temper, or of habit, or of taste; there may be too much susceptibility or too little; they may both run into one extreme, and so increase their mutual hazard, or they may run each to opposite extremes, and so chafe each other's disposition. Any of these variations, trifling as they seem, may be so exercised as to render an intimacy injurious which would otherwise be most advantageous; and it must be admitted that, though parents may sometimes err in forming a judgment of these, they are, generally speaking, best qualified to make a candid and kind opinion; and that they are discharging some of the highest trusts to their offspring in interposing a mild authority, on the suggestions of their best and calmest discretion.

Supposing this measure to be as wise and salutary as it was meant to be, it did not affect Martha the less severely. It was her first friendship; and it was formed at a time when her susceptible heart knew no disappointment, was checked by no control; it had been cemented by a thousand mutual acts of love, of piety, and of confidence. No later friendship had power to weaken her interest in this original one; it stood out in her view as chief of them all. It was now also regarded with particular tenderness, as her friend was exposed to great relative afflictions. The idea of relinquishing her at all was opposed to her earliest and strongest attachments; but the thought of appearing to give her up when she most needed the proofs of sympathy and fidelity deeply wounded her generosity.

The difficulty of this service was not at all diminished by any perception of its propriety. For the present, Martha could not view the subject through the same medium as her parents; and the most, therefore, she could do was to obey a command the reason for which she could not rightly appreciate. This was a great trial to her submission, and she sustained it worthily, but not without very sore affliction. Throughout her correspondence nothing of the kind seems to have given her equal distress; while her distress is unmixed with one word of complaint.

The keen edge of our sufferings is often given by our own hand. Martha thought she could not bring others to perceive how valuable this friendship was to her, and therefore she scarcely tried. Had she fully communicated the amount of her feelings on the subject, her parents, in balancing one thing against another, might have reconsidered their decision; or had her attachment not been, as it undoubtedly was, excessive, she might have felt there was some weight in their conclusion: but as it was, she had to drink her cup in all its bitterness, while none but herself knew that it was so bitter. She afterwards reviewed the subject in truer and calmer lights, and employed the errors of her experience for the right conduct of others.

The spirit is frequently willing when the flesh is weak. Martha's mind readily submitted to the yoke of parental authority, but her physical powers were not so adequate to the effort. Those powers had been much shaken before, and this event once more unsettled them. It not only affected her by the real loss of an endeared friendship, but by its imaginary influence in strengthening her mind to endure other and secret sorrows. It was by this friendship alone that she could seek relief under those anxieties of the heart which, in defiance of her, would occasionally oppress her spirits; and in earlier days it had been eminently useful. She had insensibly weaned herself from making any allusions to the subject with her friend, on which she had forbidden herself to think; and probably had the opportunity for free intercourse been continued, it would not again have been so employed. But, such is the waywardness of human nature, immediately the opportunity appeared to be lost, it was imagined to be indispensable; the foolish heart, which with liberty to speak would have had nothing to tell, seemed ready to burst for utterance the moment utterance was denied.

About this time I was going to C——— for a few weeks; and finding Martha more indisposed than usual, which we all ascribed to exertion rather than anxiety, I determined to separate her from her engagements by taking her with me. We again, therefore, started as fellow-travellers to a place which, I considered, was interesting to her only by pleasing associations.

When we are sincerely desirous of administering to the comfort of a friend, how little are we able! what we present as balm may work as poison! I was now unconsciously conveying my sister to a spot which, in any circumstances, must have awakened painful recollections, and which, in existing circumstances, was likely to nourish them in a dangerous degree: recollections which, had I known of their being, I should have sought to wither and eradicate.

However, we journeyed on, refreshed in our progress; and seeking, by a good word or a good book, to cast some profitable seed by the way. Martha was evidently out of spirits, but I considered they would improve daily. They however sensibly diminished as we approached towards our destination. She lost her pleasure in conversation; if it was continued, it was with a constraint the more visible to me as I had seldom observed it. When she was not actually directing her looks to me, the light of cheerfulness forsook her features, and they settled down into dejection. I was induced to think something pressed on her mind, and yet I could not imagine what; nor could I bring myself to put the question lest, she should be embarrassed in refusing a reply. My thoughts took the complexion of hers, and I became somewhat moody and silent.

When the clouds of heaven are predisposed to weep, the mere firing of a gun, or ringing of a bell, will supply the occasion. I happened to break one of our intervals of pensiveness, by making some remark on the uncertainty of human hopes. Martha made no answer; and on turning my eye upon her, I saw the big and heavy tears falling from her lids. As they were thus detected, she lost her motive for suppressing them, and they flowed long and freely.

A tear is sometimes the very best introduction we can have to a delicate subject. Martha found her tears had prepared me to hear of something of which I was ignorant, and she therefore hastened to unbosom herself of her secret. Every thing it was needful to know, in order to form a correct judgment, she told in brief and modest words; and then alluded to the anxieties and conflicts which had arisen from it, and the pain she had felt in not finding resolution to name it before.

"And why," I exclaimed, "did you not name this before?"

"Because I feared I should lose your good opinion—I feared you would despise me."

"Despise you!" I replied hastily; "no—I despise him who—"

Her countenance checked my speech; no anger was visible there, and I felt I was in danger of wounding whom I desired to heal.

"And why," I continued, "did you consent to come with me to this place? We would have gone in another direction had I known it."

"I thought in your company I could bear it, and I wished to try. And so I can. It is all over now," said she, compressing the muscles of the face, and brushing away the pendent tear.

But the tears were rebuked too soon, and another, and another, and another came. Need I be ashamed to say that mine too were started, and that we wept silently together on our solitary way?

The effect of this communication was altogether beneficial to my sister's mind. It provided vent to her feelings at a time when circumstances had made it peculiarly desirable; and it allowed her to communicate generally without fear or restraint. She had now no point of reserve which insensibly fettered her intercourse on other subjects, lest they might unawares open a passage to it. Her spirit was free, her heart was open and at ease. She felt she had again one friend with whom she could confer, if conference should be necessary: and this destroyed the power of imagination on her mind. Strict and close as our intercourse had been, it became more dear and intimate than ever. Pruned and mortified in other directions, her affections seemed to gather more fondly round her brother; and the living and heartfelt intercourse of this short period, with the manifest complacency she had in it, are among those simple but touching occurrences in the life of our friendships which are not to be forgotten.

For myself, I believe the very first impression on this disclosure was that of alarm. I could not in a moment look at the affair as a thing of months and years; I could not distinguish time. The danger of which I had just heard I could hardly conceive of as past; it was like hearing of a friend's decease in a foreign land: one cannot at once think of it as occurring six months since. I had lived long enough to observe many a young heart, too young and too confiding to suspect danger, entangled, abused, disappointed, and withering away beneath the preying sense of unuttered wrong. I was aware that if ever Martha were likely to prove weak in trial, it would be in such a one, from a disposition so guileless, affectionate, and almost impenetrable to any kind of suspicion. It had therefore been my desire to give more vigor to her mind by cultivation, that it might balance the strength of her affections before she should be exposed to any of those snares which too surely await the unwary, from the hand of folly, of inconsideration, or of wickedness. What, then, was my surprise and misgiving, when I found she had been exposed to the very dangers I deprecated, while I thought her perfectly secure; and that she had been called to make her defence, all unprepared, as I conceived her to be, for the conflict!

These emotions, however, were transitory, and gave place to those of wonder and admiration. I was now furnished with a true key to her deportment. I saw that she had been exposed to the very trials I most dreaded; that they had come on her in so specious a form as to authorise her hope and confidence; that she had suffered from them most severely; but that she had not been subdued or carried away by her distress; that alone she had struggled with the difficulty of her situation; that she had not sunk into selfish despondency, but looked round for the means of deliverance; and that she had actually adopted the best which wisdom itself could suggest. I perceived that those pursuits which I had considered as preventive she was employing as remedial; and that though temporary feeling would be excited, they were working to a most successful issue. And when I reflected that all this was done alone, and in youth, and against warm passions, injured nerves, and occasional fits of depression; that she had resolutely preferred exercise and occupation to a seducing retirement and listless revery; that she had listened to the claims of the understanding, and resisted the clamors of the heart; that she had overcome her own sorrows, and had exerted herself to mitigate and heal those of others; that at the very time she was the life and joy of her family, her heart was often full unto breaking; and that from her cheerful labors of love often retired to gather up her tears, and then returned to smile again benevolently on all around her; I was filled with admiration, and even with astonishment! It gave me new views of my sister's character. "Can it be possible?" I was ready to say; "can there be such irrepressible energy with such tenderness of heart?" I was prepared to believe Martha might be trained to this, but could hardly conceive of it as already existing. Those only who have been enabled to bear up against the *ennui* of disappointed hope, the bitterness of deceived confidence, and the temptations of a wounded spirit, to feed luxuriously and in solitude on its own griefs, and to do this in a steady course of disinterested exertions for the happiness of others, can rightly judge of the sacrifices that were made, or of the power necessary to make them.

But the lessons we learn in the school of affliction are generally quickly and well learned. The heart is softened, and it receives easily, and retains indelibly, the proposed impression. Martha had not merely been exposed to affliction, but to affliction of peculiar pungency and power. It had placed her in a most trying and critical situation; but a situation which was made subservient to her improvement. Her attention was carried more closely to herself; she watched the workings of her heart; she witnessed some of those tempestuous conflicts of passion which reveal in a glance more of the depths of human character than an age of common feeling. She saw her weakness, felt her danger, and detected more clearly her constitutional infirmities. She became more jealous of herself, and resolved to resist the pleadings of selfishness. She commenced the struggle; she persevered, and she was now rising from it, not merely to comparative peace and security, but attended with the richest spoils of conquest.

There was an addition made to her *confidence*. She felt, not as he who resolves to fight, but as he who returns from the battle won. Her armor had been tried, and it had been found adequate to her protection. She was inspired with more of *independence*. She had leaned on herself, and had been deceived; had leaned on others, and they had failed her; and now, like some tender plant denied the support natural to them, her character shot out the more vigorously, and asked nourishment of the skies. Her habits of *self-control* were exercised and strengthened. The sensibilities which she was tempted to indulge, and which she could scarcely think so dangerous as in fact they were, had appeared before her in new forms. She deeply felt the necessity of subduing and regulating them.—The effort was made, and it was successful. It was the ascendency of principle over passion. It brought with it not only the good I am noticing, but gave a tone and coloring to the entire character.

The moment in which the claims of principle are triumphant over those of passion is a point of time in the history of character the most interesting and auspicious. It contributes largely to the formation or settlement of the mind, and brings with it the elements of all that is good or exalted. Passion relaxes and enfeebles the spirit; principle braces and invigorates it. Passion is dark, stormy, and vexatious, like the troubled sea which cannot rest; principle, like the rocks of our shore, stands out the bulwark of the soul in the night of adversity. Passion is the voice of that old serpent, ever the most dangerous when most beguiling; principle is the voice of God in the soul of man, calling him off from the enchantments of earth and sense to communion and confidence in Him, without whom the strongest are weak, and the best protected insecure in the hour of trial!

CHAPTER XIV.

PIETY. 1813—14.

I CANNOT persuade myself to close a period so strikingly developing the moral energies of my sister's character, without distinctly remarking that they were created and sustained by the influence of genuine piety. As religion had refined her mind and exalted her tastes in the day of peaceful enjoyment, so it had fortified her heart in the time of calamity. She was enabled to resolve on a line of conduct best adapted to her deliverance by the power of principle; and principle derived its existence and force from the higher power of godliness. Indeed, these two are inseparable; and there would be little necessity for insisting on their union, were it not that an attempt is constantly made to divide them, by many who would fain be thought to admire the offspring while they repudiate the parent.

It is readily admitted that, without the presence of piety, an individual might recover herself from similar circumstances of trial. The temptation might not fix on the peculiar weaknesses of her nature; and vanity, pride, resentment, or insensibility might raise her above it; and she would be safe, till exposed to that ensnarement which better accorded with the special frailties of her nature.—But Martha was assailed at once where she was weakest. There was no contrary reigning passion to oppose evil to the invading evil; and yet she overcame. Now, though a person may conquer some one sin without giving any evidence of real piety, because that sin may be subdued by a stronger corruption; yet if he is enabled to conquer his constitutional infirmities and "easily besetting sins," he furnishes, not merely proof, but the very highest proof of piety. It is not one selfish propensity overcoming another; it is every selfish propensity, the mightiest and the dearest, vanquished and led captive by a principle proves one's self, and distinct from one's self. This is *self-denial;* and this is the very essence of all religion.

Independently on what is possible, it is certain in Martha's case that the progress and triumph of principle is to be referred entirely to religious influence. This might be fairly inferred from every thing in her history and character; but it was also the subject of her frequent, explicit, and grateful acknowledgment. Religion gave her light to see the extent of her dangers; and courage to contend with them; and hope to anticipate brighter prospects; and benevolence to turn from her own anxieties, and interest herself in the good of others.—Religion brought her feeble and erring spirit into communion with Deity, and taught her to lean on the arm of Omnipotence, to submit to the will of a wise and infinite Sovereignty, and to lay hold of that righteousness and those promises which are "unto all and upon all them that believe." She believed; and "this was the victory that overcame even her faith." "By faith," which is essentially a disposition to serve God, and trust in him under all circumstances, "she endured as seeing him who is invisible." By faith she waxed valiant in fight, and out of weakness was made strong. By faith she confessed she was not her own, but that she was bought with a price; and that it became her not to please herself, but to please Him who had graciously accomplished her redemption. And what is there may not be effected by such sentiments and principles, not merely acknowledged to be true, but framed in the heart as the motives of action?

If it is of importance to trace these victorious exercises of mind, to the energy of real piety, it is at least of equal practical importance to inquire by what means, piety itself, was nourished to so much energy. This inquiry will necessarily lead to a brief but, it may be hoped, profitable notice of Martha's devotional habits, as they were particularly connected with this period, and generally with the previous and subsequent periods of her life.

Martha sought to cherish the work of personal piety by *frequent and secret prayer.* She knew whence every good thought and every holy desire proceeded; and that prayer was only applying for them at their proper source. If prayer was regarded as a medium of communicating her wants, it was likewise considered as an important means of grace, for the promotion of every devout affection. It brought her into audience with the Being she most revered and loved; and lifted her spirit above earthly anxieties. It sweetened her mercies, lightened her burthens, and sanctified to her the various allotments of life.

Apart from the share she had in domestic worship, she was accustomed to engage in prayer twice in the course of the day. Usually, these exercises were observed as early in the morning and evening as was compatible with other duties; that, in the one case, her first thought might be rightly engaged, and in the other, her devotions might not be postponed to an hour, in which the body and mind would be too fatigued and heavy properly to regard them. In these devotions, her prayers were not only mental, they were oral likewise; she chose to give a regular and distinct utterance to her desires, as she thought it assisted the clearness of her conceptions, and prevented her from running into a loose and careless manner in so solemn an engagement.

But although Martha found it desirable to mark her devotions by time and form, her spirit was not limited by the one or the other. Prayer was not to her a cold duty, to which conscience occasionally drove her; it was not local, it was not verbal, it was not a painful and artificial act; it was the breath of her soul habitually and imperceptibly ascending towards Him who inspired it. It may be said of her as the Psalmist said of himself—she gave herself unto prayer. The spirit of prayer attended, and fed upon, every thing in which she was engaged. Seldom did she give away a tract, or relieve a want, or discharge a common duty, without inward and almost unconscious prayer; and if serious engagements were before her, they were made the subject of especial supplication.

The life of piety and prayer was sustained by *reading and meditation.* The kind of reading adopted was in harmony with the end proposed—it was strictly devotional. The Scriptures were read in their connection; and their impression was supported by some of our best pieces of experimental divinity, and the biography of eminently pious persons.

This reading was digested and made effectual by meditation, an exercise in which she had great delight. It was conducted in the same spirit; and her reflections were not allowed to become discursive or speculative. She did not seek, at these seasons, to make fresh acquisitions to her knowledge; but to apply what she already knew with more force to her conscience, and to entertain it with greater warmth in her heart. Her thoughts dwelt, therefore, on the elements and first principles of divine truth; on her sinfulness and demerit; on her privileges and obligations; on the excellence of the gospel, and the unspeakable love of her Redeemer; on the vanity of time, and the awfulness of an approaching eternity. That these and similar sentiments might never be absent from her, she usually charged her memory, at the opening of each day, with some short passages from an inspired or other writer, which accorded with them, as a motto for her thoughts in the intervals of occupation which might arise. She considered herself to have derived great advantage, and redeemed much time, by this plan; and there can be no doubt that it contributed to save her from treating with levity, as many do, the first and simple lessons of religion, which indeed, like our common and daily bread, are by far the most valuable portion of whatever knowledge we may afterward attain.

Prayer and meditation were sustained by *self-examination*. She could not meditate without looking further into her own heart; nor could she pray without the guilt of hypocrisy, unless she inquired into her present wants. More or less she habituated herself to this at the close of each day; she "communed with her own heart, and was still." She calmly reviewed the motives, the temper, the actions of the day, that she might make sincere confession, and exercise future watchfulness.

The object she endeavored to keep distinctly before her in these examinations, was the *reality* and the *progress* of *personal piety*. She thought that the temptation of the present time is to neglect it; that if our forefathers erred in preferring the enjoyments of the closet to the claims of the world, we were exposed to the more dangerous error of losing all relish for the quiet duties of retirement, in the excitement and bustle of our numerous public religious engagements. She therefore was jealous over herself, lest in attempting to keep the vineyard of others she should be found to have neglected her own.

To assist her in preventing all self-deception on this most vital subject, she formed her judgment of the state of piety from what it was in *retirement alone*. She considered that all spiritual declensions began in the closet; and that, therefore, they might be earlier detected by seeking them there. She knew that, in social religious services, manifold considerations—novelty, taste, vanity, party-spirit, worldly interest—might create a factitious relish for them; but that in the closet, where the world was shut out, where there was no eye to see, no ear to listen but God's, the heart was liable to no such deception. Whatever, therefore, might be the strength of her emotion, or the height of her joy in public engagements, she allowed them to plead nothing in favor of her real state of mind, if they left her to carry to her closet a heart cold and indifferent, without humility and without gratitude.

But although Martha would not derive the test of her progress from her regard to the more social services of religion, she was far from undervaluing them; and her *devotedness to these public means of grace*, must be named as contributing instrumentally to her advancement in piety. Indeed, her uniform and lively attachment to the ordinances of religion was strikingly discovered in her whole deportment. I believe it may most truly be said, that throughout her Christian walk, she did not lose by negligence, or the want of properly economizing her time, one opportunity of attending divine worship, which she could consistently embrace. To go into the house of God, to mingle with the people of God, to worship the perfections of God, and to listen to the word of God, these were among her highest pleasures—pleasures which never cloyed—pleasures which increased the appetite for them by enjoyment.

The Sabbath was to her a delight; honorable, and she honored it. She entered on it with an air of serene cheerfulness, which is not only compatible with, but the fruit of, seriousness. Every thing of a worldly nature, that could be done previously to its arrival was done; there was no bustle, no confusion, no needless provision for the flesh. In attending the public services of the day, it was a point with her to be in time. She considered that it was a duty she owed to herself, to her fellow-worshippers, and to the Being she professed to honor and worship; and that she might not fail in it, she generally arranged to arrive a few minutes before the service commenced, a practice which she often named as highly beneficial to herself.

Her manner and temper were equally exemplary. There was no irreverent posture, no vacant countenance, no eye wandering from pew to pew, person to person, and dress to dress. She did not attend these public exercises to see and be seen, or to hear and criticise, or to trifle and be amused. On entering the temple, she considered herself at once engaged with adorable and omniscient Deity, who had promised his presence to his humble worshippers: she was anxious to sit at the feet of her divine Instructer, and to carry on a large and profitable commerce with the heavenly world.*

In this elevation of mind, the minister in word and doctrine was not slighted or forgotten; his office and character were appreciated, as every faithful pastor would desire his charge to think of them. He was not in danger of being idolized as a novelty, and finally cast away as a worn-out toy. She did not look at him as a performer, nor listen to him as an orator. She wanted not to be delighted, but to be edified; not to be made acute, but to be made holy by his ministrations. She sought by his offices, to be introduced to his Master; to be fed on the bread of life, and the water of life, and to know more of the will of her Saviour, in its testamentary bequests and sacred obligations. If the minister was proposing the same objects to himself, she "esteemed him very highly in love for his work's sake;" and in proportion as that work filled his heart and influenced his labors, she was concerned to confide in his instructions, to pray for his succor, to sympathize in his trials, and, by any means in her power, to promote his honor, comfort, and usefulness.

If such conduct as is here briefly specified sprang from piety, it will be seen, by a re-action common to good and bad principles, it also greatly advanced the work of piety. If a loose and partial attendance on public ordinances has its advantages, what must be their influence when attended in the spirit and the punctuality now described! And one cannot avoid the reflection, that if every member of our congregations were thus to fill his *proper place* in the *proper time*, and with a *becoming temper*, our assemblies would present a very different picture of order and quiet loveliness. One might hope then, that the spirit of solemnity would pervade our sanctuaries, and assist our devotions at the footstool of the Eternal; and that the spirit of conviction would more frequently seize the casual visiter, and constrain him "to fall down and worship God!"

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* These and some subsequent remarks might seem needless in connection with such a character as the writer is describing, were it not that one is called, so frequently called, to observe habits grow on persons of acknowledged piety and conscientiousness, which disfigure their profession, and which, if they could rightly perceive, they would not in the least approve. The young should be strictly cautious of sliding imperceptibly into habits and compliances which, if they should be harmless to themselves, are indecorous in the eyes of others

Martha's pious dispositions were increased by her *constant endeavor to improve all events so as to strengthen them.* To those who look for them, such events are commonly to be found. Martha, although her circumstances were happily appointed, was always meeting with something, which she thought might be consecrated to these purposes. If disappointment arose, she impressed on her mind the lessons of resignation; if success, she urged herself to additional gratitude. When eminent piety stood out before her, she tasked herself to copy it; and the evils she saw daily arising from unholy and ungoverned tempers, set her especially to watch over, and seek the subduction of her own.

She was particularly affected, during the period which it is my object to illustrate, by the evident declension of some young persons from the ways of godliness, of whom she had cherished the best expectations. They had started nearly with herself in the profession; they had run well; she had hoped to pass with them to the goal: but they were hindered; they were drawn aside by the ensnarements of error, or by the love of the present world. She was very deeply affected by such occurrences. She humbled herself on account of them, confessing that she was as liable to err and to fall, and praying not only for them, but for herself, that she might never be seduced by Satan, or any of his devices, by the world, or any thing that is in the world. Thus it was, that the failings of others promoted her dependance and security, as we see a man urged to a timely repair of his mansion, from witnessing the ruinous effects of dilapidation in the dwelling of his neighbor.

In connection with these remarks it should be observed, that Martha sought the advance of piety in her heart by the *jealous avoidance of whatever was injurious to its interests.* I speak not now of worldly amusements and worldly fellowship; these are forbidden; and the allusion is not to what is expressly *forbidden*, but to what is *uncongenial and inexpedient.* And in judging of these qualities, she was not governed by the opinion of others so much as by her own experience. If any thing was found prejudicial to *her*, that was reason enough for avoiding it, though to others it should be wholesome and nutritive. Of course her judgment was called to pronounce on things innumerable as they arose; but it may be desirable to state, that she was convinced, from observing their effects on others, that *anger, levity, and Sabbath-day visiting; idle gossiping*, *wordy disputation*, and *party spirit; excess of foreign engagements*, and *a desultory occupation of time;* association with those who held their profession in a *formal* and *worldly spirit;* and the perusal of *books of light and trifling character*, *professedly moral*, but not in accordance with the *pure morality* of revelation, were eminently unfriendly to the exercise and growth of sterling piety, and had commonly led to serious defection from the paths of godliness.

Martha was not even content in shunning these; it was her concern to avoid whatever might *possibly* affect her, as she concluded these would. She never desired to occupy *debatable* ground, or to dwell on the borders of good and evil. That worldly question, How far may I go and be safe? never arose to her lips; she rather inquired, How far may I retire, and be consistent? She shunned the very appearance or shadow of evil. To resist her enemy, she fled from him, well knowing that to parley was to be fascinated and overcome. Thus it was that the flame of piety lived and brightened in its own element, and was not rashly exposed to every counteracting influence. It was not the flower of the field, unprotected from every rude foot or ravenous animal; it was the flower of the garden, hedged about with thorns, screened from the biting blast, cherished by a watchful hand, and living under the most genial heat and gentlest dews of Heaven.

Nor can this chapter be dismissed without observing *that affliction was undoubtedly among the means which promoted the work of piety.* If Martha was supported beneath her afflictions of body and mind by the hand of piety, piety, in return, was advanced by her afflictions. Trial and suffering are to the spirit what exercise is to the corporeal frame; none are healthy or vigorous without them. Affliction, of some class or other, is indispensable to our welfare in the present state; and the Christian is "chosen in affliction," preserved by affliction, purified by affliction, "perfected by suffering."

Martha was now becoming a powerful instance of the happy effects of sanctified affliction. It enabled her to form a juster estimate of life, of herself, and of all things. It called into early exercise her submission and patience. It gave increased energy to acts of faith, and reality to its existence. She had trusted in the Lord, and had been delivered; she had rested on him, and had been supported; she had looked to him, and had been enlightened; she had rejoiced in him, and had been happy; and she now felt towards him as a friend, who is not only believed to be faithful, but who has been tried, and *found to be so.* Prayer was the dearer, from its having so often given vent, and brought relief to her sorrows; and meditation the more inviting, since it had frequently borne her on its wings above sublunary vexation. The world was the more vain, from her experience of its utter insufficiency in the hour of need; and Heaven the more charming, from its having stood in direct contrast with the deceitful and fleeting and shadowy forms of this present life. She could say emphatically, that "it was good for her that she had been afflicted." Tribulation had wrought patience, and patience experience, and experience hope; and hope made her not ashamed, because the love of God was shed abroad on her heart by the Holy Ghost, which was given unto her.

CHAPTER XV.

RELAXATION. 1814.

MARTHA returned with me from C—— to her home, very much at ease in her mind, and considerably invigorated in bodily health. She cheerfully renewed her attention to those pursuits which have been described, and continued, through this winter, the life and joy of her relatives and connections.

But the flame of life and love burnt too ardently for the frail vessel which contained it. Amid so many opportunities of showing kindness, of mitigating wo, and instructing ignorance, it was nearly impossible to prevent her doing too much, and, what is even more prejudicial to a weakly frame, sympathizing too much. It was the only subject upon which her family held a serious controversy with her, and often was it revived by the evening fireside. Frequently she would see serious concern settle in her father's countenance on detecting her real exhaustion under assumed sprightliness, and, touched by it, would embrace him affectionately.

"Ah, my dear child," he would say, sighing, and returning the embrace, "this is wrong—very wrong!"

"Wrong, pa'!"

He would shake his head.

"I have been doing very little to-day, pa'—very little indeed. You know you say, it is better to *wear* out than to *rust* out."

"Yes, my love *fairly to wear* out, but not to *tear* out."

"No, dear pa'; but one ought to do all one possibly can in a good cause, ought we not?" turning to her mother, whose warmth of devotedness she knew favorable to the reply she wished.

"Oh, do not make your appeal to me," her mother would say playfully; "ask your brother."

"Ah, she will not ask me," her brother would remark.

"Yes, but indeed I will, brother! I know you think we ought to do all we can do."

"I think, with our good king, *that we ought never to do so much as we can.*"

"Brother!"

"I mean by it just what he did, that we are not to press our energies, either of body or mind, to the *very uttermost.* By doing *more* than our strength permits to-day, we shall do *less* than we might to-morrow. Besides, there is the danger of overstraining the *bow*, which may never recover its elasticity."

"And you remember," her father would continue, "what Mr. Romaine said when he heard of the incessant preaching of Mr. Whitefield—'I shall, perhaps, preach *more sermons*, only I shall be *longer about* it.'"

Such conversations, however, did not produce all the conviction that was desirable. In youth, it is difficult to conceive of injury being done to the health till it is felt, and the blessing of health is seldom valued but in proportion as it is lost. Yet Martha did place restraints occasionally on herself, in compliance with the known desires of her friends, and under a sense of duty; but possibly when a *partial* relaxation was adopted, a *total* one was necessary, and her spirits uniformly rose above her strength. Added to this, her indifference to herself, the precariousness of life, her love to her Redeemer, and her concern to express it in labors of self-denial and benevolence towards his members on earth, formed in her so powerful a motive of action as greatly to raise her above *temporal* considerations. Nothing is more difficult than, in the midst of much to be done, which it is most important to do, patiently to wait and to do but little, or even to do nothing, as Providence shall direct; and it is not strange if Martha was yet imperfect in the lesson.

As Martha could not have all the rest from excitement necessary to the fragility of her health while in town, her friends sought to accomplish the end by inducing her to change the scene occasionally. In pursuance of this plan, she went in the summer of this year to Broadstairs with a young friend, and she received considerable benefit from the comparative quiet it imposed on her. It must be termed *comparative only*, for the circumstance of being separated from those she most loved gave her uneasiness; and although in a place ever so strange, she could not be satisfied without seeking some opportunities of doing good. Those opportunities, in such a situation, might be few and small; but there might often be more real exhaustion of spirits in seeking them and not finding them, than in finding and improving them. Perhaps I cannot do better than to allow her to speak for herself.

"Wishing, my dear ——, to supply as much as possible our absence from each other, I mean to keep, more or less, a journal for you. After some suspense and disappointment, we left town for Margate. We slept at this place, and then went over to Broadstairs, where we have procured lodgings. Here we shall enjoy all the pleasures of the country and the sea, without the bustle and parade of the town. I need not say this is what pleases me."

"Went to Kingsgate and Reading-street, two small villages. It was a pleasant walk. I believe I have been to five villages this week, all of which are near either Ramsgate or Margate, and none of them has a Sunday school! Oh, my dear, let every instance we see, either of activity or lukewarmness in others, stimulate us to renewed devotedness!

"I take up my pen under the influence of headache and low spirits, hoping to mitigate the one and remove the other. I feel much the absence from my friends. It is almost three weeks since I saw my dear brother; and though I see so little of you, I feel being at this distance. How strange that we should be so strongly attached to a state whose pleasures are mixed with pain. Let us look at those things which change not—perish not—with the using."

"I feel very poorly to-day. I should be glad of your company for half an hour; it would rouse my spirits. I suppose you are at C——, and enjoying, I hope, much temporal and spiritual good, and not only blessed yourself, but rendered a blessing to others. Never may we take a journey, pay a visit, or enter on a day without asking what we can do to show our love to the Saviour! And, that we may have it in our power to do all our circumstances will admit, never let us expend a *single penny* needlessly."

"Went last evening to Northdown, a small but pretty village. There are some sweet green lanes, which show the ocean at the end of them; it has a beautiful effect. The cottages are neat, and the gardens indicate industry and comfort. But there is no Sunday school! The villagers were amusing themselves with rural sports: and it delighted me to see so many youths blooming with health and gayety, and engaged in healthful recreations. I could not fail, however, to be deeply affected, that they were destitute of all instruction. I offered one a tract; he said, 'I cannot read.' I offered it to another; but instead of accepting it, he pointed to a third lad, who, it was understood, could read it. How is it that Christians can let all these poor villagers grow up and live in ignorance!"

"*Nine o'clock.* Just returned from Deal.—When upon the swelling ocean in a little boat, what helpless creatures we seem! I thought I understood more than ever the force of that beautiful expression, 'He holdeth the waters in the hollow of his hand.' But after the sacred writers have employed the boldest figures, and we have formed the noblest conceptions of which we are capable, how very short they fall of what they ere long shall be! When the spirit is relieved of its encumbrances, it will possess in a moment more consistent views of the divine Majesty than in all the efforts of this mortal life!

"Went this evening to meet Miss P. at St. Peter's. Walked about the churchyard, and thought on that solemn period which my own feelings, and the ground over which I was treading, united to bring to my remembrance."

"My appetite is more than good, and this evening I feel uncommonly well. I walked to Northdown. The fields we passed through seemed to invite the husbandman to reap the fruits of his labor, and in some places he has accepted the invitation. When last in the country I saw them sowing the seed. How very soon will the great harvest come! Who can view such scenes as these, and not raise the eye of gratitude to that Being who fills the mouths of his creatures with food, and their hearts with gladness! O how insensible is man!—how insensible am I! Awake, my soul, and bless Him who sends his early and latter rain, and causes his sun to shine on the earth. Remember, too, that these blessings are conferred on sinners; and that if God so care for the body of his unworthy creatures, he will much more grant to our prayers all spiritual mercies!"

"I hope in spending a few moments with you to compose my mind. I received a letter to-day containing unpleasant news; I afterward read a portion of history which painfully affected me; and just as I laid down my book, a trifling circumstance arose which hurt me. O for that meekness which is of great price! How often a trifle reveals to us much of ourselves! My feelings need constantly to be controlled. This I consider my weakest part; they too often sway my judgment, when my judgment ought to sway them. This lays me open to many snares. It is something to discover where we are most likely to be surprised by the enemy; but this is of little use, except we take care to keep those passes well guarded. Let us, my dear, *study ourselves;* this will afford us fresh matter for prayer. Especially let us look to the Strong for strength on the *first rise* of an improper feeling, and cease not to crave his Holy Spirit to subdue every thing that is contrary to the divine image."

"After tea we walked to Pagwell Bay. There is a very extensive opening both by sea and land. The valleys, the hills, the waters, rejoiced together. I was so delighted with the beauty of this scenery, gilded with the setting sun, that I could scarcely take my eyes from it; but it was soon hidden by the shades of night. If this world is so lovely, what must the next be! And if the next is so glorious, what must the Creator be!

'These are thy works, Parent of good,
Almighty! thine this universal frame!
Thus wondrous fair—Thyself how wondrous then.'

"It is the contemplation of this wondrous and infinite Being which will be the employment of a future state. Let us, then, habituate ourselves to the exercise; and that our weak sight may not be oppressed by the majesty of the object, let us behold it in the face of Jesus Christ.

"The quietness and leisure I now enjoy are calculated to promote my self-knowledge and mental improvement. I am bending all my attention to history; it is a profitable study. How astonishing it is that young persons should be tempted to waste their time in useless accomplishments, and often in vulgar decorations of the body, and entirely neglect the cultivation of the mind, not to say the salvation of the soul.

"I have only a day or two longer to stay. It is natural to ask, What good I have done since I came here? I wish I could return a proper answer to this question. I am very anxious to return, under the blessing of Jehovah, that I may prove a blessing to my family and the church of God. *I must make up lost time.* Soon the scene of action will be past. O that I could always act for eternity! The very color of my apparel teaches me not to depend on earth, and yet I am always prone to do it."

The remainder of this year passed away without any occurrence of importance, except the change of family residence. Her parents, after long, industrious, and honorable exertions in their secular engagements, were induced to seek the comforts of retirement for their advancing years. Providence had kindly put the means of realizing their desires within their power; and they now determined to use them.

Nothing could more fully accord with Martha's wishes, as far as her parents were concerned. She had seen, with no careless eye, the labors they had endured, the sacrifices they had made, for their beloved family; and she was far from willing that these should be unnecessarily continued, for the sake of accumulating superfluous gains. One of the simplest and strongest wishes of her heart was to see them enjoy the fruit of their exertions, exchanging worldly bustle for peaceful content, bodily fatigue for quiet repose, and earthly care for the calm anticipation of a heavenly state. Her parents were quickened in their steps by the affectionate desires of their children; and, before the autumn expired, they removed to a comfortable habitation on Bethnal Green.

Light and shade are mingled in every scene of life. Delightful as this arrangement was to Martha's filial affections, it was attended by regret, for it involved a separation of the family. Her brother could not be included in it. It gave her deep concern to be put at a comparative distance from one whom she now knew so intimately, and around whom her fondest reliances were clustering. However, we were not unmindful of the privilege already enjoyed in the three happy years we had spent beneath the same roof; and our present separation was of such a nature as not to forbid our seeing more or less of each other most days of every week.

CHAPTER XVI.

DOING GOOD. 1815—1817.

In the spring of one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, Martha's complaints assumed new and threatening appearances. During three months she passed through a course of medicine, and sought afterward to confirm the benefit she had received from it, by spending some weeks at Frampton, Gloucestershire. To this place she had been invited by some young and valued friends, who had recently removed to it from our congregation in London.

On this visit, therefore, she separated from her connections with less than her usual reluctance, and was received with most open-hearted kindness. Her friends, who welcomed her to their habitation, introduced her to a most pleasing circle of Christian society, in which she found, and assisted to communicate, real happiness. In the company of some of them she saw much of the beauties of this fine and picturesque country; and what from her delight in the scenery she was daily tempted to explore, what from the congeniality of the intercourse with which she was privileged, and what from the genuine sympathy every where shown towards her, which on a spirit tender and generous as hers always works medicinally, her languor and her pains subsided, and her countenance became again florid with health. Martha often referred to this visit with pleasure and gratitude. It had not only enlarged the sphere of enjoyment, and brought her into acquaintance with several excellent Christians and ministers; it had given rise to some close and valuable friendships, which she afterwards cherished by correspondence.

Soon after her return from Gloucestershire, Martha became the superintendent of a domestic establishment on which I was then just entering. We were thus brought, for a period, to dwell again in one habitation; and the six months so spent stand out to my sight like the little verdant spots which occasionally meet us by the wayside, on the otherwise worn and dusty path of life.

The greater part of this time her brother was the subject of indisposition, and Martha had an opportunity for showing those small and manifold attentions which contribute so powerfully to endear the members of relative life to each other. The many arrangements necessary on the settlement of a little household were made without disturbance. She did every thing to relieve me as much as possible from the burden of pastoral duty, and uniformly sought to report something that might gratify, while she withheld the trifles that might irritate. So much was this her practice, that her very presence seemed to be the herald of some good tidings, and to operate as a charm in dissipating the melancholy which too frequently attends a state of nervous excitation. No one ever studied another more than she studied her brother; no one, in doing this, ever more completely forgot herself.

Her attentions, too, were as delicate as they were assiduous. She knew when to act, when to be still. She entered by the power of sympathy into the case of the sufferer; every want was commonly anticipated, every desire generally known without the intervention of speech. How often of an evening, in seeking rest from labor discharged under pain and weakness, on the sofa, have I traced the variations of my own feeling in her faithful and varying countenance; and how often, when she was conscious of it, have I seen them in a moment suppressed, and her features lighted up with a soft benevolence, which spoke only of the gentlest love! It is particularly touching, too, in going over her papers, to find, that while her sympathy was so quiet and silent in my society, it was enabled to be so by the frequent utterance of the most tender desires and prayers in her closet. Would that I could record her excellence and my gratitude in a less perishable form!

Affliction is often as beneficial to social as to Christian life. It gives simplicity to the character, levels the differences of mind and situation, and facilitates the mutual flow of affection. This alone seemed to be necessary to make Martha's attachment to her brother as strong and perfect as human nature can be conceived to exercise. Accustomed as she was to think most lowly of herself, and to estimate her brother much too highly, affliction appeared needful to place us more on an equality in her partial opinion. Under such visitations she was constrained to perceive that she could really be of services to one whom she was disposed to think of as only serving her. Affliction made him more sensibly dependant on her. Her hand could supply his wants, could lighten his burdens, could direct his affairs; and that arm on which she was habituated to lean could be well content in seeking support from hers. How tenderly would she press it to her side, and give it more relief than it sought! In such circumstances, her love was invigorated by her pity; the currents of mutual sympathy were put more completely on a level, and they flowed into each other more readily and yet more peacefully. These occasional sufferings are brightened in the recollection that they brought us nearer together, and gave me a yet larger share in my sister's heart than I might otherwise have possessed.

With a strong affection, the poisonous plants of jealousy often grow up. But there was nothing *exclusive* in Martha's attachments; had there been, it would have been detected at this period. I was now anticipating a relationship which would necessarily interfere with the situation she was so pleased to hold in my family, and which she might be tempted to conclude would greatly affect even her place in my heart. Such a trial as this has often been found too powerful for the mother, the sister, or the friend, whose devotedness could have overcome every other. On this hazardous ground, however, Martha stood as a conqueror, and without a conflict. There was no meanness, no selfishness in her love. She simply desired the object of it to possess the utmost possible degree of happiness, without making it a condition that she must be either its source or its medium. She knew that her brother would still have all the happiness which his sister could impart, and she looked at a more intimate connection as multiplying the means of securing to him a full and overflowing cup of gladness.

Her sister, therefore, was received with expanded arms. She freely conferred with her on the requisite arrangements, and made every possible preparation for her comfort on becoming a member of the family. She gave her at once the place to which she considered her entitled, in her thoughts and attentions. She facilitated her introduction to our connections; and she did every thing that presence of mind and delicacy of feeling could suggest, to remove the awkwardness arising from a sudden entrance on untried relationships and novel society. Her sister retains the most grateful impressions of this early and disinterested kindness; and I should not do justice to the subject, did I not take occasion to couple her expression of them with my own. Such, indeed, is the temper in which a young person, content, for one she loves, to leave her beloved and familiar home, and to dwell with strangers, should ever be received.—But, for the want of this, how often are those events which we denominate a union of families, the prolific root of corroding jealousies, bitter contentions, and chilling antipathies.

In the years sixteen and seventeen, Martha's duties and pleasures in town were several times interrupted by the state of her health. With two or three exceptions, she retired to Cheshunt, a place already pleasing to her by many remembrances. Her young friend had, indeed, left the neighborhood; but many persons were familiar to her, and especially a widow, with whom she took up her quiet residence. This worthy woman had seen better and worse days than those which were now passing over her. She had walked in the sunshine, and contended with the storm; and she now sought only an humble shelter from life's changes, that she might peacefully pass the remaining months of her pilgrimage in waiting for the consolation of Israel. With such a person Martha's spirit was completely at home. A most sincere friendship grew up between them; and her friend, in the very loneliness of her widowhood, learned to rejoice afresh in the Goodness which had directed to her an individual who was even as a daughter.

In the visits of this period Martha possessed a more equal and happy state of mind than formerly, and she determined to enter on more vigorous plans of doing good. Freed from the usual claims on her time, she gave a limited portion of it to her own edification, and the large remainder to continuous efforts for benefiting others. Parts of every day in each week, and frequently the whole day, were consecrated to these exertions; the objects of them may be best explained in the following memoranda, which I find written in the commencement of her pocket book for the year sixteen:—

"*Prayer—Distribution of tracts—Conversation—Instruction of the young—Visitation of the poor.*"

The efficacy of means of usefulness depends, not on their imposing and expensive character, but on their skilful and earnest application. These simple means were employed by Martha zealously and effectually. She knew not the restraints which she necessarily felt in the metropolis. The cottagers she visited were generally known in their neighborhood; and she could commonly learn enough to direct her conduct. The father of the family was usually absent, and the mother and children were at home; to these she could easily win her way, by the most unassuming and sympathetic manners; and the impressions of her presence and lessons were, in most cases, so successful, as to induce them to beg a repetition of the kindness.

The limits of these efforts were only bounded by strength and time, and scarcely by these. She laid the whole surrounding country under this moral cultivation, beginning nearer home, and so passing outward, to the utmost line of labor. I have found private minutes, in the same little pocket-book, of the division of her labors. They occur as follows:

"Cheshunt—Waltham—The Common—Berkhamstead—Newgate-street—Wormley;" allowing one place to a day, or part of a day.

The following are courses for the entire day:—

"Wormly West End—Over the Common—Easingham—Bayfield, &c.—Home through Hertford."

"To Enfield Over the Common."

"Take the road through Nasing to Epping."

"To Hatfield by Northaw—Hadley."

When the apostle Paul says he preached the gospel "from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum," it is impossible to judge of the extent of his labors without a reference to the map; nor can these Christian visits to the poor be appreciated without an allusion to the relative distances of the places. And when it is stated that the nearer ones embrace a circuit of from six to eight miles, and the farther ones a circuit of fourteen, eighteen, twenty, and even two-and-twenty miles from the point of residence, it will, undoubtedly, create a sentiment of astonishment. I confess I had never known that a female, in such circumstances, solitary, feeble, contending with a high degree of bodily suffering, and without any facilities to her exertions, could ever have ventured on them with perseverance, had they not been actually accomplished in the life of my sister.

If any are anxious clearly to mark the springs of action, where the act itself is so sustained and powerful, I am happy in being able to assist the inquiry. I find in the same pocket-book, and at the foot of these circuits, as if to keep them under the eye whenever the effort was to be made, the following minutes:—

"*A soul is of infinitely more value than a world! Think not, then, that any effort for its salvation is too difficult to be attempted!*"

"*The glory of Jehovah should be your* CONSTANT, *your* ONLY *aim!*"

Thus it may be seen, that her motives were as simple as her means, and it was their simplicity which constituted their power and their glory.

After this elucidation of motive, it may yet be desirable to ascertain how Martha economized so small a portion of bodily strength as she possessed, to endure such lengthened and apparently severe exercises.

Whenever she was about to visit a more distant neighborhood, she devoted the whole day to the object. After taking an early breakfast, and particularly imploring a divine blessing on the engagements of the day, she quitted her dwelling, usually with a reticule in her hand, in which were commonly deposited a hard boiled egg, a pencil and paper, her Testament, and a good assortment of tracts. She started in a slow pace, and, in reaching the farthest point of destination, she relieved herself by many rests and calls. She considered that the moment she entered on her walk her work began; and her eye was eagerly in search of some object which she might assist to make wiser and happier. If any little incident gave her favorable access to an individual or a cottage, she embraced the present opportunity without scruple. She could never think that cottage out of the way, or that time lost, in which she was endeavoring to do good.

When she arrived more immediately in the scene of the day's exertions, if visiting the neighborhood for the first time, she generally made her way to some worthy person, of whom she had learned a few particulars, or to some one dwelling which appeared more inviting than the rest, and sought "a cup of cold water." For this she returned a trifling acknowledgment, and this disposed the individual to more kindly conversation. After regarding the claims of the inhabitants here, she sought some information of those in the vicinity, and thus procured a key to most of the surrounding dwellings. She now proceeded in her course, entering every cottage where she found a welcome, in the spirit of the primitive disciples, breathing peace around her, and bequeathing it as a sacred legacy behind her.

Having passed through her work here, she turned her face homeward, making the same pauses on her road, seldom caring to reach her habitation till the day began to close. It was solely by these alternations of repose and progress, that Martha, with little strength and slight refreshments, was enabled to travel over so large a portion of ground as must, without explanation, approach to the incredible.

On one of these exploring excursions, following the current incidents of the morning, she arrived at a place called Newgate-street. The name which describes it, however, is not likely to suggest a just idea of it. It is a small hamlet, resting on the verdant bosom of a gentle eminence, which springs from the surrounding pastures. The cottages fringe the edges of this somewhat circular elevation, without assuming any thing of a set and artificial appearance. They are detached and diversified in form and position; yet all are simple and chaste. Their base is relieved by the aspiring flowers, and their soft brown hoofs half hidden in the overhanging and nodding foliage. The eye is carried to them by "the merry green," which, animated with rustic figures, forms a beautiful foreground; while pretty vistas are often breaking on the sight between the cottages, revealing the descending glade, softened by shadows, and bounded by swelling hills crowned with wood, and basking in the warm and blessed light of heaven. There is a completeness about this humble spot which satisfies the eye; there is a freshness which invigorates the taste; there is a quietude which soothes the soul. It speaks of separation from the world; of ignorance of the hackneyed ways of life; and exemption from its vices and its snares. And of how many spots in our picturesque and happy land may all this, and more than this, be said!

Martha, coming unexpectedly on this scene, fed on it with a relish which ever afterward made it sweet to her memory; but no illusions of taste could induce her to conclude that the inhabitants were as pure and as happy as their situation suggested. She knew that man, in his best estate, is still ignorant, vain, and sinful; and here she dreamed of no exception. She made her visits; distributed her counsels and her tracts; and acquainted herself with their moral condition. She found that these people were five miles from their parish church, and that they had no means of instruction within their reach. That the fathers, from having no employment for their time, acquired the habit of passing most of the Sabbath at the village pot-house; and that this wretched habit had opened the entrance to others, injurious to their character and the comfort of their families. The mothers, indeed, remained true to their domestic duties; but neither father nor mother nor child had the attention directed, from year to year, to any thing beyond life's transitory concerns. Yet many expressed a concern to observe the worship of the Sabbath, if the means were within their power; and were desirous that their children should receive a better education than had been granted to themselves.

This information affected Martha most deeply. Here were a people surrounded with the light of truth, and yet sitting in darkness; in the midst of a Christian land, and yet without a school, without a sanctuary, without any one to care for their soul; living like the brute in their pastures, alive only to sensitive enjoyment, and dying also like the brute, as ignorantly, though not as safe. The external signs of their happiness only rendered their spiritual wretchedness the more deplorable. Martha looked on the lovely spot as her Saviour looked on the outward magnificence of Jerusalem, and wept; and her sympathy settled down into a resolution often to visit this place, particularly to notice it in her prayers, and to use her best efforts to put its inhabitants nearer the means of religious improvement.

The days spent in these benevolent exercises were, in the review, some of the most pleasant and important of her life. It is little to say that she never met with insult or molestation of any kind; she seldom met with neglect; and, in most cases, she was received with undissembled gratitude and kindness. As she became known in some of her favorite circuits, she would be welcomed on her way by smiling faces and simple courtesies; groups of happy children would often be gathered round her resting-place, reposing on her knee, and hanging on her lips, attracted by her winsome manners and tempting rewards; and, though far from seeking such offerings, the thankful tear would sometimes fall in her presence, and the blessing that would not be refused an utterance, would sometimes descend on her head. The benevolence of her errand called into play the kindliest parts of human character; she communed with her kindred on the best of terms; she walked in the warm glow of human sympathy; and she frequently saw some fine illustrations of what is most lovely and generous in our nature.

Her intercourse with others, on these occasions, was necessarily varied by intervals of solitude; and these variations increased the sentiment of gratification. In society she sought to serve God; in solitude to worship him; in both to enjoy him. If, in her rural and retired paths, rest became needful, she sought it in some imbowered nook, where no eye could obtrude upon her, and where nature spread before her some picture of living beauty. The eye affected the heart, and both arose from nature and from man, to claim a relation to the skies. In these scenes Martha drank deeply of those perennial springs, which the hand of God has opened for us on the fair bosom of creation; and deeper still of those waters of life, which flow fast by the throne of God, and of which, if a man drink, he shall live for ever.

Indeed, Martha had never possessed so much Christian enjoyment as at this period, and particularly in these exercises. Her mind had recovered its tranquillity. Soothed by the quiet of nature, the strings of life, which affliction had shattered, were restored to order and melody. Surrounded by the works of God, they were readily dwelt upon as the dear symbols of a present Deity. And fresh from considerable labors of love and self-denial, they became, unconsciously, the witnesses of the principles from which they came. Doubt and darkness fled away, and the spirit rose nearer to its Maker in filial confidence, and breathed forth desires of love and hope unutterable!

CHAPTER XVII.

VICISSITUDES. 1818

The winter of one thousand eight hundred and eighteen Martha spent in town, and principally with me. She maintained, through this period, her average state of health, but was subject to a great deal of local uneasiness and acute pain. She now found in our family an infant relative; and the interest she took in him contributed, as much as any thing could, to make her forget her suffering. She was particularly fond of this child, and could never do enough for it; indeed, the difficulty was to prevent her using such exertions for its amusement as might have done her real injury. I have frequently seen, in her attempts to divert and please it, the expressions of deep anguish and winning kindness, pass in quick succession over her features—the affecting representatives of bodily distress, and of an affection which was far above its control.

Recently introduced into the relationship of parents, we were, at this time, beginning a course of reading on education, and we made it the subject of conversation and remark. In this study Martha took as earnest a share as we could possibly do. Education of the young was one of her favorite subjects. She had derived many just views on it from experience, and many from *desultory* reading; but she felt it had not received that attention which its merits and her attachment claimed for it. She was now delighted with the opportunity, and we entered on it with the more vigor, because we had a beloved companion, who would take so animated a part in it. Discussion often arose in our progress, and it was always welcomed, for it frequently elicited truth, and never ended in a serious difference of opinion. These exercises were among our pleasant recollections. There was a freshness of feeling about them; the study itself was a most inviting one to us all; and the dear babe, which was usually seated on our knee, or reposing in his bassinett, was a living and common motive to its pursuit.

It is natural to conclude that Martha, restored to her religious connections, resumed, as she was able, all her benevolent engagements; but, it is needful to remark, that they were resumed with *more vivid perceptions of their importance*. There was less anxiety of feeling, and more earnestness. Indeed, there was an *intentness* of mind to one great object that was truly impressive. In her intercourse with her scholars, her young companions, the sick and the aged, and the congregation generally, there was something in her manner which seemed to say, "I have but one thing to do, and I must do it with all my might." I could not feel so much at liberty as I had been, in restraining her from too free a use of a life so precious to us, though a look was sufficient for it. She commonly acquiesced either with a word, or with an affectionate salute; but there was a quiet expression of surprise and distress on her countenance, which was wonderfully affecting; it often called to my mind the Saviour's reply to his relatives, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?"

The shortest life on virtue's scale, is frequently the longest. Those who anticipate many years to come, live accordingly; and those who, by inward warnings, are made to feel that they are the "poor pensioners on an hour," are anxious to improve the present hour, and to "die daily." I do not know that Martha was, at this period, acting under any peculiar monitions of her mortality, by which many profess to have been influenced; but I do know that her habitual frailties had established an abiding sense of life's uncertainty, and that her thoughts had been so familiarized to eternity, as to make the longest life, and the most devoted exertion, nothing in the comparison—sentiments of infinitely more importance, as they cannot deceive us, and are of universal application.

It is not our actions, so much as the spirit of them, which influences others. Martha's present temper of mind did not fail to communicate itself, more or less, to those around her. It was a season in which her labors, though discharged in weakness, and sometimes in tears, were highly beneficial. Meanwhile, the good seed she had been previously sowing, was here and there springing up in answer to her manifold prayers. Many of her children, who had gone into the world, were supporting their situations with credit, and fondly acknowledging their obligations to her. Some of them had risen up to become teachers in the school, and took their places at her side, around the table of Christian fellowship. Some of her young companions, who, in the novelty and ardor of their first emotions, had showed a little unsteadiness, had sobered down into the consistency of the Christian walk; and all of them were concerned to seize opportunities, the more precious because occasional and precarious, of returning her esteem and kindness for all her love. It is impossible to say how these rewards of hopeful exertion rejoiced her heart; and it would be needless to show that they gave a stronger determination to her chosen course of beneficence.

As the summer advanced, Martha received renewed invitations from her Gloucestershire friends to give a portion of it to them. Her relations seconded their cordial solicitations; but as some domestic circumstances seemed to call for her attendance in town, she was disposed to postpone them. Her reluctance, however, was finally overcome; and that she might separate from her connections with as little of painful feeling as possible, I engaged, on my way from Herefordshire, which I was about to visit, to spend some days with her at Frampton.

This promise gave her great pleasure, but it was never to be fulfilled. While I was in Herefordshire, I received tidings of the death of our second child, an infant of a few weeks old; and, of course, my remaining engagements were set aside, and I sought to return by the most direct line to London. Martha's affectionate heart could not allow her brother in affliction to pass within twenty miles of her without an effort to see him. She knew that I must go through Gloucester, and that I must change carriages, and that probably the exchange could not be effected without some short detention. She therefore induced a friend to drive her over, that she might take the chance of a meeting. Amid the bustle and excitement of hasty travelling, I arrived at the expected inn, and was anxiously inquiring for my next conveyance. A friend's hand seized me. I followed its leading into an adjoining little parlor, and my sister was instantly in my arms.—My wants had been thought of, and refreshments were nicely prepared ready to my hand; we exchanged a few words, but spoke not of the event which was nearest our thoughts; she covered my hand with her kisses and her tears; and again I was a solitary stranger in the corner of a stage-coach. Few things that are traced on my imagination, have so much the air of a vision as this; it came and it went so suddenly!

Martha returned to her friends, and continued, at my earnest request, the proposed time. The visit was one of mutual enjoyment. Every the kindest attention was shown to her, from the esteem and love cherished towards her character. Her health derived advantage from taking considerable exercise on horseback. Her mornings were commonly spent in visiting some of her favorite points of view, and calling on some Christian friends; and her evenings, if not spent in the house of God, were as often given to a select few, who were delighted to meet with a kindred spirit, with whom they might take sweet counsel on the way they had already trodden, and on the delectable prospects of a "better country," which occasionally rose to their sight, on the utmost boundary of their mortal pilgrimage.

Our regrets are proportioned to our enjoyments. The time of separation arrived; and the pleasures Martha had found in visiting the cottages of the poor, rambling among the beauties of nature, and mixing with congenial society, caused her to meet it with considerable emotion. She took her farewell of the endeared objects of the place and its vicinity under the impression that probably she might see them no more, and her mind was softened into affectionate tenderness. Similar sentiments were awakened in the bosom of her friends; and the parting scene became mutually, and therefore, deeply, affecting. Few events have received so much notice from her pen as this; and what she has written, powerfully testifies to the overflowings of a heart, beneficially influenced by communion with nature, grateful for the least expression of human friendship, and springing from the touch of earthly sorrow, to pour out the incense of piety at the gate of heaven. I regret that, in justice to her memory, these pieces cannot be introduced, as, though so illustrative of her state of mind, they are but fragments, and are written in measure without the slightest correction.

When Martha reached her home, we congratulated her and ourselves on her appearance. But how often are appearances deceitful? While her general health had been decidedly improved, her insidious disease was establishing its possession; and in the close of the autumn it broke out with alarming force, and baffled resistance by the most complicated symptoms. The best advice was again procured; strong means were immediately applied; and once more she was ordered from town.

Once more, therefore, Martha prepared to leave her family, and to retire to Cheshunt. The step had often been taken before, but never with so much sadness of heart. On the day of her departure, we all assembled to dine; it was an anxious and unwelcome meal. We spoke comforts to each other; but they were comforts on which we ourselves were not feeding. Our silence and sympathy indicated a state of serious apprehension; and when we parted, it was in tears, extorted by the fear that the place which then knew us might know us no more. The fear was too truly founded—Martha was quitting London never to return.

I cannot now record an occurrence which to me, perhaps, was one of the most serious in my sister's life, without giving expression to the feeling it excites. It was this event that virtually broke all the ties, which held her to my religious connection and pastoral charge; and never pastor suffered the loss of a more admirable and devoted member. In this capacity she never gave me a moment's uneasiness, but contributed essentially to my joy and usefulness. She was considerate of her minister's peace of mind, in the least as well as the most important things, and was concerned habitually that, as the member of a religious body, the whole of her conduct might be exemplary. How far she assisted to promote the peace and prosperity of my charge, must be revealed by the light of a brighter day; enough, for the present, it is to know, that to me she was raised up by the hand of Providence, as a most opportune and valuable blessing. She was the companion of my way when otherwise it would have been solitary; and she contributed greatly in the outset of public life, to moderate the weight of those cares and duties, which pressed the more heavily on a breast as yet unaccustomed to the yoke. However, her work was now done! I was no more to be cheered by her presence, or relieved by her exertions; and I beheld her go forth as a sufferer, quiet and patient indeed, but still as a sufferer, and an exile from her dearest scenes of usefulness, and from the society of her friends and kindred.

If this separation was painful to all parties, it was most so to Martha. Her bodily spirits were reduced by exhausting medicines and constant pain; and her imagination would dwell upon it as a final removal from the habitation of those she loved. And when she was actually seated by the lone fireside of the kind widow, and her mind was at liberty for reflection, she had difficulty in sustaining its exercises with fortitude. She thought of her parents, whom she wished to comfort; of her brother, whose protection she needed; of her companions, whom she desired to enjoy; of her children, whom she was accustomed to edify; of the house of God and the people of God, familiar to her by a thousand prayers, and endeared by a thousand enjoyments; all distant from her, and if not far distant, yet so distant as to interrupt a communion which might never be restored;—her heart filled with sorrow, and her eyes frequently overflowed with involuntary tears.

Her situation at Cheshunt, too, which had so often administered to her comfort, increased her distress. Many a time she had come hither as an invalid, but never such an invalid as now. Her present state of health confined her to the dwelling; and her day of suffering knew few changes beyond a passage from the chair to the bed, and the bed to the chair. Her former and her existing indisposition were put in comparison, and she now felt herself to be sensibly worse. She was in the centre of a delightful field of labor, and yet could not lift a hand for its cultivation. Her eye glanced on many familiar walks where her feelings had often been soothed and her thoughts exalted, and which were still inviting her abroad; but she had no strength to obey their bidding. They gave to her situation the sense of imprisonment, and to her life the air of uselessness. These were some of the first calls Martha received from a state of active to a state of passive devotedness; and, in this hour of trial, it is not strange if they were not duly estimated, even while they were meekly obeyed.

The east wind is stayed in the day of the south wind. After a few days, Martha's sense of separation and sorrow was mitigated by the arrival of Miss Maria ———. This young friend had been associated from the first with her in her benevolent exertions; and now that Martha was obliged to quit them, she generously determined on becoming the companion of her solitude and confinement; a determination which she had ascertained to be most acceptable to her and to her relatives.

Martha received her friend as a gift from a superior Hand, mercifully bestowed in the time of need; and her presence had the most favorable influence on her spirits. She had now an individual by her side of her own sex, of similar age and sentiments, who watched over her by night and day, who conversed with her of the persons and scenes from which she was separated, and who, in the ardor of attachment, was cheerfully submitting to those separations and that confinement which Martha's tender spirit had so much lamented. Such an exercise of unassuming and disinterested kindness could not be lost on her; it touched every chord in her heart. She admired these proofs of character in her friend; she gratefully admired the Providence that had thus unexpectedly appeared for her; and she was disposed to charge herself with selfishness and unbelief in the regrets which she had indulged. The succeeding extracts from her diary, connected with the close of this year and the opening of another, will reveal something of those subsiding agitations which these trying changes had produced; and still more of that steady ascent of the spirit to its Maker which no earthly trouble could repress.

"*November* 27, 1818. This is the first time I have been absent from my family on this memorable day.* O that I may be with them and with the church in spirit, though not in body! What mercies have I received in connection with them!—Would that they constrained me to live only to the Author of them! This evening Maria and I spend together in prayer. May we be inclined to ask for all those blessings which are requisite for our beloved pastor, the church under his care, and our own souls."

"How profitable and how necessary is self-examination, and yet how often do I neglect this duty, or, at least, perform it in a very superficial manner. This morning I have been asking the question, 'What lack I yet?'—In the closet I have to lament much formality; the absence of the wrestling spirit, which ought to characterize every devotional exercise. In the sanctuary I am in danger of becoming lukewarm and indifferent, partly because bodily infirmity often prevents me rightly attending its sacred duties, and partly from * * * *. In the family, I lack benevolence of feeling; and I much fear, through the depravity of my nature, growing more selfish, instead of benevolent, by affliction. O that this may not be the case! but may self in every form be entirely and for ever forgotten. Be pleased, Lord, to make all thy providences and ordinances the means of exterminating selfish dispositions, and of strengthening and increasing exceedingly all the graces of thy Spirit; that so thy servant may no more live to herself but be *altogether devoted unto Thee. Amen.*"

"*January*, 1819. My motto for this year is, 'Fear not, neither be discouraged; for I, the Lord thy God, am with thee in all places whither thou goest.' May this encouraging portion of Scripture strengthen my faith, and enable me everywhere and always to trust and rejoice in the Lord! Remember me, O Lord, for good. Teach thy servant cheerfully to acquiesce in *all* thy will, and live *entirely* to thy glory.

"Here would I erect another Ebenezer; for though I was brought low, the Lord helped me. I have been quite confined for some weeks with a violent attack of illness, but am now able to walk a little. During the severe pain I suffered, my spirit was not permitted to sink; but according to my day so was my strength. O that I could be grateful for all the mercy manifested to me! But, alas! my mind is often clouded by dark and distressing views of the Divine conduct; yet I know they shall not remain for ever. When I am humbled, the light shall arise. To-morrow I hope to celebrate the Redeemer's dying love. May I do it under the peculiar influences of his Spirit. May he vouchsafe to take away the heart of stone, and give the heart of flesh. Afresh would I devote myself to the Most High. May the offering be accepted, and may he employ me in his service evermore!"

CHAPTER XVIII.

BENEVOLENT EXERTIONS. 1819.

WITH such serious purposes of self-devotement, it will hardly be expected that Martha, even in her present circumstances, should continue long without some efforts of usefulness. So far from it, that in the midst of her affliction she was devising means of accomplishing her best desires; and as her pains were alleviated, she arose to put them in execution.

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* The anniversary of her brother's birth and ordination, the evening of which is observed by special prayer in the congregation.

Her recovery, however, was of so very partial a kind, that it left her hopeless of entering again on those extensive plans in this neighborhood which had formerly blended so much personal gratification with the endeavor to do good. But these were the more readily given up at the call of Providence, as it would supply her with an occasion to practise self-denial; an exercise she thought herself backward to perform, but one which few have been enabled to perform so readily or so extensively.

Yet, accustomed as she had been to move in a larger circle, she calculated little on the result of her present confined and crippled exertions. Duty she had taught herself to consider was hers, events were God's; she determined cheerfully to do what she could, commending her feeble service to Him who can command success. And the issue furnished her with an important lesson; that God, in the very act of weakening our energies and limiting our labors, is designing to make them effectual.—The fact is, that such feebleness of effort is often overruled to give *better dispositions* to what we do; and, after all, it is the disposition at which God looks, and by which the human heart is influenced.

Martha's first attention was directed to the children she had been accustomed to instruct; and, as she could not now go to them, she invited those who were sufficiently near to come to her. This invitation was so well received, that she was quickly surrounded by a class as large as she could manage advantageously. She gave her instructions to these children once or twice in the week, and generally sought to do it in the absence of any witness.—She felt with Mr. Cecil, that to be at liberty in talking with children, we must talk with them alone. It is, perhaps, sufficient commendation of the method she adopted to say, that, although the attention of her little pupils was chiefly employed on religious subjects, they always came to her lessons with punctuality and eagerness.

Through the children she still had access to their parents; and that she might make the best use of this, she formed a little library of well-chosen books, illustrative of domestic temper and economy, as well as of divine truth; and by lending these books as rewards to her scholars, she kept them circulating in their families with the strongest inducements to regard their contents. Frequently the book so lent was, to express the sense of gratitude, returned not by the child, but by the mother, who would enlarge in simple language on the parts which had interested her thoughts. When this effect followed the arrangement, Martha deemed it quite successful; it gave her an opportunity of intercourse which she knew how to improve, and which the poor are generally willing to embrace, when they are treated respectfully, and they can discover a friendly concern for their happiness.

As her strength permitted, Martha went abroad into the hamlet; and sometimes, with the help of Maria's arm, beyond it; to try, as she used to say, "to do some good." Her difficulty in walking made a seat often necessary to her; and she was now so well known and so much beloved in the vicinity of her dwelling, that every cottage-door was open for her relief. Her affliction, therefore, which limited her exertions, gave her more free access to the neighborhood, and imparted more weight to her conversations. Those who were the witnesses of her sufferings could not avoid being impressed with her uniform cheerfulness, and her readiness to think little of her own ease in seeking their good and that of their children.

The force of these impressions would sometimes discover themselves in the most simple, and therefore affecting manner. If indisposition, or the weather, had confined Martha for an unusual time, it would assemble a little levee of kind inquirers. The latch of the door would be gently raised during intervals of the morning, and the head of the child, or the matron, or the grandam, would present itself with the inquiry, so as to show a real anxiety to hear of her welfare, and yet to shun any thing like intrusion. In the leisure part of the day she would have to receive some more regular visits from those who, by their age or other circumstance, thought they might claim this privilege. All these worthy villagers would evince, in various ways, their sympathy. One was quite sure, "that while Miss Reed cared so much about others, she did not care enough about herself;" another thought that she would sit much more comfortable in her easy chair than in any other she could possibly have; another imagined that some little nicety she could prepare would just please her palate; and a fourth was certain, that if she would take her favorite medicine, it would soon cure her. And these remarks were seldom allowed to fall to the ground; without shaping them into a promise, or waiting for a formal consent, they were usually followed by some little tribute of kindness beyond what their words had given reason to expect.

These sentiments of sincere esteem prevailed more generally than could be readily supposed. I recollect, somewhat earlier than the period on which I am dwelling, I could not exactly distinguish the house of my sister's residence without inquiry. I went into a small shop in the hamlet to gain information. An elderly woman, of a very notable and good-natured appearance, was within. I asked her if she knew where Miss Reed lived?

She hesitated; her name was not familiar to her.

"Miss Reed, at Mrs. D———'s?" I continued.

"At Mrs. D———'s! Oh yes, sir, yes, sir; it 's the *good young lady* you mean, I dare say, sir."

"Ah, I dare say it is," I replied; "for I know Miss Reed is a *good* young lady."

"Indeed she is, sir!" she said, satisfied now that we were speaking of the same person, "and we all call her so about here."

It was really matter of fact, that Martha's character had identified itself more completely in the minds of these people by some such appellative as this, than by her own proper name.

Nothing is more painful to the truly Christian mind than to find that we may win the affections of others towards ourselves, and yet fail in raising them to divine and uncreated excellence. No one could be further from undervaluing the esteem shown to her than Martha; but she had sought a higher object, and, if this was to be lost, all comparatively would be lost. And it was just here she had reason to fear disappointment. Towards herself, the conduct of these villagers was more than she desired; but towards religion, it was far from giving her satisfaction. There was a willingness to hear her remarks on it, but there was wanting the discovery of it in the spirit and practice as a living principle. They were not at a considerable distance either from church or chapel; and yet it was not easy to prevail on them to attend the worship of God on the Sabbath day; some excuse was always found or invented to satisfy themselves. Her compassionate spirit was stirred within her when she looked round on persons so full of regard to her, and whose hearts were so void of right feeling towards that Being who alone could protect, or help, or bless them.

Martha, however, persevered in her course, and only thought, as the difficulty arose, of opposing to it a stronger combination of means. She considered, that if she could not prevail on the inhabitants to go to the ordinances of religion, where they were regularly observed, it was necessary, if possible, to bring them to the spot, and not to suffer the people to perish for lack of knowledge. In acting under this conviction, she represented her views so effectually to a minister then staying at Cheshunt, that he at once consented to give his Wednesday evenings to the benefit of this hamlet. Accordingly their sitting room, with the good-will of the worthy widow, and to the great joy of the young inmates, was determined on as the place of meeting and worship.

It was now that Martha realized more the fruit of her retired endeavors. If she failed generally in urging her neighbors to go some distance for the act of worship, she succeeded beyond expectation in assembling them as was proposed. The awkwardness of first going into a large public assembly, with several other trivial considerations, which greatly influence our nature on very important occasions, were overcome; "they were only going into *widow D——'s*, and those around them were doing the same thing."

When, therefore, the minister arrived at the time of service, the room was well prepared for his reception, and completely filled with attentive hearers, some of whom were so strange to public worship that they knew nothing of its external forms and expressions. The good seed, however, in many cases, was cast in a prepared soil, and it grew up and yielded the peaceable fruits of righteousness. Many were made the better for it in relative life; some were constrained differently to respect the Sabbath, and to travel to the means of grace; and some gave such evidence of a spiritual change as to be readily received to the communion of saints, at the holy supper of their Lord.

In the fluctuation of her sufferings, there would be periods in which Martha was compelled to resign herself to pain; but then it was she was most concerned to excite others to do what was beyond her power. Unmindful of her own convenience, and even of her necessities, she would urge those who dwelt with her to go forth on some message of mercy. Their desire was to please her; and as they found her mind was much more satisfied by absence on such errands than by any attentions their presence could impart, they commonly met her wishes without remonstrance. Frequently the aged widow was to be seen issuing from her home, happy to fulfil some little suggestion of Martha's for the consolation of others; and more frequently did her attached friend, Maria, follow out her footsteps in her more active days, seeking to confer similar blessings, and to bring home to the invalid some encouraging report.

Our happiness springs from our duty, even when duty wears the aspect of self-denial. These three friends made considerable sacrifices in this course of humble exertion; but they were repaid by unsought rewards. Their work of love gave them something to devise, to arrange, and to converse about. Their separations and meetings gave a zest to their society and intercourse. They had an object before them which endeared them to each other, and kept the best sympathies of the heart alive to the wants of humanity. Above all, there were the substantial proofs of usefulness more or less arising. The good, but retiring widow, entered more into the spirit of active benevolence, and did more than would otherwise have been done; and Maria, catching the views of her friend as she proceeded, sought to accomplish the more from her lamented incapacity. Besides the benefit of her general efforts, a school was formed at a distant hamlet, which Maria undertook to attend once in the week; and Martha, on making known its dark and destitute situation, induced the minister before mentioned to afford it a share in his time and attentions. Thus was Martha, by the kind agency of others, effecting as much through her days of pain and confinement, as could probably have been realized by uninterrupted activity.

From the mere description of these acts of charity, it will be seen that they were not of an expensive character; yet, in continuing them week after week, little expenses were apt to accumulate. Some of these she was enabled to meet by the kindness of friends, who, knowing her disposition, made her an almoner; and to the remainder she devoted every thing she could possibly spare. Every garment in her drawers, and every sixpence of her allowance, which was not indispensable to her, she readily disposed of to others. I find in a quarter's account of her expenditure about this time, the largest item of the whole is that for "Religious Tracts." She never suffered herself to owe any one any thing but love, but when her dues were settled, she thought of little more. She has frequently made herself penniless to assist others; and there is some great reason to fear, from what I have since learned, that she was too neglectful of the claims of a body rendered so delicate by indisposition. On this subject her friends would seriously remonstrate; she would admit the justice and kindness of what was said, but her inclination would rest on the other side of the argument. "Remember," she would say, "how much good a trifle may do. The gift of some little nicety to a sick person may open the heart to regard what shall be of eternal value to him; and the outlay of a sixpence in tracts may be benefiting others when we are no more." Undoubtedly, compared with what many give, Martha gave nothing; but compared with what they *sacrifice* in giving, and what is *left* after giving, she gave as much as any, and more than most: and this is the scriptural test of charity. The widow's two mites, amid all the silver and gold cast into the treasury that day, was the largest as well as the noblest donation.

If it is to be admitted that Martha did not sufficiently regard her bodily welfare, the concession must end here, for of the superior part of her nature she was never unmindful; and her present situation was considered as a call to increased mental improvement. During this winter, therefore, she pursued a profitable course of reading, and renewed her studies on the subjects which had previously been on hand. Particularly she completed her reading and reflections on education with growing satisfaction. Maria generally joined her in these engagements, and the pleasure was greatly heightened by the presence of one who was interested in her studies, and whom she could assist to tread the paths she had already trodden.

But with much time to be occupied in one posture, it was desirable to diversify employment; and with the most acute pains to be endured, it was necessary to add to change the attraction of novelty. Indeed, all that could be devised was frequently insufficient to divert the mind from the sense of uncontrollable suffering. Whatever was likely to avail in helping her yet more to forget her afflictions and to occupy her attention and time, she was anxious to adopt. With this purpose she determined, when fatigued with those pursuits which were more arduous and familiar, to turn from them to the French language; and when she should be weary of this, she provided herself with the means for practising drawing. In both these new exercises she made quick progress, and for the latter she formed a strong attachment. Her love of nature gave her an interest in painting; she could use the pencil when she could do nothing else; and she was accustomed to speak of this recreation with gratitude, as contributing to fill up many hours of life appointed to suffering, and which, had she dwelt on it more, she might have been less able with patience to endure.

Her attention, at this period, was given to her *temper* as well as her mind. Her disease affected her nervous system in a high degree; the state of excitation to which she was sometimes brought, was most difficult for her to control: and she has several times expressed a fear that it might, by continued action, render her temper irritable, peevish, and troublesome. She had often marked the influence of bodily infirmity on the social dispositions in other persons, and as often she had deplored it, and prayed against it; but now she thought herself in danger of the very thing she feared. However, her fear was her security; it kept her eyes open on the encroachments of this evil; and resolutely to watch against it was to conquer it.

Martha, indeed, was so inured to resist the selfish principle, that she was the more prepared to contend with it under this one appearance; and so complete was her victory, that no one ignorant of her mind would have thought it had cost her a struggle. She was not only free from peevishness and ill-humor, she was still gentle, kind, and cheerful. She did not undervalue attentions that had become familiar to her, nor use them needlessly where they were kindly offered. She did not withhold acknowledgment because it might be taken for granted; and much less did she manifest impatience and displeasure at services which were meant to please her. She had still a kind word, and as kind a smile for any expression of sympathy, while the whole bodily frame was under the most distressing irritation. The magnitude of this conquest may be estimated when it is considered, that many who have subdued a vicious principle have failed in contending with a petulant disposition.

CHAPTER XIX.

DOMESTIC TRIALS. 1819—20.

While Martha was bearing cheerfully her own sufferings, she was assailed, by relative affliction, in a more vulnerable part. Her parents, who, by the act of retiring from worldly business, appeared to be placed beyond the reach of hazard, were early called to endure a considerable loss. The individual who, with the best reputed character, had entered on their house and trade, soon became a bankrupt, and all they received for the valuable property trusted to his use was an insignificant dividend.

It too often happens, that the first loss leads to a second; in attempting to recover what is past redemption, we lose what is yet possessed. Our parents, anxious to enlarge a narrowed income, and to provide an opening into life for their younger son, ventured a considerable portion of their remaining property in the house of a sugar refiner. This was done with fair prospects of realizing the proposed objects; but, just at this period, such a stagnation came over this line of otherwise profitable trade, as to perplex and shake the most weighty establishments. In the issue, all the parties concerned lost whatever they had advanced.

No event in our domestic history affected Martha equally with this. She had thought that whatever trials might await their offspring in the course they had to run, her beloved parents would terminate their days at ease and in peace. But now, when she saw their property torn from them so suddenly which they had been years in obtaining, which seemed so necessary to their comfort, and which they could not possibly replace by any renewed exertions, her spirits were overwhelmed. Her imagination exaggerated the distress; and while she did not exactly know the extent of loss, she feared that every thing might be lost, and that her aged and revered parents might be called to suffer most, when the very "grasshopper was becoming a burden." It was then that her affliction was first regarded with temporary impatience; it withheld her hands from administering to their wants, and her feet from fleeing to their presence in their adversity.

However, she communicated with her parents on the subject in the most tender and affectionate manner. She reminded them of those consolations which are apt to be farthest from the thoughts when they are most needed; and meekly suggested those considerations which she had found most useful in lifting the mind above the endless vicissitudes of life. She re-assured them that she was entirely satisfied with what they had done for the welfare of the family; and that they must not take blame to themselves because their plans had been crossed by events which human prudence could not foresee, nor human power control. She made it a distinct and earnest request, that they would not tolerate a moment's uneasiness concerning herself, as she hoped she should soon be better; and that, under no circumstances, could she allow herself to be burdensome to them, whose burdens she wished, above all earthly things, to lighten. Enough it would be to her, more than enough, should she find that, from the wreck of their possessions, they still retained any thing approaching to a sufficiency for themselves. From their children, she urged, they must now release their thoughts; they had already done their duty towards them.

Martha uttered all this, and much more, in the ardor of her sympathy; and her thoughts were earnestly engaged in considering how she might most readily make herself independent of the very limited resources of her parents. The instruction of children had always been peculiarly her delight; and she conceived her object might be best accomplished by teaching a small and select number of young pupils. Reflection increased her approbation of the plan. She knew the engagement would be pleasant to her; she concluded that her connections would supply the requisite number; and she considered it providential that her attention had been so fully employed on education in its more ornamental and essential parts. There was only one thing which stood in the way of her immediately carrying this scheme into execution—it was the state of her health. She met this difficulty by hoping it would be removed; but this hope had inwardly many fears to contend with. She could not avoid reflecting that she had been unwell for a long period; and that, although now recovering from a heavy paroxysm of pain, disease had rather seemed to establish itself on her constitution than otherwise; and these reflections gave to her plans a visionary and impracticable character. Then, again was the cup of affliction most bitter to her spirit. It was hard, extremely hard, to see the hand of Providence cutting off the natural sources of supply, and, at the same time, withholding those bodily energies which were necessary, by honorable exertion, to provide for herself—and yet to be resigned!

Hard as it was, Martha was enabled to exemplify it. But perhaps her own words will best discover the agitation, submission, and gratitude of her heart.

"*June* 2—(her birth-day.) Truly, it is a pleasant thing to give thanks unto the Lord! In looking back on the past year, my temporal, intellectual, and spiritual blessings should excite me to joy and praise. Amid all that has threatened my life and my comfort, I am still preserved, and have food to eat, and raiment to put on. Yea, my cup runneth over. Notwithstanding the great hindrances arising from severe pains and oppressive lassitude, I have been favored with considerable opportunities for mental improvement. But, above all, I would give thanks that I am still preserved in the narrow path —still hungering and thirsting after righteousness—still longing to have the selfishness of my nature extirpated, and to live only to God. May I glorify the Giver of these blessings! When do our benefits appear so valuable as when most conscious of our weakness and unworthiness?

"Let the goodness of God in the past excite *confidence* under present circumstances. What though property should be lost; let me remember that I and mine are in the hands of Infinite Love. What though trials may threaten; let me remember that the hearts and affairs of all are under the control of Jehovah. He knows no difficulty in dispersing the thickest clouds, and causing his sun to shine with more than its usual brightness. O may I trust in Him *with all my heart*, and not be afraid!

"Let this Goodness promote in me *true penitence*. Let me seriously ask, What have I done? What have I neglected? Whom have I forgotten?—May the eternal Spirit work in me a genuine and deep repentance!

"Great God! Hear me, I beseech thee, while I pray, that henceforth I may live as in thy sight, and that a sense of thy presence may keep me from every thing that would offend thee, and cause me to abound in every good word and work. Especially grant that thy glory may be my constant, my only aim; and that I may promote it by pure benevolence, lively spirituality, deep humility, and strong faith. O Lord, I am nothing, and worthy of nothing; but thou art able and willing to do more for me than I can ask or think. Behold thy servant waits for the fulfilment of her prayers, through the merits of thy dear Son, believing it shall be well with her!"

"*June* 7.—I have received more positive information of the losses my dear parents have sustained; and I fear they may still be found to be greater; but sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. The future seems most gloomy; sorrow attends me which way soever I turn. I would commit my family to the divine care, but it is very difficult. O that I may now honor God by the most steadfast and cheerful reliance on his Providence!

"Sorrow is still with me. I fear Maria and I shall be separated. She has been as Jonah's gourd to me; her incessant kindness has in no small degree mitigated my privations and sufferings. May the Father of the fatherless protect and reward her! This separation is the more painful, because not expected, and it is attended by circumstances very trying to my feelings.—Peace! It is the Lord! He *cannot* err—He *can* make darkness light!"

Previously to the occurrence of these domestic trials, I had been desirous, as Martha was likely to remain at Cheshunt, to provide her with a few more comforts than her present situation could afford; and I now thought that a favorable opportunity was furnished for effecting the change. Influenced by the occasion, and other domestic reasons, I procured a small cottage in her neighborhood; and having made what arrangements were necessary, I solicited my sister to enter upon it, and to gratify me by undertaking its management.

To her, every request of her brother's was acceptable; and this was especially so. It gave her concern to quit the humble roof of her widowed friend; but this was alleviated by the distance between them still being very trifling. Every thing else was as she could desire. She saw that the proposed plan would continue at her side her affectionate companion, Maria; that it would give opportunities of receiving her parents, who were already preparing to spend some time with her; and that it would necessarily bring her into closer communion with her brother's family. Indeed, the change was stored with more good than we could at first perceive. From this time it was my privilege to consider my sister a constituent member of our family; and I must ever be thankful, in the review, that it enabled us to contribute so easily to her comfort, and to receive from her, in return, so much benefit to ourselves and our children.

In the month of August, the whole family, with the exception of the youngest member, met in this peaceful cottage, and spent some interesting weeks together. Much time and many clouds had passed over us since we had so met; and the retirement of the spot, and the quiet flow of relative intercourse, had a sensible charm to us all, retreating as we were for a while from the pressure of public duty, or the severe strife of life's calamities.

Martha, however, more than any one, was qualified to enjoy this meeting. In her suffering and isolated situation, she had been often ready to despair of a reunion to her family; and now that she was in the midst of them, her disease seemed to subside, in a measure, under the joy of her spirits. She remembered that we assembled beneath trial and loss; but she now knew its extent, and she resolved that she would be the sufferer; that what was lost should be lost to her, and her parents should yet be happy. With this view before her, she could not so deeply lament it; it would be a selfish lamentation; and to console her parents, she appeared to them and to us filled with contentment and cheerfulness. She was indeed our comforter; but yet, to the eye of parental love and sorrow, there was something in all this happy resignation that would affect it to tears. They looked on her as a sufferer and a daughter—their only daughter; they knew that no one could be so affected by their losses as herself; they had valued what the kindness of Providence had given chiefly on her account; and now, with all her cheerfulness and soothings, she would often appear, in their troubled sight, nothing better than the pet lamb of the family, destined to be the meek, unconscious victim of the fiery trial which was to try them!

Notwithstanding this variation in Martha's circumstances, and the degree in which it was likely to subserve her happiness, her thoughts still reverted to the scheme of education which had occurred to her on the first shock of the family reverses. She fondly looked to it as the means of independence and usefulness. She was not too proud, but too conscientious to rely on the resources of her dearest friends, while she had the prospect of assisting herself; she knew that, by engaging in some such pursuit, she should best induce her parents to feel satisfied on her account; and I believe I may add, that it was contemplated with more pleasure, as it would exercise some virtues of the character which she had been accustomed to place high in the scale of Christian excellence.

In proportion, therefore, as she could anticipate the accomplishment of her design, she was satisfied; and her satisfaction had recently arisen considerably, from the apparent amendment in her health. As the object approached nearer to expectation, it appeared the fairer to her hopes. Every thing, she thought, favored it. The cottage was well suited to the purpose; and Maria was tendering her services in any way that should best con tribute to it. She had nothing to do but to name it to her brother, and this she determined to delay no longer.

I well remember the intercourse which sprang from this determination. It revealed a character familiar to me in new and trying circumstances; and it discovered such delicacy towards me, such tenderness towards her parents, such just respect towards herself, and such a fixed energy of purpose to do whatever was right or worthy, as filled me with admiration. But then it was painful to think that her bodily powers gave little hope that these exercises of the mind could be brought out in action; and still more painful to perceive, that on this point Martha had deceived herself. I saw, with thankfulness, that lately her health had really improved; yet I saw nothing which led me to suppose she would soon be in a state to embark in the proposed responsible undertaking.

My opinion was sought, and I could not refrain from expressing my fears, yet I could not express them strongly. Martha was not prepared to give them a free entertainment at this moment. The fever of the mind, like that of the body, produces a false strength and spirits; and, under this excitement, she thought herself better than she was. I considered that, though no other pleasure should be realized, she might enjoy, for a considerable time, that of anticipation; and, without pressing cold and unwelcome reasons on her attention, I wished her to act so as most to gratify her inclinations.

Of course she embraced the object, and gave herself to the preparations which should be necessary to its realization. Her attention was fully engaged, and her heart was at rest. She thought not of what she had lost, but of what she might be enabled to effect. With the means of self-provision, she connected the probability of training a number of her own sex rightly to discharge their duties in this life, and to estimate whatever belonged to the world to come. At length, all the preliminary steps were taken; and she now looked to the issue with a hope the more serious and powerful, from the trouble, the expense, and the time which had been given to it.

But life is proverbial for the wreck of human hope. Notwithstanding the excitements still acting on Martha's spirits, her health declined as the winter advanced. She was for some time unable to admit this—it involved the ruin of all her earthly expectations. The admission, the reluctant admission, however, at last forced itself upon her; and now that the illusions of hope were broken, her spirits fell from the elevation they had kept, and her health appeared to her really as it was, and worse than it ever had been.

This winter was eminently a painful one to Martha. Her favorite schemes, on which she had dwelt for some months, and from which she could not at once avert her thoughts, now occurred to her mind only to distress her; for some time afterward she could not speak of the subject, or look on a child, without tears.

How far anxiety and disappointment excited a sinister influence on the body, cannot be decided; but the animal system now discovered fresh symptoms of derangement. The former attacks returned with greater violence; and, in addition to them, some affections appeared of a paralytic character; so that alternately she was the subject of excruciating pain, and of a torpid insensibility creeping over the body, from which the spirit recoils more than from agony itself. The history of most of her days and nights at this period would embrace only the following transitions—acute pain would ascend into delirium; delirium would sink into apathy; and apathy again would be awakened by pain. Life is short, but it is awful to think what a world of suffering may be crowded into it!

I cannot forbear inserting the following lines, as they allow the sufferer to speak for herself:—

The sun is set upon another day
Of weariness and pain. How oft that sun
Has seen me sporting in its joyous beams,
Lavish of youth, and counting on long days
Of undisturbed delight! But ah, how changed!
These faculties, that once with eager joy
Perused the page of science, now lie wrapt
In melancholy sleep. This heart no more,
With rapture kindling, feeds with living joy
And growing hope on all things beautiful.
Chained to one narrow spot, this feeble frame
Lies like a statue, scarcely breathing life,
Save when aroused by pain to sense of wo.
My summer's day, my gleam of light is past—
The short remains how winterly and drear!
All now is darkness, darkness to be felt.
Ah, whither shall I turn in this sad hour?
To whom shall I betake me? O my God,
Thou art my hope! and though thine hand should slay,
Yet will I trust thee! Well thy servant knows
Thy word divine is faithfulness and truth.
Thou wilt not leave me in the vale of death,
But gently lead me, by thy gracious hand,
To that bless'd world where suffering is no more!

Early in the opening of the year twenty, as the spring advanced and the weather meliorated, Martha found some partial relief: and her spirit sympathized in the hopeful character of the season. It is difficult to make any one who did not observe her, understand how readily she recovered herself on the least qualification of her afflictions—how quickly health and cheerfulness re-appeared in her countenance, and animated gratitude dwelt on her lips. She was accustomed to say, "that a state of *ordinary* pain was a blessing;" and though this ordinary pain would have been *extraordinary* to most other persons, it was always enjoyed with positive satisfaction.

For some time it had been conjectured that the different and perplexing appearances of disease on her frame were symptomatic of a spinal injury; and the use of an horizontal posture had been suggested. The recommendation, however, had not been adopted; it was very unwelcome to Martha and to her friends. The thought of being confined to one position, in one room; of being excluded from the society and agreeable changes which arose to her from being able to visit the sitting-room, and stroll round the garden, could not at once be entertained or even tolerated. But experience, in the end, proved that the measure was expedient, if not acceptable. It became evident to her, that her distress of body was equal to its motion; and when through the day she made no exertion, and was reclining on the sofa, her nights were comparatively free from pain. At length, the power of locomotion was so restricted, that the ascent and descent of the stairs formed an obstacle almost insurmountable; and listening to the more serious requests of her medical advisers, she determined on confining herself to the mattress.

The last day previous to the proposed and indefinite confinement, was an affecting one to us all. In the close of that day, I supported Martha to take her final walk in the garden. It was a fine evening in the month of May; and the garden, of which she was peculiarly fond, was dressed in its best array. The one half of it was thrown into cool and comfortable shade by the clustering trees; while the remainder was resting under the mild radiance of the setting sun. The flowers and shrubs were luxuriant in life and beauty; and the voices of manifold birds, happy beyond utterance, were pouring out the living strains of joy, love, and harmony. Our children, as happy as they, were playing on the daisied lawn; and the elder one frequently running across the path of his aunt, aware of her infirmity, challenged her with an amusing mixture of fear and confidence to catch him.

But Martha's mind was too highly wrought to be playful; it was dwelling with uncommon interest on all the sounds and sights by which she was surrounded. She too was happy; but it was a troubled happiness; it was the happiness we feel in the presence of a friend from whom we are about to be separated. I understood her state of feeling; and winding away from the little prattlers, we pursued our path in silence, which was only broken by simple remarks on the objects before us. She carefully visited all her favorite plants; she spoke of many of them with more admiration than ever before; and we jointly paid them any little attention which they happened to require.

Pained and wearied by her exertion, I led her to her chosen seat for repose. It was embowered in the fresh and thick spreading foliage of the nearer trees; and the last rays of the sun were glowing on the trunks of the more distant ones. The whole scene was becoming more calm and peaceful; and twilight was touching all things with its own soft and pensive hues. Martha fed upon it in quiet ecstasy. "How beautiful it is!—How beautiful it is!" she repeated; while the play of the muscles round her lips showed with what mixed and strong emotion her heart was filled.

Quite unwilling to shorten her pleasures, I yet feared the effect of excitement, and proposed retiring to the cottage. "One more walk, brother," was her reply: "Nature is so beautiful *to-night*." We took another walk—and another. At length her measure of strength was exhausted, and we turned towards our quiet habitation. Her eye caught the latticed window of the room to which she was about to ascend, and from which she might never come down! The big tears started from her eyelids, and were suppressed again. We approached the entrance; her spirit recoiled from it, like the bird from its cage. "*One last look*, brother!" said she, as she turned round on the spot which had so often contributed to her innocent gratification. She looked again and again; and then, mastering her feelings, she turned resolutely away, and passed into her dwelling. It was indeed the *last look* she was taking, and she was entering her habitation to come out no more.

CHAPTER XX.

INSTRUCTION. 1820.

How commonly are events the very reverse of what we expect them to be! Those occurrences which we are looking for with restless expectation, are charged with disappointment and vexation; and those which we wait for with shuddering fear, bring with them "blessings in disguise." Martha could not enter on the measure which she was now adopting without anxiety and alarm. It was certainly wise and remedial; but the very idea of confinement, for at least many months, could not be received without pain. Yet, no sooner was the experiment made, than half the terrors which surrounded it were dissipated; and very considerable advantages were as quickly enjoyed. The irritation which had attended exertion passed off; her sleep, her appetite, and her tone of spirits were restored; and suffering only "ordinary pain," she was ready to think she suffered nothing.

Her mind also returned to that equanimity which had been disturbed by the fluctuations of hope and fear, relative to her proposed plans of employment. While there was a reasonable prospect of effecting them, she resolved they should be effected; and now that prospect was completely veiled, she resigned them with meekness. In either alternative, her strength of character was brought to severe trial; and it was nobly sustained. In her love of independence, there was nothing of pride or caprice: in her reliance on her friends, there was nothing of careless obtrusion, or of sullen regret; her reliance was exercised only as it was necessary; and then it was exercised with a truly delicate, cheerful, and obliging confidence. Her mind was not under the influence of worldly opinion in this conduct; it was regulated by Christian and conscientious motive; and those who are ruled by any thing less, will undoubtedly fail in this *double test* of character.

Of course it became my duty and pleasure to throw round Martha's confinement what comforts I could command. We had previously sent the children down to her; and now, to render her situation less solitary and inconvenient, we determined to make it a partial residence; with the understanding that I would see as much of her as my public duties permitted. This arrangement operated most beneficially on the mind of the beloved invalid. She now felt the cottage to be entirely a home to her; and for her amusement, she took a share in the domestic management of the little family. This brought her necessarily into communication with the servants; and, as the children and Maria were mostly with her, she was effectually relieved from every sentiment of desertion or banishment.

If ever this sentiment possessed her, it was under other circumstances. It would be on the holy Sabbath, which called away the members of her household to the higher services of the sanctuary. It was then she would feel that she was shut up from the house of God and the people of God, whom she loved; and frequently, when the children, with Maria, came in dressed to take their parting kiss, the silent tear would fall and mix with the embraces. Yet she did not waste sacred time in useless regrets. She regulated the movements of those about her on this revered day with the watch in her hand, and was particularly careful that no one should leave too late for the very commencement of public worship.

For herself, she generally sought to occupy the time similarly to what she supposed those were doing who were more privileged; and she often found pleasure and assistance in reflecting, that her engagements were those of the manifold congregations of the saints. While she was thus holding a spiritual communion with the church of the living God, it was unattended with any reproaches of conscience; she had never trifled with the means, while they were in her power. It had, indeed, been often painful to see what she endured in giving her attendance; but it was continued to the very last. Although the chapel to which she had to go was not a hundred paces from her present abode, the last time it received her she was above *twenty minutes* in reaching it; and was throughout the service distressed with pain from the exertion.

Martha was now thrown very much into new circumstances, compared with those in which we last traced her efforts of usefulness, and she was anxious to turn them to account. But it will probably be inquired, "What could she do?" Those who have followed her history thus far will be prepared to admit, that the devoted inclination to do good may remain, while they will be disposed to question the present ability and opportunity.

But it may generally be said, that those who will do good shall do good; so much are the will and the act, in this case, identified, that we have insensibly learned to designate both by one name, which literally is of more limited acceptation—*benevolence*. Certainly no situation could promise much less of continued and successful effort than Martha's at this period; she was always a sufferer, frequently a very considerable one; she was confined, not only to her chamber, but to her bed; and, by her change of dwelling, she was cut off from some little facilities for usefulness which her intimate acquaintance with the former hamlet of the village supplied. Thus circumstanced, if it shall be found that she was able to give efficiency to her predominant desires, the conclusion may fairly be, that none, even in privation, sickness, and seclusion, are deprived of the occasion, or exempt from the responsibility, of doing what is emphatically "the work of our generation." Let us pursue the inquiry.

In relinquishing what was impracticable in her former benevolent pursuits, she did not indiscriminately abandon them all. Her affections and her habits were now so blended with the welfare and society of children, that a prevalent concern was to preserve one class still for her instruction. It was proper to confine it to those of her own sex; and, as many respectable neighbors, who could readily give a common education to their family, were anxiously requesting admission for their children, Martha had an opportunity of selecting her objects, where her designs were most likely to be available. To her and to her young pupils, the Sabbath afternoon was the most favorable period, as they did not require, and she did not desire to impart, any other than religious knowledge.

In all her intercourse with children, Martha never had a more promising band of scholars than this. She became most earnestly interested in their welfare, and it was discovered so effectually, that they soon formed towards her the strongest attachment. Indeed, there was throughout something peculiarly affecting in the communion which existed, in this instance, between the teacher and the taught. It was affecting to see them in succession approach the bedside of their friend, in clean and well-adjusted dresses; and presenting, with a gratified smile of good-nature, some little offering of love, either fruit or flowers, which they had solicited from their parents, for the luxury of having it kindly received. It was affecting to see these children, blooming in health and void of care, forming themselves into a quiet and listening circle around the couch of the sufferer; while she, deviating for the happy interval from the prescribed posture, and supported on pillows, was preparing to impart her instructions. Affecting it was to hear her accompany the reading of the Scriptures, with the simple explanation, the practical remark, the heart-breathing, affectionate entreaty, which finally found utterance in prayer; while the guileless countenances of her little auditors would be moved sometimes to smiles, sometimes to tears, always to serious attention. It was affecting to see that they were brought sensibly nearer to each other by this short but happy intercourse; and that they could seldom part with satisfaction without some kindly words, and the anticipated kiss, which, if ever it merited the name, was surely "the kiss of charity."

Meanwhile, Martha was influencing her willing friend, Maria, to supply her lack of service, by attending her school at the widow's in addition to her former engagements; while she kept some hold on the children and their families still, by talking with the elder ones occasionally, and continuing the circulation of her library among them. Thus, while really occupying new and valuable ground, she was preventing what had been already cultivated from sinking into weedy desolation.

Her next concern was to improve her situation, as the centre round which her little household was revolving. The servants were in her estimation an important charge; and, while they were ministering to her in carnal things, she was desirous of rewarding them by those which are spiritual. She laid down simple plans of reading and conversation, which were rendered as pleasing as they were likely to be profitable; and certainly she did not labor in vain.

But the children were the particular objects of her domestic attention. Living now, as they mostly did, in her presence, and contributing largely to her recreation, she had great delight in uniting with their mother to superintend their early education; a period of instruction which, if it requires but little of school accomplishment, cannot be rightly met without just views of human nature, and of the springs of human conduct. These views Martha had derived essentially from the Scriptures and observation; they were enlarged and confirmed by the careful perusal and comparison of all the best treatises on the subject; and she had acquired a peculiar aptitude in making them available by long-continued practice.

Yet it was not by any superior skill, or any magic of method, beyond the limits of common acquisition, that her efforts were rendered successful; it was by the power of sympathy. Education was never to her a formal task, and therefore it was not so to her little pupils. She put her heart into the employ, and made herself one with them. Sympathy pervaded all she said and did, and became a key to the understanding and the passions. By this mysterious power she could call in the wandering attention, and touch the dormant affections; she could subdue the propensities to perversity, and anticipate the temptation to disobedience; she could render her authority the more effectual, by making its yoke easy and its burden light. By sympathy she knew how to seize those favorable moments for instruction which come over us all; and was prepared to detect the first shoots of rising conceptions, and to assist the gratified child in giving them a conscious existence in mind and memory, when they would otherwise have prematurely perished. By sympathy, she knew how to select her subjects, how to clothe them with illustrations; and when the faculties of each child had been sufficiently extended and employed, without urging them to weariness and disgust. Sympathy enabled her to mark distinctly the opening variations of temper and of character, and to mould them by the gentle touch or firm pressure to her will, without which a misapplied firmness might have urged fear into hypocrisy, or a mistaken lenity ripened heedlessness into indolence. Her imagination, her judgment, and her practical knowledge were only the prepared instruments of education; they were directed, animated, and sustained by the living soul of sympathy.

Never was her sympathy so fully awake as when her instructions were of a religious nature; and, as nothing is thought so difficult at this early stage as rightly to interest children in divine subjects, it is important to remark, that Martha was eminently successful. Our children were never so attentive to her as when she spoke of heavenly things. They were nearest her heart; and they were felt to be so even by infancy. Whenever allusions were made to religion, it was always as to something higher and better, and far more important than the things which led to it; and when it was made the subject of a regular lesson, it was as a treat rather than a task. It was thus introduced with pleasant associations; nor did the issue lead to disappointment. Religion, made impressive by her own seriousness, and clothed in her own happy smiles, and glowing in the warmth of her own affections, was so attractive and wonderful as effectually to interest the curiosity and feeling of the children. It was impossible to be a partial spectator of her tenderness, earnestness, and love, in aiding the new-born perceptions to spring into the light and joy of an unseen and spiritual world, without an involuntary application of Goldsmith's similitude—

> "Just as a bird each fond endearment tries
> To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies;
> She tried each art, and checked each dull delay,
> Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

But it was not enough to this imprisoned invalid to be thus blessing her family, and occupying, by her own and her friends' exertions, a sphere of accustomed usefulness beyond the domestic circle; her vigilant and benevolent eye perceived that there were yet other advantages supplied to her from her present situation. She was now living in the vicinity of the college, at which a number of young men were preparing themselves for the Christian ministry. She had long been desirous that, while qualifying for larger scenes of labor, their attention might be directed to the claims of a neighborhood in which they were temporary residents. Hitherto delicacy had withheld her; but now that she was dwelling with her brother, and that she was the subject of such bodily infirmity as would prevent any misconception of her motive, she thought she might make the attempt consistently, and therefore resolved to make it.

Opportunities soon arose in the calls of some of the senior students on the family, and they were readily embraced. She was gratified to find that they were likeminded with herself; and that, if they had not heeded the events of the surrounding villages, it was because, in the strangeness of a new situation, and the pressure of new duties, united with the transitory term of their continuance, they had not properly occurred to their thoughts. They had now a kind and modest monitor; and they, in a Christian temper and with a most obliging kindness, were ready to become the executors of her suggestions. They quickly learned to appreciate her character; and still reckon among their happiest hours at this period, those passed in her society conversing of the good things of the kingdom, and planning for its prosperity. They took fire from her altar, and bore it away to strengthen the flame where it did exist, and to kindle it where sin and death were reigning in unmolested darkness.

One of Martha's earliest and most urgent representations was in favor of Newgate-street. It had never been out of her mind or her prayers since her first visit, and she had entertained considerable confidence about it; but hitherto little had arisen to give her encouragement. It had remained as it is described, with the exception of a few visits from Maria. But it was too distant for the female foot to reach it with frequency, and the impression made by an occasional visit is weak and desultory.

This was the time, Martha conceived, to make a better attempt; and she succeeded in interesting her new coadjutors in the work. One of them visited the spot and explored the neighborhood; and was at once impressed with the duty of endeavoring to benefit its inhabitants. He sought the opinion of the people, and found them well disposed to his intentions. He inquired for suitable accommodation for the purposes of worship and the management of a school; and he obtained it at the cottage which first received my sister when she visited the hamlet. The principal persons around were consulted; a license was procured; preaching was regularly commenced on the Sabbath evening; and a Sunday school was readily established, which was taught in the afternoon of the day. The attendance was eager and overflowing; and quickly some good fruits arose from it.

The report of these proceedings, and of the success which crowned them, gave Martha such joy as angels know. The place was associated with some of her happiest recollections; it was connected with some of her most earnest prayers; her hope concerning it had been long deferred; and now that all, and more than all she had imagined was accomplished, and accomplished when she could have least expected it, she could not think of it without shedding the joyous tears of benevolence and gratitude.*

The wine of joy on Martha's mind shed not an intoxicating, but an invigorating influence. Her labor had not been in vain in the Lord, and therefore she resolved to *abound* in it. She had long thought that a much more extensive effort might be made for the religious instruction of the rising generation than had yet been tried; and with the influence she now possessed among the students who kindly listened to her proposals, and the assistance she could raise elsewhere, she concluded she might safely press them to an experiment.

The experiment was made. A Sabbath school, distinct from Martha's own select class, was originated in her own habitation, which soon swelled to such magnitude that it was necessary to move it to the college chapel; where it continues to flourish under the patronage of the presiding tutor and his family. Already the field of instruction and benevolence here presented to the laborer had been entered by Mr. Raikes in a spirit worthy of the name and the family; and now the combined exertions of the church and chapel promised to occupy it in the length and breadth thereof.

One step leads to another. This endeavor to raise a school where many works of charity were already in action, made a more regular visit to the dwellings of the poor necessary. The object was not to recruit for a new and opposing interest, but to urge the duty of worshipping God *somewhere;* and of giving the children, by *some means*, the advantages of religious instruction. Inquiries were made as to the supply of Bibles in the respective families; and, of course, in these researches, an abundance of distress was discovered. Children were willing to be taught who had not garments in which they could decently appear; parents were willing to labor who vainly asked for occupation. The times were just then pressing on the agricultural poor; and want and sorrow became residents in those cottages which ever before had been enlivened by industry and contentment.

Martha considered this outward distress as a call in Providence to exertion. She thought that the deplored scarcity of bodily supplies might possibly be overruled to create an hungering and thirsting for the bread which giveth eternal life. Yet she could not overlook temporal and present want, while urging the desires to pursue a spiritual and durable portion; and the difficulty was, how to meet those claims of the body without expenses which she could not sustain. However, she roused herself and her assistants to the occasion. Help was sought from the hands of affluence; and she applied to her friends in and out of the family for cast-off garments, tracts, Bibles, and useful books. The appeal was well made, and as well received. Subscriptions came in to support the school, and sufficient to give outward apparel to the more destitute children; and parcels arrived, enclosing money and clothes to be made up for the suffering poor, so as to exceed even eager expectation.

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* Last June I had a mournful pleasure in visiting this place, and addressing the humble villagers. The room in which we met was confined, but it was full; and the preacher was so placed as that he could be as well heard and seen without as within. Those within were serious and attentive; and the mothers with their little ones, unused to worship, took their stand among the flowers in the garden without. It was an interesting specimen of village preaching. Some efforts are making to provide a neat little place of worship.

Martha's peaceful cottage now wore a busy though still a peaceful aspect. What with the presence of children; what with the cutting out and making up of garments; what with the attendance of distressed persons; and what with the frequent little cabinet consultations with her companions in works of mercy; it assumed to the imagination the different appearances of a seminary, a manufactory, an asylum, and a levee room. But whatever were its varying appearances, it was always sacred to charity while her spirit presided in it; and now it is sacred in memory by these and yet tenderer recollections, to those who were certainly not careless spectators of her doings, but who could afford her only poor and occasional assistance, as they were employed in another and a distant sphere.

It is little to say that Martha was happy in these beneficent pursuits; but there was one incident arose from the mass, which, as it gave her much gratification, may find its place in closing this chapter. Among the spreading distress which revealed itself, was that of the family belonging to the individual who was alluded to as giving my sister so much annoyance and pain on her first visit to Cheshunt. He had run the course which his ominous beginning promised; had failed in his trade; was imprisoned for debt; and, in consequence, his wife and children were destitute. The ill-treatment Martha had received, the unhallowed reprobation of her religious profession, were not checks, they were motives to her kindness. She behaved to the wife with marked attention; she consoled her under her trials; and she gave her what assistance she could. She might readily have given this assistance from the stores of which others had made her the almoner; but this, in the peculiarity of the case, would not satisfy her mind. To stand well with her conscience, and to enjoy the full exercise of forgiving love, she must give of her *own;* and it was with a most free and willing hand she disposed of the last shilling in her purse for the aid of this family.

This is illustrative of her generosity of feeling; yet another slight incident of this period may be added as illustrative of her generous opinions. In the wide distribution of the Bible and Testament which was now effecting, many of the poor expressed a wish to subscribe also for a prayer book, coupled with a fear "that perhaps the lady might not like that." They, however, were mistaken in their judgment of the *lady;* Martha immediately obtained a supply of the Common Prayer book, and whoever desired to contribute for one was at full liberty to do so.

But these are poor illustrations of liberality as it shone in her character. It seemed to have nothing to struggle against; it flowed naturally from her as water from a fountain. There were no unhealthy constrictions about her head or heart; nor was there any unnatural and dangerous enlargement. Her liberality was not of that spurious kind which gives no value to principle—no blame to doubt and ignorance; it arose, not from the *neglect* of truth, but from *confidence* in the truth. Would that such a liberality prevailed! Then, whatever might be our variations of judgment and of denomination, every Christian would hail every other Christian as his brother and his friend; and the church of God would shine forth glorious as the sun, fair as the moon, terrible as an army with banners; and would sustain one victorious conflict only with those who war against "the Lord and his anointed;" and who, in warring against them, war against the peace of humanity and their own salvation!

"Oh for the day, whenever it shall beam,
Which gives us back the coat without a seam;
When from all quarters of the earth combined,
One universal church shall knit mankind.
To build the heavenly Salem then shall rise,
With one consent, the great, the good, the wise.
All sects united in a common band,
Join faith to faith, and mingle hand in hand;
Together lift the sacrifice of prayer,
And the slain Lamb's eternal supper share!"

CHAPTER XXI.

SUSPENSE. 1820—21.

Although the hand of heavenly wisdom may lead us to drink at the springs of pure happiness, they will not, in this life, remain untroubled. Religion had revealed to Martha in its enjoyments and pursuits, the only unpolluted sources of happiness; but she was still exposed to those regrets and anxieties which more or less attend a state of imperfection and discipline.

Some of her regrets, in the fall of this year, arose from her communications with London. She heard of changes transpiring, and friends becoming ill, nigh unto death, and restored again to health and activity, while she lay in the same helpless state; and this would sometimes give a lengthened and hopeless form to her confinement. She received many expressions of affectionate esteem and desire from her former companions; and they awakened similar desires, once more to meet them and cooperate with them in the flesh. But especially she had to regret the wastes of mortality in her old and beloved connections. Particularly one of her dearest young friends, in whose welfare she was interested as in her own, had become a happy mother, had sickened, had languished, had died, had been buried, and the infant had sunk into the same grave; and Martha had not been able to utter one word for her consolation, shed one smile on her sorrows, or drop one tear on her grave.

The suspense which hung over Martha's situation gave her occasional concern. Though a prisoner, and enduring much affliction, there was nothing in her present bodily estate to excite alarm for the issue; while, therefore, she had contentedly resigned all worldly pursuits, she was often perplexed to decide whether it were her duty to prepare herself for future usefulness here, or to look only on eternity.

If suspense, however, gave her some perplexity, she did not permit it to betray her best interests. She was aware of its sinister influence, and kept a strict watch against it. "You would imagine," she observed to her sister, "that death would be no surprise to me; but I have been so long in this position, that I do not perhaps expect a change any more than others. The mind may be held in a middle state of suspense, till it becomes nearly indifferent to it." In her correspondence with a friend, she says:—"The state of my health has been extremely critical; it is now better, and I may linger as I am for many months; and, perhaps, after all, it may terminate differently to what can be expected. Yes, I may yet perfectly recover, and trip with as light a foot over your green as any lass of sixteen! But, whatever the event, I desire to be ready for my last summons! O how differently does death appear when seen obscurely at a distance, and when standing just before one ready to give the blow! Truly it is a serious thing to die. O that our lives may be one habitual preparation for this last conflict!"

Prayer has a reflex action. The desires we breathe animate the efforts we make. Never were desires more fully realized than those she here expresses. Suspense could not weary her; hope could not allure her from the post of watchfulness. She knew not the hour when the Son of Man should come, and *therefore* she was anxious to be always waiting for his coming. She sought to make her calling and election sure, knowing that this blest assurance would alike aid her in this life, or prepare her, with faith and without "sudden amazement," for the opening of another.

It will scarcely be supposed, after the statements of the preceding chapter, that Martha's regrets at this period, were sometimes increased by a sense of *uselessness*. Yet it appears, from what her hand has at intervals minuted, that she was subject to depression on this account. She refers to the "useless life she is leading," "requiring the help of others, and able to do nothing in return," and "fears that her life will be run out before she had done any thing for Him who gave it;" and if ever she now thought of her situation with pain, it was uniformly in connection with these impressions.

If such anxieties as these, in such a person, were not expected, they are yet capable of explanation. Though Martha was the living centre of so much devoted activity, her humility prevented her from ascribing these exertions to herself; and the very bustle that would often be created by the execution of her own plans, while she kept one fixed position, would occasionally affect her with a sense of helplessness and inutility. The *high standard* to which she always brought herself had also the same tendency. Compared with her principles, compared with her obligations, compared with what her Saviour had done, and commanded her to do, she had done nothing. An elevated standard had given elevation to her mind. She looked not at what was done, but at what was to do; and while she sighed over woes unhealed, sins unsubdued, a world unregenerated, her mightiest effort was but as a drop of heavenly rain falling on the great salt waters.

As these regrets did not influence Martha to disregard her spiritual interests, so they did not divert her from those which are intellectual. She did not allow the idea, that her mental improvement might never be useful to her in this life, to break up her studies. She connected the sound cultivation of the mind with a future life, and the nearer, therefore, she might approach it, the more important and interesting was the duty. She considered "that spiritual and intellectual treasures are the only ones we can carry with us to a better world, and that we ought to value and pursue them accordingly." Acting under such sentiments, she still gave herself diligently to reading and meditation; her pleasure increased as she advanced; and never have I met with a more palpable proof of the advantage accruing to a young person from the careful perusal of well-selected books. This will have been traced already in her past progress; but it was still so conspicuous at this period as to require observation.—Her understanding was yet more enlarged; her judgment ripened; her fancy quickened; the store of her conceptions enriched; and, consequently, the means of mental gratification improved and multiplied.

In her present course of reading, it was deemed desirable that she should be introduced to some books, which had hitherto been proscribed; their contents formed an important link in the chain of knowledge; but they were not to be trusted as the guides of unformed opinion, and young impassioned feeling. With a regulated mind and most serious views before her, Martha now read what was valuable in the writings of these exceptionable writers, not only without danger, but with benefit.—She despised the sly sophistry of the infidel historian, who would travel willingly out of his way, to make a side-thrust at a religion he had taken no pains to understand. She pitied the poor poet, who, in the conflicts of an ambitious and carnal spirit, was alternately aspiring to dwell among the stars, and floundering in the mire of sensuality and selfishness. She condemned the moralist, professedly Christian, who, seeking to illustrate moral conduct, as connected with revelation, in the most elegant and interesting manner, feared to incur the world's blame, by any decided allusions to those *peculiarities* in revelation, which distinguish and exalt Christianity from every false system.

The more she became acquainted with general literature and with the literary world, the more she was convinced, that real science and real happiness were inseparable from religion. The only invaluable lights of the world, whether civil, moral, or literary, were those which shone from heaven; and without them, the gleams of reason, the glow of feeling, and the sparklings of genius were such as would blind, bewilder, and deceive us. The uncertainty of all things, even of those which she most admired and pursued, was more apparent to her; she pressed the Bible closer to her heart, and fixed her faith and hope more assuredly in the haven of a better world. Would that the same course of study had always led to the same conclusions! But it has often been commenced with a mind ignorant of religious truth, and unaffected by religious principles; and nothing is so seductive on a young and aspiring spirit as the pleasures of literature. Unhappily these pleasures, in an unprepared state of mind, cannot be safe or innocent. The great mass of our existing literature is an array against godliness; and it is yet *mostly* in the hands of those who, in pledging their devotedness to the muses, are too much disposed to stone or despise the prophets.

Martha had now spent nearly six months on her bed in nearly the same position; but neither the indefinite term of her confinement, nor the transitory regrets which sometimes gave a pensive coloring to her thoughts, nor yet the serious direction of her mind to high and benevolent pursuits, had deprived her of her wonted cheerfulness in domestic life. Her chamber was not the place of complaint, restlessness, and vapid wishes; it was the happiest room in the house, and it was made so by its chief inhabitant. When we were away, many of her thoughts were employed to make it attractive; and when we were present, she was anticipating us by every little act of kindness, catching and returning every look of love, and shedding over her guests the soothing influence of her glad words, undissembled smiles and frank good-nature. It was evident that all this sprang from her heart, and that, while she was intent on promoting the happiness of others, she was positively the most happy of the little company. This conduct insensibly led us to associate the idea of comfort with her chamber; if the children had met with any troubles below stairs, they fled to it as a sanctuary; and if their parents desired an hour's quiet enjoyment, they were commonly disposed to seek it here rather than elsewhere. How unlike the sick-room as we frequently find it! where peevish complaint and selfish passion are multiplying themselves in sorrow, by driving those from their presence who should be their most tender comforters.

Let it be observed, however, that, if Martha, was among the bright exceptions to this evil, it was not without an effort. Earlier in her history, it will be remembered, she saw her danger, and provided against it; and, from that time, she had been watchful lest the diseases of the body should affect the temper of the mind. Her cheerfulness, therefore, remained, but its *character* was changed. It had less of the animal and more of the spiritual nature in it. If it had been dependant on the buoyancy of youthful spirits, and the ardor of inexperienced hope, it would have passed away; but it rested on principle; it had been cultivated as a Christian grace; it was the child of genuine pervading piety; and "true piety is cheerful as the day;" and piety, let it be added, is the only sure foundation of whatever gives embellishment to life, or stability to virtue.

Apart from what Martha found in the presence of some members of the family, her recreations were necessarily few and limited; and it is scarcely requisite to say, they were simple and innocent. Her window commanded a fair prospect; but as she lay, her eye was confined to the spreading branches of a couple of beech-trees, which threw out their cool and bright foliage almost to her room. In these trees, however, a happy pair of doves had built their nest, and were training their young; and many a wakeful night was made the shorter and easier to her, by the amusement they supplied to her mind, in watching their movements and listening to their loves, as the soft light of day glowed on the garden. The robin, too, which she had been accustomed to feed, still sought his breakfast at her hand, and repaid her through the day with many a thankful song, at the very verge of her casement. Within her chamber were a few young plants which she still sought to cherish; and in her window grew and flourished a favorite geranium, which had already been the care of years.

These objects, trifling as they were, exercised and engaged her attachments. They excited her solicitude; they kept up her intercourse with nature and the outward world; they often met her eye when other objects were withdrawn; till, what from familiarity, what from association, what from care bestowed and pleasure received, they made themselves a place in the kindest of hearts, and seemed the necessary companions of her confinement. Her window would have appeared vacant without the ornament of the plant which dwelt there, and her room would have appeared dull without the presence of those birds which had so long enlivened it. Those will best understand and sympathize with this sentiment, whose tastes are natural and unaffected, and who have marked how readily, in some situations, local attachments may grow and strengthen. The following lines illustrate the disposition in Martha's case; they were minuted with a careless hand, when the plant she alludes to required a more open situation.

THE GERANIUM.

'Tis gone! my Geranium is fled,
And left my gay window forlorn;
I watch'd its green leaves as they spread,
And water'd it many a morn.

'Twas there, when no other was by,
To comfort my sorrowful heart;
I mourn'd—and it seem'd in reply
A sweeter perfume to impart.

Ah, once I had thought it absurd
To waste my regret on a flower;
But trifles like this have concurr'd
To charm me with magical power.

Unchang'd, while the seasons return,
My objects of pleasure are few;
But these, when familiar, I learn
With double enjoyment to view.

The robin I constantly feed,
And the plant I so carefully tend,
To me they are lovely indeed,
And I give them the cheer of a friend.

As the winter shut in, the family was brought closer together; and Martha's presence was so attractive, that insensibly her chamber became, as much as it conveniently could, the dwelling-room. The evenings of this period were attended with no striking incidents, but they were charged with a great deal of quiet happiness, and the remembrance of them is sweet. So soon as the social tea-tray was removed, an evening hymn was sung, and the children's voices were trained to the notes of heavenly praise. Then their little hands were formed in prayer, and "Our Father" lisped on their tongues to Him who is the father of us all; and then the kind wishes, and endearing kisses went round, and the children retired to soft and sure repose.

Now, formed round a bright fire, and free from all interruption, the enjoyments of the evening flowed peacefully along. The needle was plied; the profitable book was read; and conversation was indulged to weigh its arguments, or pursue some prize which its train of thought had suggested.—As often as my duties allowed, I esteemed it a privilege to take my place in this little circle, knowing that its completion would be a source of additional pleasure to all who composed it. To Martha's social nature these interviews with her family were eminently pleasing. She always took a large share in the enjoyments of the evening, and frequently was the principal spring of them.

It was on these occasions that I saw so much the improvement of her conversational powers. There was the same vivacity and playfulness, the same piety and unction in her manner as I had ever witnessed; but there was more comprehension of thought, more force of argument, more variety of allusion and remark, and a quicker taste for whatever was just and beautiful in colloquial intercourse. Fond as she was of conversation, and greatly as that fondness was cherished by her confinement, she never pressed it on others to excess. She did not prepare for it as for a laborious exercise; she looked to it as a wholesome relaxation.—She did not consider, that to talk and to be happy are the same thing. She was one of the most ready listeners; and was always more satisfied in interesting others than in discoursing herself. Her thoughts were at liberty to respect whatever was said, and her heart caught by sympathy the import of all that was expressed, and of all that was implied. In speaking herself, she had no pride to gratify, no humor to vent, no battle to win, no treasure to display; in attending to others, there was no rude indifference, no selfish abstraction, no vain impatience. In the social circle, she was only an integral part of the whole, and she was united to it by warm and living sympathies. She was the most interesting of companions.

The penning of these few sentences brings the scenes to which they allude afresh over my recollections—recollections that cannot be retained or relinquished without pain. I perceive her once more reclining on her couch, dressed in white raiment, and overshadowed by the white festoons of her curtains. The glowing and fitful lights of the fire are playing over the features of her raised and animated countenance. Her hand is gently moved from its resting place; her lips are just parted, hanging with affectionate attention on the voice of others; her eyes are swimming with pleasure, while they are gazing on those she so deeply loves.

It was happiness to us to witness her happiness. Then the winds might rock in the surrounding trees, the tempest might howl about our humble dwelling, and night might encompass us with all her wintry terrors,—we had only the stronger sense of our felicity; we were urged the closer to each other; our thoughts mixed together, and mixed with heaven; with Heaven! whence we derived our present shelter and supplies in a bleak wilderness; with Heaven; where all things beautiful and fair endure as they are for ever; with Heaven! where the sky never lowers—where the storm never arises—where no foe can ever enter—whence no friend shall depart!

CHAPTER XXII.

INCREASING AFFLICTION. 1821.

How much misery are we spared by our ignorance of the future! The winter was thus wearing happily away, and our hopes of Martha's situation were rising with the advancing year. How differently would these months have found us, had we known that disease was directing its attack under new forms, and was preparing for the beloved sufferer a new and yet bitterer cup of affliction.

This, however, was the case. During the month of February Martha had experienced an increase of local uneasiness; but being accustomed to endure with patience a large measure of pain, she ascribed it to her continuance in one position, and bore it in silence. It was still increasing, and was soon attended with tumor and fever. Painful as it was, she could no longer hide the truth from herself; and she then unwillingly named it to her family.

Notwithstanding the light way in which this affection was treated by Martha, I could not avoid considering it of a very serious nature. I urged her to let us procure further advice; and at length she gave herself up to the wishes of her friends. Early in March, therefore, I went down with an hospital surgeon; and he agreed, in consultation with the resident surgeon, that an operation was necessary; that to be effectual, it must be performed without delay; and that the case was one "of considerable doubt."

These were heavy tidings to our entire household. Martha received them with concern; but after relieving herself by a few tears, her mind became composed and braced to the resolution of submitting to her duty, however piercing to the flesh, however contrary to her inclination. She had but one condition to propose, and that was not concerning herself; it was that the operation might take place in the absence of her brother.

The time, therefore, was finally arranged unknown to me. The anticipated morning arrived; it was a morning of trembling and alarm to the little family. One member was about to suffer and all the members were prepared to suffer with it. They all assembled round Martha's couch, and lifted up their voice to Heaven for help in the hour of adversity. The hour came. The incisions were made. The operation was completed; and the patient sank, beneath bodily and mental exhaustion, insensibly on her pillow.

I arrived at the cottage about an hour after the departure of the surgeon. Mrs. R. was waiting to receive me.

"It is all over!" she said.

"What is over?"

"The operation."

"Over!"

"Yes, Martha wished you not to know it till it was over!"

"Did she suffer much?"

"Yes, extremely; the incisions were so deep and numerous."

"How did she sustain it?"

"Like a lamb; not a word, not a tear! Mr. H. says he never witnessed such fortitude."

"Noble creature!" forced itself from my lips; but the emotions of the heart were such as words were never meant to utter.

Although the light thrown on Martha's case by this operation was not unfavorable to hope, our hopes had fallen very low to what they had previously been. Yet ready as we were to hope the best, they soon began to revive on perceiving any marks of amendment; and these arose to our observation earlier and stronger than any of us expected.

Martha's great composure of mind contributed to hasten her recovery to her usual state; and her release from an extra portion of pain, which she had previously suffered, made that recovery sensible.—During the winter, we commonly alluded to the ensuing May as the period for her relinquishing her bed; when the necessity of an operation was announced, these fair hopes were crushed; but now her expectations began to revive, and she fondly cherished them. Whenever they were expressed to me, I showed myself somewhat incredulous, lest she should reckon too ardently on what might possibly not occur.

However, as the remnants of winter passed away, as the time of the singing of birds arrived, and as the voice of her turtle-doves was again cooing in the beech-trees, her hopes and desires continued to ascend. She begged to have the dresses, which had so long rested in their wardrobe, brought out; and one of the number was selected and made ready for her use, when first she should be prepared to put it on. It was pleasing to see her thus amused, and painful to fear that it might end in disappointment.

May actually came. One morning, early in the month, we were all busily employed in the garden. The sun was shining brightly in the blue heavens; the birds were pouring forth their mellow and sprightly music. The air was glowing with a quickening warmth, and filled with delicious fragrance. The trees, with their young, green foliage, were nodding in the breeze; and all things were new, fresh, and lovely, in this resurrection of nature, as if they had just come from the hand of the great Creator. Martha's youthful heart answered to the impulses of spring. The life and joy of all about her seemed to inspire her with life and vigor. May was come. It was the time she was to leave her bed. It was a twelvemonth since she had seen the garden. She thought she really could get up; and she should never do it if she did not try. In the midst of her hesitation, the children, as they often did, hailed her from beneath the window. It was too much. She must see how happy they were, and look on her beloved garden once more. The mind was decided; the effort was to be made; and the chosen dress was brought out. She arose from her position; would not credit the sense of weakness that came over her; and persevered in her attempt, till she was surprised by a fainting fit, which her fatigue had produced.

The disappointment was very great; but it was borne with eminent resignation, and her cheerfulness of spirits was soon recovered. Her situation, however, evidently assumed more of a *hopeless* character, from this failure. She frequently spoke, indeed, of leaving her present position; but it was generally to cheer her friends, and never with so much of personal conviction and eager desire as she had previously indulged.

Martha's peaceful submission to what now appeared more than ever an indefinite confinement, did not hide from us the impression it had made on her heart; nor were we the less disposed to sympathize with it. Since the disappointment could not be entirely overcome, the object was to mitigate its influence as much as possible; and thought was soon busy among us to form any contrivance which should have this tendency. It was, therefore, speedily determined, that a variation might be made in the situation of the couch, which would give her a new and enlarged view of the adjoining scenery; and as the sight of the garden was an object to her, we attached a mirror to the side of her bed, that it might reflect, at her touch, the different parts of it.

Martha's point of observation was now really interesting. As she lay on her raised couch, her eye fell on the outer parts of the garden; and she could control the nearer portions by the means we had provided. The trees on either side of this little enclosure formed, by their clustering branches, a handsome avenue to the meadow-land beyond it, in which the cattle were finding pasture. Those fields were bounded by the village path and stile, over which the humble peasant was, every now and then, seen to pursue his quiet way; and this path, again, was succeeded by an extensive growth of corn, which was springing rapidly from the earth, and taking a prominent place in the picture. Then came, sweetly shaded and canopied by trees which once owned the Wolseys and Cromwells for their proprietors, the little hamlet where Martha had so long dwelt, and dwelt so happily. And finally arose, swelling in the distance, the verdant hills, with modest cottages creeping up their sides, and olive-colored woods adorning their heads, while around them all the lights, and shadows, and colors of heaven were playing, and will for ever play, in endless diversity of beauty.

These little attentions wrought much more powerfully on Martha than we had anticipated, or perhaps than we could anticipate, without being placed in her circumstances. The scenery which was now before her, though so familiar and so often admired, had been shut up from her sight for upwards of a year; and now that she looked again on the children dancing over the garden, the cattle grazing in the fields, the villagers passing on their way, and the place of her former residence, surrounded by all its beautiful accompaniments, tears of admiration and joy gushed into her eyes, while they were fixed to the objects which had so unexpectedly come across and enchanted them. The *change* seemed to break the sense of continued confinement. One period appeared to be terminated, and another to be begun; and begun under such a freshness of feeling as made it the ligher and shorter to endure.

The summer months of this year passed away most pleasantly. Martha enjoyed great relief in her corporeal sensations, if not decided amendment in her state of health; and this qualified her to relish this delightful season with all her former associations, and left her at liberty to hold a happy communion with her friends and family. The state of her mind also discovered some beneficial variations, which it well becomes the biographer to mark, while yet he despairs of giving the full impression of the living reality.

Notwithstanding Martha's apparent bodily improvement, she did not allow it to become a dependance to her hopes; she had been many times disappointed. During the preceding year her mind had been held in suspense between the claims of this life and another; but from the moment she found it necessary to resign herself to the lancet of the surgeon, that suspense was destroyed. She conceived it would be rash for her to think of a return, from her perilous circumstances, to the active duties of life; and, therefore, she was authorized in directing her attention wholly towards futurity. She was not certain as to the event; but she felt she had sufficient conclusions to govern the course of her thoughts, and that it would be unwise and criminal not to act upon them without delay. She turned from the world, and looked full on eternity. The thoughts were gathered up into one purpose, the heart was fixed to one object. "This *one thing she did*, forgetting the things that were behind, she pressed forward to the prize of her high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

This change was wrought not so much by any conceived resolution, as by the spontaneous inclinations of the mind; and it was revealed not so much by any direct expressions, as by a different occupation of time. Martha now relinquished that class of reading which was designed to illustrate worldly science and adorn and felicitate civil intercourse. It was good and valuable in its kind, but not appropriate to her then situation. If literature was associated with piety, and the unassuming handmaid of devotion, it was still welcome; otherwise, though it might, in a possible change of circumstances, be resumed, it was for the present wholly avoided. Particularly those writers were her companions who were most likely to shed light and comfort on her way, even though that way should lead her quickly into the valley of death. It need scarcely be said that the Scriptures were the book of her counsel—the book of books in her estimation. They had long been so, and now they were pre-eminently endeared; she spoke of their wisdom, grace, and purity with peculiar admiration; and derived the refreshment, and exercised the confidence, which they only could authorize or impart, this sacred volume was always by her side; and her French Testament, with the Prayer-book, and Watts's Hymns, were usually lying on her bed, if not actually in her hand.

Familiarized as Martha's thoughts and affections had been to devotional engagements, now that they were concentrated and disencumbered, they rose rapidly towards their divine object. Her anxieties, her hopes, her fears, freed from all worldly concerns, were no longer checks to her career; they were wings to her progress. The perceptions she had always had of the divine presence became stronger, and this was now the element by which she was surrounded, and in which she dwelt. God was in all her thoughts and all her ways. She saw him, felt him, adored him, trusted him in every thing; and this gave a sacredness to all things which concerned her. Her meals were sacraments; her days were sabbaths; her desires were prayers; her person, body, soul, and spirit, was a living and willing sacrifice to Him who gave and redeemed it. Anticipating the possibility of a speedy summons to the heavenly world, she sought to be prepared for it; she desired that, as much as was practicable, it should call her only to a change of place not of employment. She was "looking for and hastening unto the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ." The Being she was humbly expecting to come and receive her to himself, she wished yet more intimately to know, yet more deeply to love. With fixed attention she contemplated "the glory of the Lord," as the young eagle gazes on the sun before he makes his ascent to it, that she might be changed into the same glory by the Lord the Spirit.

The yearnings and aspirations of the heart towards a heavenly world were graciously acknowledged. Her prayers were answered; her happiness was advanced, perhaps as near perfection as is compatible with our present state of being. Invisible objects were yet more realized to the eye of faith as it dwelt upon them; heaven became more charming as it became more familiar; and eternity was rendered more solemn, but less awful to her thoughts. Her progress improved with her joy. Nothing on earth, nothing in heaven, was comparable with the enjoyment of the divine favor. She drew nearer to her Saviour, and he drew nearer to her. The sun of righteousness arose on her spirit, ascending from a life of darkness and tears, with healing in his wings; and beneath the light and glory of his rays, her faith was ripening into confidence, her hope into spiritual enjoyment. "It was a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord" she had so long loved and served; and mercifully designed to prepare her for the remaining trials of the wilderness.

The best evidence that these refreshments from a better world were as *beneficial* as they were mercifully designed, is, that they promoted the growth of genuine *humility*. This highest proof of a real advancement in a divine life, which had uniformly attended Martha's progress, now shown forth, so as to become the grace and ornament of her whole conversation. Her joys led to no high-flown expressions, no inflated assurance, to no bold assertions, to no unseemly lightness in treating of religion, or her interest in its blessings. No—these are the attendants of presumption, not of faith. She had such an abiding consciousness of her own unworthiness, as kept her thoughts and expressions habitually low; and now that she was rising in her views of the uncreated glory, she saw more of her ignorance, her deficiencies, her demerit, her nothingness. God was every thing to her, she herself was vanity. These deeply-fixed convictions were operative on her conduct. They spread a modesty over all her words and a gentleness over all her opinions. She did not indulge in converse on her personal assurance and abounding hope; she sought rather to speak of the object in which she confided, than of her confidence in it; and if ever she gave a reason of the hope that was happily enjoyed, it was eminently with meekness and with fear. Penetrated by her own ignorance, she could not boast of its best conclusions; impressed by the majesty of her Saviour, she humbly revered and adored him; and touched by his ineffable condescension, the very acts of his grace, while they encouraged, awed her. Blessed, like the patriarch at Bethel, with freer and larger communion with Heaven, she did not wax vain and assuming in her privileges; her spirit sunk within itself, and in lower prostration of heart at the divine footstool, she was ready to exclaim, How dreadful is this place—surely it is the gate of heaven."

The happiness Martha now possessed was decidedly of a more *peaceful* character. It flowed on in a deeper and smoother channel, and therefore, to a careless eye, perhaps, was less apparent, because less resisted. The principles of religion now worked with the force of habit and the freedom of nature; and the passions, from long discipline, were brought into a state of comparative harmony and submission. The heart was less exposed to the alarms of fear and inexperience, less affected by spiritual anxieties, less raised by feverish excitation. There was less excitement, but more vigor; less of an approach to occasional ecstasy, more of an abiding tranquillity. The features of the mind were more finished, more mellowed, and sunk more imperceptibly into each other; "they were stablished, strengthened, settled." She had passed through the furnace of manifold affliction; and had come out of it assoiled of earthly grossness, and possessed of more purity, solidity, and excellence of character. The sun had shone brightly on the morning of her day of life; but soon the heavy clouds of adversity gathered round her way, and concealed its glory. The keen winds of temptation had vexed her, and the stormy waters of passion had threatened to overwhelm her. But He who appointed the storm, managed it. The winds had ceased; the waters had rocked themselves to sleep; the sun had beamed with fresh splendor through the troubled and broken clouds, and now shone out, in the close of his career, from the golden heavens, in mild tranquillity. Peace, the blessing she had so greatly prized and diligently pursued, was now more than ever hers; it inhabited her bosom; it sat on her countenance; it fell from her tongue; it surrounded her as an unction from heaven. It was the "peace of God which passeth all understanding;" it arose from the mind being *staid* on its Redeemer. It gathered strength from the arm on which it leaned, and serenity from the foundation on which it reposed. It was the rest of the soul; and the soul, like the seaman's needle, is never at rest, till, free from all earthly attractions, it points directly to God!

The religion which sheds its own peace on the heart, brings also, and proportionally "good-will towards men." Martha, in other circumstances, had discovered, in an eminent degree, this divine benevolence; and now, in relinquishing her share in this world's concerns, she did not renounce her regard to its best interests. Through her recent sufferings she had strenuously persevered in all her schemes of usefulness; and, as the violence of pain subsided, she gave herself to them with renewed ardor and joy. Her energy was more calm and placid, but it was more condensed and powerful. She had fewer anxieties and wishes to do what was evidently beyond her present power, but a stronger desire that others might be stimulated to work diligently while it is called to-day. She felt herself more at liberty, as her incapacity grew upon her, to exhort and influence those about her to instant devotedness. The casual visiter who came in her way was not allowed to depart without some attempts to fix the best impressions on the heart; her young friends were advised and entreated with all sisterly affection; and if the student or the minister was present, she was the more eager to improve the period, knowing that if she could possibly say any thing to animate him to more activity, it would be moving a host in the good cause.

This intercourse was sustained with such sweetness of temper, and clothed with so much humility of spirit, as gave it great effect. It was apparent that she discoursed of the things which laid closest to her heart, and under an unutterable sense of their infinite importance and glory. She stood in the light of which she spoke; she felt the charms of that love she commended; and she was unconsciously a living and shining example of those pure, and potent, and blessed influences, which were urged as the only abiding sources of happiness here or hereafter. A marked spirituality of mind spread itself over every thing which engaged her attention, and gave to her chamber, which had always been cheerful and was still so, an air of sacredness. The thoughts and words might not always be dwelling on religion, but every thing led to it; and led to it, not by forced, but most spontaneous acts of the mind. Her spirit was in such close fellowship with its Maker, that all things, the usual variations in nature, the simplest wants of life, the most trivial incidents of the day, the passing observation of a friend, would connect itself, reverently, but most readily, with Deity. Thought might visit earth, but it dwelt in heaven.

Many will long remember, some will never forget, their interviews with Martha at this period. The smile, the voice, the manner; the heavenly mindedness, the peace, the joy, will all be present to them; and to them any description will fall greatly beneath the reality. How often have those who came to console, tarried to rejoice! How frequently have we heard the exclamations on quitting her presence, "Well, this is religion!"—"This is a sick room, indeed, to be coveted!"—"I have never seen any thing like this!"—"This should make us ashamed of ourselves!" Happy were our ears to hear so many voices glorifying God, on behalf of one who was our treasure and our joy!

All this, however, was plainly observable to the visiter and the guest; to those who had fuller opportunities of noticing her more closely and at leisure, and comparing the present with the past, the change was more striking and admirable. Her general excellence of character arose not so much from the predominance of certain graces, as from their being accompanied with other Christian graces, which, because they are not often found in manifest union, have been thought to be in opposition. A noble and diligent course of self-discipline and denial had enabled Martha to prune what was excessive and to invigorate what was feeble in her character; till all the parts and members of the divine nature were proportioned and united, and thus grew up together in common loveliness. There was benevolence checked by discretion, humility sustained by dignity, sensibility regulated by principle; independence without pride, confidence without presumption, joy without extravagance, piety without mysticism, charity without guile and without bounds. Her decision was free from bigotry, her firmness blended with resignation, and her liberality estranged from indifference. She had energy to do whatever was to be done, fortitude and patience to bear whatever was to be endured. With a superiority to all petty differences, there was a fixed adherence to the vital principles of godliness; with the utmost gentleness of spirit that would not crush a worm, there was a magnanimity that could not meanly crouch to a prince; with the most complete renunciation of all human power and merit in our salvation, there was the most voluntary and untiring devotedness to the Saviour's honor; with a crucifixion to the world—its wealth, its fame, its power—there was an inextinguishable, irrepressible concern for its restoration to virtue, honor, and immortality; with a lofty and virgin attachment to all that is holy in religion and great in eternity, there was the most careful respect to the minutest points of duty and proprieties of conduct;—but no, it cannot be told.

It was this combination of parts, this consistency of character, that now became eminently interesting. This it was that gave strength to the whole, that shed a grace on the whole, and that contributed so much to produce the softened composure and happy tranquillity which were now experienced. These too, let it be observed, were the fruits of self-denial and of self-conquest—that noblest of all conquests. It is self-denial—steady, resolved self-denial—that subdues our natural frailties, and cherishes the graces most opposite to our natural dispositions. It is self-denial that tears up the weed, the brier, and the bramble; and prunes and nourishes the better plants, till the whole soul becomes as the garden of Paradise.

And this self-denial, let it be remembered, in its turn, springs from the divine grace. The cause cannot act against itself. Self cannot conquer self any more than Beelzebub can cast out Beelzebub. A man may contend against his ambition, or his avarice, or his sensuality; but no man *of himself* can resist *himself;* it is a contradiction in terms. Dispose as we may of other conquests philosophy and religion teach us, that the man who conquers himself must humbly as also gratefully exclaim, "By the grace of God, I am what I am!"

In the autumn of this year, I was separated from my sister for a month; and the separation was made much the lighter by the apparent amendment in health which she now enjoyed. However, it was not without considerable feeling on both sides; but Martha, true to herself, insisted upon it, as she conceived it to be for the benefit of her brother. I put the following simple verses in her hand on parting, as a little love token. Simple as they are, they afforded her pleasure; and as they were the *last* gift it was permitted me to make to her, they derive from this circumstance an accidental interest, and I have a melancholy satisfaction in giving them a place in these recollections. They are *partly* a translation from a French hymn.

HYMN.

O my God, my Saviour!
In thy celestial favor
  Is my supreme delight;
The more my woes oppress me,
The more do Thou possess me,
  With thy heavenly might.

Whene'er my heart is broken,
Before my grief is spoken,
  God pities my complaint;
And when he might reject me,
He kindly does protect me,
  Lest all my courage faint.

By night his arm attends me,
And graciously defends me,
  And soft is my repose;
The eyes that watch my keeping
Are never, never sleeping—
  I cannot fear my foes!

By day his hand shall lead me,
And heavenly manna feed me,
  Through all my desert way;
His beam my path enlightens,
And more and more it brightens,
  Into eternal day!

O my God, my Saviour!
Soon thy celestial favor
  Shall be my *sole* delight;
With seraphs I 'll adore Thee,
With seraphs chant thy glory,
  Around thy throne of light!

CHAPTER XXIII.

CLOSING SCENES. 1821.

"To die like a lamb," is expressive of general desire, when death must be thought of as a matter of necessity. That the mind should be composed, and the body's pains made short and few in the mortal hour, is what we lawfully crave for ourselves and our friends. But too much stress has been laid on an *easy* death, and too little on a *safe* one. Yet the reflective mind will at once perceive, that they do not even admit of a comparison. What can it *materially* signify in the article of death, how the corporeal or mental powers are tried and distressed, if the soul is safe, the blest reversion of immortality secure?

"A happy death," as it is too often conceived of by the world, has, it is to be feared, a regard to the *present* rather than the *future;* and it may arise from causes very far apart from a reasonable hope, and a state of Christian salvation. It may spring from the complexion of bodily disease, or from spiritual insensibility; from disgust of the present life, or from disbelief of a world to come; from presumptive delusion, or from unbending pride. Hume aspired to *die well;* he knew that the eyes of the world were turned on the close of his erratic course with fixed attention; and his utter heartlessness to the claims of this life, his daring skepticism on all beyond it, his cherished vanity as the leader of a false philosophy, combined to fit him for acting well his part. But his principles carried him too far; and the example he meant to commend by them has branded them with indelible disgrace. They had taught him that death itself "is only turning the current of a few ounces of blood," and that all beyond death is oblivion; and they had so paralyzed all the moral perceptions and energies, that he became, on his own assumptions, a miserable driveller, where he wished to be the extolled philosopher.

Philosophy herself, uncertain and feeble as are her lights, would have taught him to be serious while standing on the verge of existence; but seriousness might have been construed into sadness; and that the spectators might have no doubt of the actor's happiness, he proceeded to titter and to trifle. To titter and to trifle!—with the silliness of a little child that plays with the cockatrice, or smiles on the events which are charged with its ruin!

To Martha death was ever a serious thing. Hope might change the countenance of this adversary, faith might disarm him of his sting; yet the separations which his approach involved, and the momentous, though blessed consequences by which it was followed, would have cherished any sentiment rather than levity. She had endeavored to familiarize her thoughts to the event of mortality, and to associate with it the incomparable promises of life and immortality; but there was still one view of it from which her reflections had uniformly recoiled; it was that which presented her with final separation from her *family*. She had resigned her worldly prospects, though to her hopeful and amiable mind they were highly interesting; she held her personal comforts in a perfectly loose hand to the will of Providence; life itself she could resign, though life still was sweet, and the dew of her youth was upon her; but how she should freely surrender her family she had hardly dared to think.

This was the point at which she now felt herself to be most vulnerable; she was grieved that she had so little power to dwell upon it; and she embraced this short interval, in which most of the family were away from her, to seek, with greater hope, to wean her affections from those she most ardently loved. To a heart that lived in the love of others, this was a severe effort; and it frequently disturbed that serenity of mind which was otherwise possessed. However, nothing was to be so much dreaded as the least *allowed* unreadiness for the summons which might so suddenly call her away, and she gave herself to the struggle with many prayers and tears to Him who was able to deliver. She was heard in the thing in which she feared, as far as is consistent with our state of frailty. The very exercise, though so painful, brought its relief; she felt it was well that it was in her heart to have every attachment completely subordinated to the love of heaven; and, without loving her friends the less, she was assisted to associate the love of them more with another state of being, and with acquiescence to the divine appointments, all unknown as they were.

Little did I think, on returning to my sister's embraces in the opening of October, what had been the exercises of her mind; nor was there any thing to suggest them to my thoughts. Her spirit was filled with joy at our meeting, and her mind was marked with similar calm complacency as before our parting. I soon observed, indeed, that the expressions of love to the members of the family, though quite as powerful, were frequently not so unconstrained and easy as was habitual to her. Sometimes she would receive the winning attentions of the children with a tremor or a tear; and to us there was in her attachment something more tender and heavenly; but these variations failed to supply me with a key to their origin. They had this tendency the less, as Martha appeared to us decidedly better. The rosy hues of health sat firmer on her cheek, the light of life sparkled fuller in her eye, and she was disposed, by uttering the language of hope, to raise our gratification. Like her, I was disposed to speak of hope, for circumstances seemed to warrant it more than they had done for some time; but, unlike her, I was not at all in a state of preparation for these hopes being reversed.

Martha continued in her usual state over the second Sabbath in November; and, though a long winter was closing in around us, her mind seemed to receive no impression from it. On that Sabbath her sister, Mrs. R., happened to be detained by indisposition, and they passed it together. Martha appeared peculiarly to enjoy the day. In the evening they read largely in "Edwards on the Affections." The subject was, the evidences of the Christian character; she entered most fully into it, and spoke with more freedom than she had ever done, of the connection of those evidences with her personal experience. The subject grew in her hands; while she communed with her friend the fire burned; and, with an eminent unction, she dilated on the method of redemption and the glories of an unseen world. The time sped hastily away; the family met around her bed; the prayer was offered; the evening hymn was sung; and Martha parted from the several members, pronouncing that peace on them which she herself shared so largely.

On the following Tuesday I joined the family. Martha was unwell; she ascribed it to a cold, and expressed a hope that in a day or two it would pass off. Nevertheless, her animal spirits were more than usually affected as the day closed. I spent the evening in her chamber, and with playfulness of remark endeavored to revive them. The least attentions of mine were never lost on so devoted a sister; and she rose above bodily sensations to exercise those relative sympathies which were now as natural as instinct, and dearer far than life. On the Wednesday I left her again for the post of public duty; but without the least uneasiness on account of this variation in her health.

Yet this attack was more serious than I reckoned; and Martha, from the first, though unwilling to awaken the fears of others, was disposed to look at it in the most solemn light. No sooner had her brother departed than her forced spirits left her; and finding herself really worse, she expressed her mind freely to her sister and Maria, who were constantly with her. "I have had," she observed, "many warnings, but this I believe is the summons. I am much induced to think so from this circumstance—that I have long been anxious for my mind to be prepared for death, before it should be permitted to come; and, notwithstanding all my afflictions, I have never felt *entirely* resigned to it till *now;* and now I trust I am. But these," she continued, seeing her friends affected by her announcement, "are only my impressions, and I may be wrong;" and then she enlarged on the foundation of hope which the gospel furnished in the time of dissolution, with a rich confidence in its sufficiency. "What," she said in conclusion, with peculiar earnestness, "what could philosophy and all the expedients of philosophy do for me now? To a *dying* sinner, they are less than nothing and vanity!"

The remainder of the day was spent under the most solemn and interesting impressions. Two or three favorite chapters in Mrs. More's "Practical Piety" were read, and became food for conversation; and at her particular request they sang, as part of the evening devotions, Simeon's hymn, in Dr. Watts's version.

Thursday and Friday were looked to for the signs of amendment, but Martha became worse; and so much were the family alarmed, that on the evening of the latter day it was thought needful to send a messenger to me. It was late before the tidings reached me; but I could not suffer myself to lose any time in departing for Cheshunt. The night itself was a memorable one. The rain fell in sudden torrents to the ground; the sheet lightning, though so far in the year, gleamed over the gloomy heavens, and made the darkness sensible; the rains had fallen so copiously that the waters were flowing like a river over the roads to a surprising extent and depth, and with such velocity as, at one period, effectually to resist our progress. However, our cattle were good, our errand was urgent, and we persevered, and were successful. All that night were not so favored. A horse and his rider who passed us, were swept away by the current which we overcame, and quickly perished.

There was something in the character of the night that agreed with my feelings; and which, while it harmonized with them, strengthened them. I reached the cottage in alarm, and hastened to the well known chamber of the sufferer. She had fallen into sleep—this was a comfort to me. But in a few days, a few hours, what an alteration! The bloom had faded from her cheek; pain was busy on her countenance; in her sleep she was still a sufferer. It was an affecting sight! I turned from it to her window. The waning moon looked troubled through the watery clouds; the dying winds were moaning in the naked trees; the faded leaves were now and then rustling to the ground; the distant clock was telling out the last hour of time. "Every thing," I thought, "yes, *every thing* speaks of death!"

The following morning brought no relief to our fears. The medical attendant, though unwilling to give us uneasiness, could not encourage hope. I hastened to Martha's side, seeking and yet dreading an interview. We met in silence, and exchanged looks and embraces. Suffering as she was, she arose on her pillows to receive me, and seemed almost dead to the sense of pain in the intentness of the mind.

I inquired how she had passed the night.

"I have had," she replied, "a *wretched night.*"

"That night," I observed, "is now gone."

"Yes, gone *for ever*, and the Lord has helped me. He is righteous and good, and will, I trust, be with me to the end!"

"O brother!" she continued, with a look of peculiar earnestness, "that is a beautiful prayer: 'Most merciful Saviour, suffer us not, at our last hour, for any pains of death, to fall from thee!'"

This allusion to her personal state shook my command over my feelings; and to avoid disturbing her serenity at such a crisis, I retired to a distant part of the room. It was evident, however, that she was desirous of discharging her thoughts while she could; and, unfitted as I was for the trial, I necessarily obeyed her bidding, and returned to her side.

"O brother!" she said, "it is *so* different to behold death near us and at a distance—*so very different!* The longest life, I now find, is too short to prepare to die; after all, the circumstances are *so new* and *so trying!*"

"O that I could give the views I now have to others! Those views which a death-bed furnishes—of the nature of personal piety—of the awfulness of eternity—of the importance of salvation by Jesus Christ—and of the value of religion in early life—*especially in early life!*

"O it is most important for the work to be begun in our early days, before we are brought into the conflict of death! Religion, if really found on a dying bed, must have so much to contend with that is quite uncongenial with itself—such pride, such passion, such self-will, such habits of evil—as must make it very awful! The mind must be often in terrible doubt and darkness!—If it is not so, it must be by an *extraordinary* act of grace, which, though it may occur, we have no right to expect.

"I trust I know in whom I have believed; but all that I have known and experienced of the Saviour's grace, I have sometimes found only just enough to sustain and encourage me! Last night the agonies of the body were so great as, for a time, to affect the mind—my feet seemed quivering as I stood on the brink of Jordan! but the Lord strengthened me! Blessed be his name!—I *know* him—he will not forsake me—he will be with me in the swellings of Jordan!"

On observing my distress, she readily changed the course of her remarks, and, with a mixture of confidence and tenderness, continued—"What a mercy that we have lived together so happily—that we have understood each other so well—that we have had such opportunities of forming an affection which will never be broken—no, brother, *never be broken!* I feel assured that our love shall be continued and perfected in heaven. We shall only be separated as for a moment—and then—*then* we shall meet before the throne never to part!" Her thoughts dwelt upon the assurance with delight.

"O how little have I done for the cause of my Saviour! I did hope my life would have been spared to be useful to others: but Jehovah has appointed otherwise, and I bow to his will! I cannot now serve him by my life; I pray that I may yet do it by my death. *O that my death may be made eminently useful*—that it may constrain many to work while it is called to-day—that it may quicken many to thoughtfulness and prayer!

"And, perhaps, in that world to which I am going, I may be *useful* as well as happy. I shall be, my Saviour says, as the angels in heaven; and they are all ministering spirits sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation. Dear brother!" said she, touched by the thought, "perhaps, perhaps it may still be my privilege to hover about your ways, to contribute in some mode or other to your comfort and your usefulness. When I am gone, O do not think of me as *afar off*, but as near to you, as watching over you, as soon to join again for ever!"

"O my dear, dear brother, do not weep—do not weep—that will break my heart! If you knew all I have suffered, you would earnestly pray for my dismissal—indeed you would. I would not advert to any thing that should give you a moment's pain; but I am desirous that you should know that I am happy—yes, notwithstanding all I suffer—*that I am happy*—that religion makes me so—that God does support me. *This will be a comfort to you at a future time.*

"O all of you should join with me in praising the Saviour! I have been so afraid of dishonoring him—I hope he has kept me from this! Blessed be his name!—so good—so kind—*infinitely* faithful—to *me*, the meanest and the least in his family! O God! O *my* God!"

I was fearful that she would suffer from exertion and motioned her to take rest. She took the hand that was extended towards her, and pressing it to her lips, remained silent, but evidently in mental prayer.

Soon she turned a look of concern on me, and said, "Brother, there is one thing—Maria—" but she was too much exhausted to explain. It was not necessary. I understood at once that she would have referred to the distress, which would arise to her devoted young friend by this visitation, and implored my kindness and protection in her favor. Accustomed as she was to read her brother's countenance, she saw there, troubled as it was, a reply to her anxious request, which gave her satisfaction. Her eyes smiled upon me; she covered my hand with kisses; and sunk down on her couch, faintly saying, "My dear brother, my dear brother, thou hast been precious to me—precious to me!"

Later in the day, she disposed of every thing that belonged to her, naming distinctly most of her young friends, and putting aside, with her own hand, some token of friendship, or dictating some affectionate message which might make a useful impression. This was done with the greatest calmness, and designedly in my absence; and when she observed that her sister and Maria were affected by it, she looked on them with inexpressible sweetness, and said, "But mind, I am doing all this only in case I do not get better."

Then came the children of our family whom she so much loved, but from whom it was now necessary for her to separate. The youngest still an infant, was expressly a miniature likeness of herself, with the only, but affecting difference, that the one was the opening, the other the fading flower. The little creature, quite insensible to the occasion, laughed, and cooed, and shook its tiny hand, as it was accustomed to do on retiring to its rest. She pressed it warmly to her bosom, and then forced it from her embraces for ever.

The second child approached her with similar playfulness; but when he found that she was not able to return it, concern gathered on his features, as he observed, "Aunt Martha poorly."—"Yes, my dear," she replied; "aunt Martha poorly—but soon be better." She embraced him; put her hand upon him, and breathed out her blessing.

Andrew, who had received so much of her care, stood at her bedside somewhat alarmed, and scarcely knowing why. She was anxious to prevent his receiving any unpleasant impression from the idea of death. "Andrew, my dear little Annew," she said, "I love you very much; but I am going away from you for a while; God is pleased to take me to heaven, that happy place above the bright blue sky. And, perhaps, I may still know how my Annew behaves; and if he is good and kind, it will please me, and when he dies God will take him to heaven, that happy place, and then we shall live together for ever." She closed her eyes, folded her hands, and earnestly prayed—"O my Saviour! enlighten his understanding, draw his affections to thyself, make him useful to thee, and the joy of his parents!"

The last act of departure from the room was abrupt. It was too painful for any of us quietly to witness; and, by the emotion that played about Martha's lips, I saw that the scene was too trying to be protracted.

The interview had fixed itself on the mind of our eldest child. He remained silent and thoughtful for the residue of the evening. There was an assurance of happiness, and an appearance to the contrary, which perplexed him. As his mother was attending him to his sleeping room, he heard his aunt groan under a paroxysm of pain, which urged him to an inquiry that revealed the complexion of his thoughts—"But, I say, mamma, if heaven is such a happy place, why do people *groan* in going to heaven!"

The following morning she expected would bring her parents. She desired, but dreaded it. She was earnest in prayer, that she and they might be supported in the meeting. They arrived. I did what I could so to prepare and guard them for the interview, that Martha's mind might be as little discomposed as possible. But who or what shall prepare a devoted parent to look on a devoted child in such circumstances, for the first time, with tranquillity?

Her fond mother first hastened to her presence with fixed purposes of suppressing her feelings while there; but scarcely had her affectionate eye glanced on her changed countenance before her sorrows overcame her, and she fled from her chamber to weep at liberty, exclaiming, "It's a lost case! O it is a lost case! my child! my child!"

Her venerable father followed. He stood before her in speechless misery. An effort was made to speak, but his tongue clave to the roof of his mouth, and the lips quivered with excitement. She seized his hand and saluted it, and broke the silence which it was so hard to endure. "Father, my dear father! It has pleased the Great Disposer of all events, that you should commit my spirit to his hands. It is well! Lay it not to heart, father! It is the will of God! and his will is good and wise! I shall be taken the earlier from a world of sin and misery. We are both, I trust, bound to one place, and it matters very little, father, which of us arrive first. I shall be waiting to welcome you to the habitation of God, and our separation will be but for a moment—'a moment, or eternity's forgot!' My dearest father, do not fret! we must not fret! Come, let us take our harps from the willows, and to the praise of grace divine bid every string—every string—yes, every string awake!"

Her father still stood before her with features burthened with wo; he could not at once overcome the shock he had received. Martha was moved by it.

"Father!" she said.

He turned a troubled look upon her.

"Could you pray with me, dearest father!"

He shook his head in speechless agony.

She saw that she had asked too much at this moment, and that he would best recover himself by retiring from her chamber.

As her father left the room her mind was in the act of worship, as if to regain the composure which had been shaken, and which she feared to lose, waiting as she was for the hourly appearance of her Saviour.

"Now," she said, alluding to these interviews with her family, "the *bitterness of death is past!* Lord, I have waited for thy salvation! 'Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'" Her thoughts were soon restored to rest on their chosen centre, and they were evidently wrapped in joyful anticipations of eternal blessedness! "O heaven, heaven, heaven!" she exclaimed, "O the moment that will *succeed* to death!"

Her pains increasing on her, she repeated the following lines, to which she was partial, with a most gentle and resigned voice:—

I would not contend with thy will,
  Whatever that will may decree
But O may each trial I feel
  Unite me more firmly to Thee!

'Tis better to suffer and die
  Beneath thy compassionate rod
Than find my enjoyments run high,
  But never have Thee for my God

Her mother had now resumed her post at her side for the night; and Maria, on the other hand, was at her request reading and singing alternately. These exercises were continued till, wearisomeness gaining an ascendency even over pain, she fell into a temporary repose.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CLOSING SCENES. 1821.

It will have been apparent, that none of our family were at all prepared to expect the event which I am recording but my sister—and that she was in a wonderful state of preparation. An hour that often steals insensibly on the wisest and the best, was not allowed to surprise her. She was, indeed, a wise virgin; she neither slumbered nor slept; her hopes were all awake; her oil was in her lamp, and it was trimmed, lighted, and burning brightly.

I had always considered Martha remarkably in habitual readiness for an exchange of worlds, and the later advances in her Christian character, had disposed me to think it would nobly meet such a trial; but all that I had admitted on the subject was far outdone by the reality. The first impression I received in my interview with her can never be lost; it is one of those recollections which, however distant in time, will still be near to consciousness. Though, in so short an interval, her flesh had actually sunk, her very person struck me as of greater size than it had previously attained. But the effect was produced by an enlargement of mind, not of body. Such superiority to life, such elevation of soul, such unclouded faith, such living hope, such a sense of the presence of heaven and eternity, while it was consoling to the uttermost, was really oppressive by its sublimity. In her upward flight I felt that she already left me far behind; she was surrounded by a light and glory which I could not reach; she was welcoming an event which overwhelmed me in distress; her very love and tenderness to me, had more of angelic condescension than of human frailty about them; she seemed to be standing at the very gates of heaven, expecting each moment they might be thrown open, and the hands of ministering spirits might usher her to the presence of her Lord.

It was a great source of lamentation, that I was not in a state of mind, more congenial to her own at this period. But, while I had often thought anxiously and seriously of Martha's indisposition, I had always shunned anticipating a fatal termination; and this sudden change in her situation fell on me like a thunderstroke from heaven. I was called to yield unexpectedly an object, which had entwined itself about the heart by innumerable ties, and I could not do it. The want of resignation to the event, unfitted me for giving the devoted sufferer what assistance I might in her mortal struggle. I felt that I ought to read with her, to unite with her in prayer, to speak to her the words of comfort, and to animate her in conquering every thing that held her to earth and life; but no—I could not do it.—She was obliged to seek all this from other lips than her brother's: and I was sadly displeased with myself. The more I saw of her excellence, the less I could exercise of submission; the more slender the ties by which I held her, the more tenacious was the grasp. My earthly sorrows appeared almost to profane her presence; and that I might not wound a peace which I was not qualified to confirm, I frequently retired from her chamber and all human intercourse, into the garden; maintaining, as I unconsciously paced its paths, great strife of spirit, sincerely desirous, I hope, to give her up to the hand of Providence, and yet unable to loose my hold on her. It was well for me that, at such a moment, she was not actually removed!

Providence had appointed, that if Martha was to die "a happy death," it should owe nothing of its happiness to the slightness of bodily suffering, or the free action of untried graces. Her fortitude, her patience, her faith were to be exercised to the very uttermost; and it was to be shown that they were separate from, and could triumph over, the body's deepest distress.

Contrary to all expectation, the fever which threatened the instant danger abated considerably in its violence. Ready as we were to catch at the shadow of amendment, hope partially revived, and our minds fell from the intensity of fear into the fluctuations of suspense. How did we wait for the regular arrivals of the medical attendant! How did we hang upon his lips for the few words he was to utter as words of life and death! How were we driven to and fro by the impulses of hope and fear, as the symptoms of disease rose or subsided!—However, this interval, though full of suffering, afforded our afflicted family time for prayer and reflection; exercises which, if they were desirable to all, I felt to be most necessary to myself.

The variations which brought to us something of hope, afforded Martha only disappointment. She had been standing as on an eminence, beholding the unclouded prospects of her fair inheritance, and she would willingly, like Moses, have died there; but it was the will of her heavenly Leader that yet again she should descend into the valley, where, through the infirmities of the flesh, her prospects would often be beclouded, and sometimes eclipsed. To this will she devoutedly submitted.—In exaltation her mind had remained sober; in her depression it remained confident; the body might fluctuate, but the soul continued fully fixed on God, fully expectant of that hour which though hidden from her knowledge, was present to her watchfulness.

To preserve this simplicity of attention undisturbed as much as possible, she declined seeing any friends except the members of her family, and one or two as familiar as they; while she entertained a most grateful sense of the sympathy and kindness the whole neighborhood was disposed to manifest.—She improved her hours, as her state allowed, in devotional reading and singing, frequently attempting to join in part of a hymn; and if her thoughts were at liberty to pass from herself to the world, it was exclusively on their accustomed errands of benevolence. The following quotations from her conversation about this time, are illustrations to the point.

Alluding to the delay in her anticipated removal, "This," she said, "is mysterious: I had hoped it would be otherwise; but *it is right*. If I am kept here, it is for some good end. Perhaps it is that I may be more *useful*. Pray that my death may be useful, and that patience may have its *perfect* work."

She named some young friends who had shown her kind attentions, with great affection, and said—"Eliza, I have particularly to request you will write to them, and let them know my condition.—Tell them that they have been much on my mind and in my prayers for months past. Assure them that, in all I have suffered, I have felt more powerfully than ever the *value*, the *necessity* of real religion; and urge them, in the *strongest terms*, to flee from the world and its vanities, and devote themselves *early*, *decidedly* to the Saviour."

"Give my Christian regards to the students, and tell them to persevere amid all discouragements, and to carry the gospel, the pure gospel, wherever they can. Let them be prudent, but let them fear nothing—except it be sin—remembering that they will be extensively either a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death. Tell them to think, always to think, of the *infinite value of an immortal soul.*"

"Give, brother," she said to me, "my dying love to the teachers of the Sabbath-school, and tell them I now think with pleasure of my engagements with them in instructing the ignorant and the poor; that a dying bed makes these services appear not less, but more important and interesting; and that I hope, since my efforts were so quickly ended, they will be anxious to supply my lack of service. Give my love also to *all the young people*, and assure them that, whatever their hearts may say, or their companions suggest, there is nothing like *early* piety.—I am thankful for many, many things, but *chiefly for this*. They wish to be happy; but tell them from me, *that no life can be happy but as it is spent in communion with God and devotedness to him.*"

This comparative suspension of acute suffering continued only for a few days; and, while it lasted, like the pause between two opposing powers, neither of which is victorious, it was ominous of more fixed and fatal conflict. Disease and death were resisted by a fine constitution, in the very verdure and energy of life; but, alas! the power of nature to resist was in this case only an awful capacity to endure the utmost portion of anguish. Her inward foes fixed on the vital parts, and the struggle continued and increased day after day, night after night, till it became even dreadful! Unceasing restlessness, delirious pain, deathlike sickness, writhing convulsions, by turns and together, shook the whole frame with unspeakable violence. But it must not be dwelt upon even in a distant recollection! It is sufficient to say, that such were the agonies at the crisis of this attack, that for eight-and-forty hours no sleep could be secured to the tormented sufferer, by the freest administration of the most potent opiates!

If it was painfully astonishing to behold what the body could suffer and yet live, it was divinely great and edifying to see how the spirit could sustain it. The storm, dreadful as it was, was limited to the grosser elements of her nature; beyond them all was still clear and tranquil. The mind might occasionally be obscured by bodily suffering, or bewildered by the illusions of bodily senses, or shut up and hidden amid bodily infirmities; but when it appeared it was still the same mind—placid, confiding—alive, indeed, to a sense of suffering, yet superior to all that oppressed it. Her own language will give the best representation, though it is broken and uttered at intervals.

"O Eliza," she said to her sister, "I never thought it would come to this—so helpless—so inanimate—such pain!"

On being asked if she was happy, "Yes," she replied, "I am in *exquisite* pain, but *free from care and alarm.*"

"I hope," her sister remarked, "we shall meet in heaven." "O yes!" she replied, "and soon!—It will not do to cast away our confidence, nor to be tossed to and fro with every wind and wave."

"I have been praying," she said, "that, if it were the Lord's will, he would cut short my suffering, and take me to himself; nevertheless, not my will, but his be done. If God is glorified, that is every thing."

"O this is a bitter cup—a bitter cup! Thou, O Lord, art righteous and true. Thou art my rock, there is no unrighteousness in thee. In faithfulness and in love hast thou afflicted me!"

"O this is trying, very trying! Forbid, my Saviour, that, through these pains, I should for a moment dishonor thee! and let me esteem it my greatest honor to bear whatever thou shalt see fit to lay upon me!"

"O my weariness, my restlessness! How I long to get home! I thought my heavenly Father would have taken me home ere this—but it is otherwise. O my God, may I remain here to strengthen the faith of those around me—to glorify thee by my keen anguish! That is what I desire—yes, that is what I desire—*to gratify thee!*"

"Maria, read to me—read some chapters and some prayers, and sing; I want all the help I can get now; I cannot even think for myself." The Scriptures and prayer at the end of Doddridge's Rise and Progress were read, and afterward the 23d Psalm. She took up the language of the 4th verse—"I will fear no evil; no why should I fear? Thou art with me, and wilt comfort me!—but it is a *dark* valley—*yet* I will fear *no* evil!"

Her friend remarked, "A Christian has comparatively little to fear."

"Ah, my dear," she replied quickly, "That is because you do not know what it is to die. Death at the very best, is an awful thing, and nature shudders at it. But," lifting her eyes to heaven, "I will fear *no* evil; Thou art *indeed* with me—Thou wilt bring me safely through!"

"O my Saviour," she prayed in strong agony, "Thou art full of compassion! Take me from this state of suffering, or give me patience to wait and bear it!"

It was remarked, "That it was a great blessing rather to *desire* death than to *dread* it."

"Ah," she replied, "*there is my danger!* I fear I may desire it too much, and so become impatient. I would not wish for any thing, only that God may be glorified in my suffering, or in my dying."

From this time she was not heard to utter one desire for her deliverance, however submissively; only that *faith* and *patience* might be granted.

"O pray for me—pray for me, that I may trust in God—simply trust in him. There is nothing like a simple dependance on the Saviour as a sinner—*nothing but a sinner!*"

"I never before felt the meaning of those words which the Saviour uttered, 'My soul is *exceeding sorrowful* even unto death.' Ah, *exceeding sorrowful*, and very heavy. I never before saw its meaning—*sorrowful* and *very heavy:* I understand it, but I cannot tell you anything about it—*very heavy!*"

"And we feel," I said, "my dear, all the benefit of the Saviour's sorrows."

"So oppressive were his sorrows," she continued still dwelling on the words, "that it was necessary to send an angel from heaven to strengthen him."

"And," I observed, "they are all ministering spirits to the heirs of salvation."

"Yes, they are!" she replied with earnestness, dwelling on it for some time, and then continuing: "Brother! notwithstanding all my affliction, *I am happy*. I have no wants—no fears! I had, indeed, a hard struggle to give up life without having done something more for my Saviour. I wished, had it been his will, to live to be *useful;* but now *his will is my will.* My soul doth magnify the Lord, and rejoice, yea, exceedingly rejoice, in his salvation! It is enough—quite enough! 'Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have beheld thy salvation!'"

"O brother, my soul is in bitterness—such pain! But the Lord is righteous—he is good."

"Yes, my dear, good when he gives, supremely good."

"Nor less," she replied, taking up the words; "nor *less* when he *denies.*"

"And yet," she continued, "it is mysterious, is it not? To think how easily dear Miss Weybridge was dismissed; just walking across the room, and then lying gently down to die! How different is my situation! But I *am sustained—just sustained!*"

"And *will* be sustained, my dear! and the more we are called to suffer, the more the strength of divine grace is manifested in supporting us; and the more, therefore, God is glorified in us."

"Yes, brother! let God be glorified, whether by suffering, or life, or death!"

"O brother, I am so frail—so helpless—so very helpless! In these deep waters, I often seem just like Peter, ready to sink; and, like him, I cry, 'Lord, save, or I perish!'"

"But you did not, like him, challenge Providence."

"No, no, brother; the Lord brought me here, and he supports me, and will support me!"

"O I cannot sufficiently admire the Saviour, who, in such circumstances as his, could say, 'Not my will, but thine be done!' He was *human* as well as divine; he saw *all* his sufferings beforehand; and his sufferings were every way peculiar and inconceivable; and he felt every thing as we do; and he said, 'Not my will, but thine be done!' O what resignation!"

"I have had a night of dreadful pain. It has been as though every joint and nerve in the body were rent asunder. I have not so much as the tip of the finger free from pain. I never could have thought the body was capable of so much suffering."

Fearing that this language might be mistaken for complaint, she continued—"This is better than I deserve; this is better than the pleasures of the world and of sin; this is nothing to what my Saviour suffered; his were the sufferings of the *soul*—mine are those of the *body*. O praise him, for he is good; his mercy endureth for ever—praise him—praise him!"

But all this cannot so fully reveal the serenity and composure of her spirit as the interest she still took in the welfare and even transitory feelings of others; and her watchfulness over herself in her conduct towards them. In her most pungent sufferings, there was the same disregard of herself, the same consideration and love of others. It was really surprising!

In a most severe paroxysm of pain, she said—"I have been fearing lest my sufferings should cause any who see them, or may hear of them, to stumble; but remember, this is my dying testimony—'*Behold, happy is the man whom the Lord correcteth!*'"

On hearing her nurse, who was affected by her torments, say—"Dear creature, she will have had all her sufferings in this life."—She immediately took it up, and with peculiar earnestness replied, "No, nurse, that is a fatal deception! Our dependance must be, not on our own sufferings, but on the sufferings of Christ. We all deserve to suffer for ever, and if we escape this, it must be by the Lord Jesus Christ. Remember, nurse, *by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as penitent sinners! no other way!*"

In the midst of most violent pain, she turned to Maria, and said, "Mind, my dear, above all things, that you seek to be *rooted* and *grounded* in the faith. You will surely want it when you come to this. O it is a solemn thing to step from one world to another! we can never take such another step—so solemn! See that you are ready for it. Walk, my dear Maria, near to God, walk circumspectly—be familiar with another world—the end of all things is at hand—think of me!"

On being partially relieved from agony, which brought on delirium, she exclaimed, scarcely recovered to her thoughts—"There, now tell my dearest mother I am better!"

In similar circumstances, fearing she might, without knowing it, have uttered what she would not approve, she looked kindly on her attendants, and said, "I hope I have not spoken *sharply*."

So far was she from this, that her whole conduct was marked with the greatest gentleness. She resigned herself to the most trying measures, for the satisfaction of her friends, when she had relinquished all hope of recovery; and the smallest attentions were sure to be met with kind acknowledgments.

On being told that her brother was coming to her room, after a long and heavy conflict, she immediately said, still alive to all the delicacies of her sex—"Then, Maria, do see that the room is in order, and—my person? Is that nice and becoming?—Do put me to rights—that I know will please my dear brother!"

I had now obtained more of self-command, and was much with my sister: and though she had wonderful power to restrain her feelings when I was present, it was impossible not to be acutely affected by her afflictions.

These afflictions, continuing day after day, and each day with more hopelessness, could not be desired. I could not, indeed, bring myself to utter such words, but the inward sentiment of the heart was, "that if life could only be held on such terms, life itself, dear as it was, might terminate." So may we be brought to ask, what, of all other things, we dreaded to realize!

On entering her chamber at this time, I took my seat by her side, and gave her some cider, the only thing she could now take—"Brother," she said, "*you* got me this cider—it is so acceptable!—Thank you, thank you. O how sweet is the kindness of friends! How great are my mercies!

"Is it not mysterious, brother, that I still am appointed to suffer?"

"Yes, my dear; but while we continue here, God has some end to answer by us."

"Yes, brother, *all is right!*"

"Now," I said, "we *believe* it; by-and-by we shall *see* it."

"O yes!" she replied; "*now* I must walk by faith—sense won't do *now—won't do now!*"

Gazing on her brother's averted and troubled features, she said, "Brother! It is such a pleasure to think of you."

"I am pleased that it is, my dear."

"That, brother, gives me greater pleasure still!"

"And this pleasure, I trust, will *never* be taken from us!"

"*Never—never!*" she replied with fervency.

But who shall successfully contend with death! The youngest and the strongest must utterly fail before his unsparing and all-powerful hand. The last and severest attack of disease was made early on the morning of December the eleventh; and I was suddenly called up to witness a struggle that was supposed to be fatal. But the voice was not in the storm. The divine goodness had graciously appointed (and I cannot sufficiently adore it) that the spirit, which was prepared meekly to *resign* its habitation at its Father's bidding, should not seem to be *forced* from it, amid the throes of convulsion and the wildness of delirium. Martha, after sustaining, in the spirit we have recorded, a desperate and heart-rending conflict, for most of this day, sunk into a deep sleep. This blessing had been long sought, but not found; and now it had come, it remained on her through the night, and the whole of the next day, till we began to tremble, lest, indeed, she should wake no more. However, on the evening of the twelfth, she awoke, greatly refreshed in spirit, and comparatively at ease in her body.

But the victory was gained. Death had subdued the earthly frame, and put his awful signature upon it. Fiery inflammation had done its work, and mortification was eating its way to the vital parts. The body, which had recently discovered such unnatural energy, was now powerless as earliest infancy. The lifeblood had fallen from the countenance; the shadows of death hung on the eyelids; the lips refused all nourishment, except what could be conveyed to them on the head of a feather. How low, how very low we may be brought, before we are actually brought to the dust of death!

There was something strangely impressive in this change! The features were occasionally illuminated by the indwelling spirit, and then sunk again into darkness. The voice was now uttered under the breath, and was rather like a whisper from the grave than sound the human tongue can utter, so unearthly was it. And the whole form frequently appeared almost as without life; and when it was put in motion, it seemed to be more by the impulse of a living spirit on a dead body, than by the free use of any physical powers. Yet when the spirit could make itself expressed, through these dim and disordered bodily organs, it spoke of peace which pain could not destroy, of a life over which death had no power. The following are some of its brief and broken expressions, which are among the most precious and sacred things committed to memory's keeping.

Soon after her waking, desirous to have renewed testimony of her happiness, I asked, if she still felt sustained and comforted?

"Yes," she replied; "suffering and weakness affect the mind, and bring a cloud between me and every thing—I cannot dwell on things as I wish—but the foundation is the same—the foundation is the same—and that supports me—*the foundation of God standeth sure.*

"I have great reason to be very thankful for this relief—very thankful—O to praise Him!—help me to praise—I cannot praise—in Heaven!"

"Righteous is the Lord, and good—immensely good—he is become my salvation—to praise him!"

"Pray that my death may be more useful, much more useful, than my life!"

"One moment *after* death!"

"O Heaven—Heaven—Heaven!"

"Maria," she said, "talk to me about Heaven."

It was spoken of as a state of rest, happiness, and purity.

"Yes—yes," she replied to the several observations, with a most gentle and heavenly expression of countenance.

"Ah! Heaven!—I am going, I will not stay here!"

It was remarked—"There we shall see God!"

The words touched her soul; delight and love stood in her eyes—"*See God, see God*—tell me no more———"

She dwelt on it in silence, till her feeble powers were perplexed:—"Talk about it again," she said.

It was revived—her mind seized on it—"*See God!—ah!—yes!—do not say any more; it is too much!—Pray for patience.*"

On Saturday the fifteenth, Martha lay mostly in a state of insensibility. She received no refreshment, took no notice. In the afternoon, her anxious mother expressed a conviction that she would notice *me*, if I sought to call up her attention. I sat quietly at her side, and fanned her. I moistened her lips with the cider, to which she had been so partial. She revived. "*So sweet!*" she said—"*That kind hand!—my dearest brother!—I love to see you!—quite worn out!—*"

Soon afterward the tolling of the church bell caught her ear—"*That sweet bell—sweet bell!*" she said.

"*Brother, what is to-morrow?*"

"It is the Sabbath day, my dear!"

"*Yes, the Sabbath!*" she replied, as the smile of hope and peace softly glowed over the ruins of her outward features, and then forsook them for ever. She had frequently referred to this day, I learnt, as the day of her happy release.

The Sabbath came. There was an impression among us, made principally by Martha's allusions, which rendered the opening of this day most peaceful and solemn. We moved about without noise, spoke with a subdued voice, and took our refreshments as though we took them not. The dear patient (sufferer now no longer) remained through the early morning shut up from all surrounding objects. Her mother, exhausted by many nights watching, I had urged to seek slight repose; the family went out to the house of prayer; I undertook, for the period, the sole care of our common love. It was an opportunity I sought, but scarcely knew how to sustain. However, there were no symptoms of present alarm—my charge was as she had been through most of the night—feeling nothing, awake to nothing. I took the New Testament into my hand, that charter of our immortality; and to avoid my own reflections, read its blessed assurances. An unusual composure stole over my thoughts—they were following, in imagination, the spirit they loved into heaven's eternal mansions.

The body stirred, and called up my attention.

I hung over it, and explored the features, hoping yet for some sign of love and consciousness—but there was no spirit visible there!

"My dear!" I said.

Her eyes, still true to their love, wandered in search of their object—but no! the film of death hung too heavily upon them.

Disappointed at this, the hand which had seemed to be lifeless so long, made an effort to creep towards me.

The sight was too affecting. I put my hand into hers, and brought it on its way.

I pressed it.

It made a feeble and painful effort to return the pressure.

"My dear!" I repeated.

She made a last effort to raise her eyelids—but in vain!

Her lips moved, and I bent my ear for some expression of hope and peace.

"*My—brother!*"—they whispered.

Those gentle, affectionate, dying sounds will always dwell in my ear; but there was yet (I can scarcely tell why) *another name* I wished once more to pass those lips!

I said—"There is a name that is far dearer to you than even that of brother."

She made an effort to speak again—but the lips refused to do her bidding. I watched them intensely. They became fixed, and the eyelids had sunk to their former position!

I pressed my finger on her pulse. It came and went; it fluttered and faltered; it stopped and revived most ominously!

I was relieved by the arrival of the family. Her mother, Eliza, and Maria came into the chamber successively; and, without saying a word, they marked the change, and took their place beside me. It was a solemn hour. We could not move; could not speak; could not weep. We were standing on the verge of two worlds. This world never appeared so shadowy; heaven never appeared so near. It seemed as though a breath would waft aside the thin veil which separated us from eternity; and faith and imagination were alive to the presence of ministering spirits, who were expected each moment to convey a sister spirit to all the grandeur and blessedness which it can reveal.

The object of our motionless and fixed attention lay as in a profound sleep, only that the respiration was becoming longer and deeper. Our own breathing, by sympathy, was made more difficult.

It became deeper—and deeper—and deeper!

After each act of respiration, there was a dreadful hesitancy, whether it should be renewed any more!

It was renewed—once—and again—and then lost for ever!

That moment our breath was suspended—and all was still as death, silent as the grave.

The next minute we recovered our inspiration by an hysterical effort; trembling seized us; we fell back in our seats, and burst into a flood of tears.

We were, at length, interrupted by the arrival of the nurses. I was unwilling that strangers should enter the room, it seemed so heavenly; I could not bear that the body should be touched, it seemed so sacred. I waved my hand for them to depart; but, checked by recollecting that their offices were needful, we hastened from the spot, and mourned apart the common, the inexpressible visitation.

CHAPTER XXV.

LAST OFFICES. 1821.

On the next morning we arose to a sense of our situation. The habitation was darkened; and an air of gloom and desertion rested on all its apartments. We moved about it with a silent and smothered tread, as if we might still disturb the repose of our beloved relative. We feared to meet each other's look; and the loved name which filled our thoughts no one could venture to utter. The smiles and caresses of our children seemed unnatural and distressing to us; and, I believe, had we obeyed the impulse of personal feeling in this early stage of our grief, we should each one have sought a state of absolute seclusion.

But there were duties still to be paid to the deceased; and reverence and love urged us to discharge them without delay. Our minds, therefore, were quickly girded to their performance; and painful as they are, they seem designed by a compassionate Providence, at this period of deep distress, to temper and regulate those emotions which might otherwise work with destructive power.

Some of the earliest and least welcome duties, however, which properly attached to me, were as kindly as delicately anticipated by those who might well have shrunk from them. Yet, as the mind recovered a degree of tranquillity, I felt that sacred and final trusts were committed to my hands, which I ought not entirely to delegate to others; and that I should not be satisfied with myself, unless I became the witness of their having been executed. This impression, supported by the yearnings of a trembling affection to take a last look of a form so unutterably dear, gave birth to a desire of visiting the chamber where it lay, before it should be for ever shut up from my sight.

It appeared essential to the accomplishment of this purpose, that it should be unobserved; and having sought for the occasion, I crept to the room as if detection would have made it really impossible. I approached the coffin. With a steady hand I gently pressed aside its cover. The first glimpse of the object for which the eye was searching, smote my hand and frame as by the shock of electricity. I recovered myself, and gazed on it for a moment. Those eyes, those ears, those hands had never been utterly insensible to me, and now they were so! It was not to be indured! The lid was hastily closed, and resting the arm upon it, I endeavored to divert the course of thought by turning the eye on other things. But this room was associated with manifold recollections of the most cheerful, pleasant, and blessed kind; and now it presented a picture of the most entire desolateness. The domestic fire was extinguished, the carpets were taken up, the bed was removed. Its furniture was a coffin; its inhabitant a corpse; and the only sign of life about it was derived from a poor robin, which sat on the opened frame of the window, repeating his short wintry note, as if asking for food he had often received, but had now sought many days in vain. There was no relief to be found here. I hastened away to the garden, to regain the composure I had lost.

But the morning arrived on which the very remains of so valued a being were to be removed from our possession. It was a dreaded day. There was a feverish activity about the family, connected with an expression of our mutual wishes by signs rather than words, which intimated the suppression of feeling that would scarcely yield to the hand of government. Our friends, the Rev. Messrs. Kemp and Weybridge, with the male members of our families, assembled to perform the few last offices due to mortality. One of them sought to break the painful silence, while waiting for our summons, by remarking to my father—"Well, my friend, God is lopping off the branches, that the trunk may fall the easier!"

"Lopping off the branches, indeed!" he replied, in so tremulous and sad a voice, as made us all seek refuge again in silence.

The arrangements were now complete, and we were called to take our place in them. There were, first of all, twelve children, who had been the latest scholars of the deceased, dressed in white. Close by the side of the body there was, unobtrusive and faithful, the lone widow in quiet sorrow; and around her, but a little distant, were some female villagers with their children, all of whom were evidently interested in the occasion. Afterward came the mourners, who closed the simple procession. My attention was called up by my father, at whose side I stood. We had spared him suffering as much as possible through the past scenes; but this final service seemed to take greater effect on him. His noble and revered frame, bending with age and shaken by present affliction, rocked and trembled so as to make me fear, that my efforts to steady his steps would not avail to support him through the trial.

We moved slowly, reluctantly forward. There was no noise, no disgusting indifference, no impertinent curiosity. The spectators showed their concern by silent sympathy; and if any of them spoke, it was with a soft voice, and mostly the record a full heart was disposed to make of the virtues or sufferings of the departed.

We entered the churchyard. We were received by the officiating minister, and passed into the church. The service began. Never did I listen to it with such ears. I had many times read, and had admired as often as I had read, the apostle's argument on the great doctrine of the resurrection; but if ever it is to be felt in all its force of proof, in all its exaltation of sentiment, in all its triumph of confidence, it must be when hanging over the relics of those we most have loved, and clinging to the hope of immortality as the only one that can abide with us amid the devastations of time and death. We quitted the sanctuary for the spot where we were to deposite our sacred charge—a spot which the deceased had chosen. We met around the mouth of the grave, and beneath the shade of a spreading yew-tree. The coffin descended. The service went on. The fragments of earth fell on the surface with a rattling hollow sound, which affectingly proclaimed the nothingness of all earthly life, the vanity of all earthly hope. The "sure and certain hope" was expressed with the confidence of faith; the thanksgiving and the prayer were offered, and the act of solemn worship ceased.

We hung around the spot as if it could not be forsaken. The children looked into the grave, and shed sincere and generous tears over their devoted instructer. The good mothers expressed their emotion, either by uttering their blessings on her memory, or averting their countenances, which were too much distressed for inspection. The widow stood gazing with features full of resigned sorrow, which seemed to say, "I have lost a friend, and I shall never find such another." Her father resolved on one last look; and, deeply groaning, turned away for ever. For myself, my courage failed me; I feared to look at all; and in moving from the place, I found myself involuntarily endeavoring to assuage rebellious feeling, by repeating the words, "In sure and certain hope! in sure and certain hope!"

Yet, however willing to stay, it was necessary for us to depart. We allowed ourselves to be put in our former melancholy order, and moved from the sacred enclosure. There, where Tillotson has preached, where Watts has studied, where Mason sleeps—there, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest—there we left the precious remains, sustained by the gracious assurances of Him who watches over the dust of his saints, and who has promised to raise, glorify, and immortalize it. The particular place at which it reposes is marked by a plain tablet, which bears the following inscription:

M. R.
OBT. DEC. 16, 1821, ÆT. 22.
TO THE STRANGER,
HER VIRTUES
CANNOT BE KNOWN
TO HER FRIENDS,
HER MEMORY
IS HER BEST EPITAPH.

On arriving at the cottage, there was yet another duty to be discharged before we separated. Martha, in disposing of what belonged to her, had assigned a portion of her circulating books to the children who were now with us, appointing a particular book to each child. They were, therefore, arranged in the hall; and the books were presented to them in her name, with a request that they would not part with them. One of my ministering brethren very kindly gave them a brief and appropriate address, while the other offered for them earnest and affectionate prayer. The tender, sympathetic, and solemn allusions made in these services to the deceased, went direct to the hearts of the children, and they indulged themselves in the unconstrained expressions of their grief. It was a very affecting close of most affecting engagements.

In the decline of the day we hastened to town, and prepared ourselves as we could to seek, on the approaching Sabbath, the improvement of the event, in the more trying and public service of the sanctuary. On the afternoon of the day Dr. Winter* commended the bereaved family to the divine pity and blessing; and sought to render the impressive dispensation beneficial to a crowded and deeply interested auditory, from these words, "*It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord.*" It is needless to say, that the reflections which were grounded on this passage were such as well illustrated and forcibly applied its important doctrine; and it will be at once apparent, that the words themselves could not have been better adapted to the occasion, had they been selected by those who knew most of the deceased.

The solemn duties of the temple terminated; and in the evening I was glad, under the influence of suppressed feeling, to seek the relief of retirement. I had necessarily been much with others; now I was alone. I had had a distinct object before me, and had struggled against emotion, that I might not be disqualified for paying those last offices to the dear departed which I had determined to render; but, now every thing was done, the bracing power of resolution was lost, and the reflections wandered at liberty over all that had transpired. Thought was busy in dwelling on the more recent and distant scenes of her life. Our infantile sympathies—our childish amusements—our youthful perplexities—our matured affection—our Christian communion—were all surprisingly present to the mind. Then it was that I felt the kindred ties of blood, the dearest attachments of the heart, were rudely burst asunder; that she, who had been cherished on the same bosom, and reposed in the same cradle—that she, who had shared in my earliest recollections, my best enjoyments, my deepest affections—that she, who had grown up by my side, shedding the light, and love, and gladness of her presence around me, till it seemed almost the necessary element of my existence—that my sister, my only sister, was no more—that an irreparable breach had been made in the series of my relationships—that I was *sisterless*, and that I could never be otherwise!

But these reflections would mix themselves with others which served to qualify them. It was impossible to separate Martha's life from the presence of religion; or to revert to the final scenes of suffering without receiving a triumphant testimony of the power of godliness. Here the lacerated heart found consolation. Imagination turned from privation, anguish, and death, to follow the living and emancipated spirit springing to the light of heaven, clad in the glory of heaven, and keeping heaven's eternal Jubilee with God, and the Lamb, and all the sanctified. The mind seemed present to the society and blessedness it contemplated. The tender request of the departing saint—"*Do not think of me, brother, as far away!*" came softly over the memory, and supplied the last drop to the overflowing emotions of the heart.—There is a balm most fragrant and salutary in those tears which nature sheds and religion sanctifies.

Winter has returned again, and again departed; but we are still a mourning family; and the sense of our loss will often cross the current of our thoughts when they are seeking recreation, or intent on the busy duties of life. The beloved name has indeed been given to an infant born to us since the removal of our relative; but the heart cannot so be cheated. There is a void in our circle, and about our cottage, which Martha only could fill. Her smiles, her words, her handiwork, are associated with every thing and every apartment of the place; and tell us of enjoyments that are past never to be restored!

Time, however, has so softened grief, that it has now little to distress, nothing to alarm reflection. It is of a quiet, soothing, and often, I trust, of an elevating character. Martha lived a saint, and died a saint; and, now that the first flow of sorrow is past, the impression of her life and death is most saintly and blessed. The house in which she dwelt is the more dear for having had her as its inhabitant; the paths she loved to tread are the more pleasant because she has trod them; the garden she admired is the more beautiful for having given her pleasure; her flowers, the only living memento of her lovely but frail existence, are the more precious for reminding us of her; and in the very chamber and on the very pillows where she resigned her spirit into the hands of her Saviour, I now frequently lay me down to repose, with a sense of serenity and peace never connected with the spot before.

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* The bereavement was also improved the same day by the Cheshunt ministers, and the Rev. T. West, of Barking, the residence of my parents; to them, and to the extended circle of sympathizing friends, who sought by the kindest attention to lighten the burden of the sufferer or of the survivors, the writer tenders his respectful but cordial acknowledgements. May they find comforters, kind and true, in their adversity!

Similar impressions happily extend even to our children, from their partial remembrances. The eldest, when anxious to give his full commendation to any real or supposed excellence, declares, *it is like aunt Martha.* And his younger brother, as if sympathizing in our seriousness, would sometimes arrest himself in his gambols, and pointing to the blue sky, would say, with his broken utterance, "*Aunt Martha gone up to heaven—me go to aunt Martha!*"

The memory of the just is blessed! It softens the heart, elevates the eye, strengthens the hand, sanctifies the soul. It is the voice of God proclaiming to us peace in this life, joy in the life to come. It has often been enshrined in the breast of infancy, as the seeds of a future and glorious life; and has sometimes made its way to the heart, which had shown itself preoccupied by worldly care and earthly enjoyment, against all common remonstrance and entreaty. *The memory of the just is blessed!*

FARE THEE WELL! FARE THEE WELL!
IT IS SWEET TO THINK OF THEE!
OF THY WORK OF FAITH,
LABOR OF LOVE, AND PATIENCE OF HOPE;
OF THY DELIVERANCE
FROM
DEATH, SUFFERING, AND SIN;
OF THY
ADMISSION TO
THE SONGS, THE JOYS, THE REST
OF THE BLESSED,
SURROUNDED BY HEAVEN'S RADIANT GLORY,
AND DWELLING
BENEATH THE SHADOW OF THE ALMIGHTY!
IT IS SWEET TO THINK OF THEE!
FARE THEE WELL! FARE THEE WELL!
I WOULD EVER THINK THOU ART HAPPY!
NEVER THINK THOU ART GONE!

READER—I have now accomplished, with what ability I might, my painfully pleasing task of introducing you to an intimate knowledge of a relative who was dear, unutterably dear while living, and whose memory is made divinely sacred by the solemn and final transformations of death. It is neither accordant with my wishes nor my taste to close this narrative by burdening your attention with all the inferences, in formal succession, which it might sufficiently justify. But, on the other hand, I cannot feel at liberty entirely to resign this record to your hands, without pressing on your thoughts the importance of a personal and practical application of the lessons it unfolds or suggests. If virtue has been exhibited, it is that it may be reproduced and invigorated in you; if natural defect of character has been acknowledged, it is, that in coming to a wise sense of your own deficiencies, that you may not be seduced into despondency; and if the gradual conquest of these infirmities, has been traced to the corresponding influence of vital religion, it is that you might have greater solicitude awakened for those influences, which alone can effectually guard, and sanctify, and exalt the mind.

The question, then (forgive its freedom in its kind intention,) which I am anxious earnestly to propose, is, By what principles is your life regulated? To what end is it directed? Are you living as seeing the things that are invisible and eternal? or are you intently pursuing present and worldly objects as your highest good? Is your life, like that of the deceased, a course of strict self-discipline and unlimited devotedness to its Author? or does it centre in selfish gratifications and earthly pleasures? Are you prepared for a change of being which will certainly, and perhaps quickly, come; and beyond which all change, and all hope of change, are excluded for ever?

These inquiries arise to you as a rational and immortal creature; and, excuse me in remarking, if there is any *reluctance* to entertain them, there is proportionate reason to fear they have been too sadly neglected. And can such subjects as they involve be neglected, without affording some proof of an inward reluctance to regard them? And can such reluctance dwell in the breast of a rational being, without implying an alienation of heart from objects by which it ought to be most powerfully attracted?

It is a law of your nature, that whatever of good is possessed, you should still be looking from the present to some future enjoyment. But, how is it, that while, under the force of this principle, you pass eagerly from the attainment of one temporal pleasure to the pursuit of another, your anticipations never spring beyond the limitations of sense and time, and feed on the immutable realities of a spiritual world? Why should hope stop suddenly in her excursion into futurity, on the line which separates this world from another, when by passing that line the prize immortality, the utmost to which she could aspire, would be within her grasp? Could any thing check her course and paralyze her energies at once, and just when they should be most excited, but *fear?* And why should fear have power to array every thing in an unseen world in forms of alarm and terror, if not sustained by the testimony of *conscience?* Surely here are indications of a mind estranged from Him whom it ought most to know; of a soul fallen from God, sunk into itself, and losing itself in an animal, sensitive, and perishable existence.

Such a state, as it is the offspring of crime, so it is the parent of misery. It is admitted, that it is capable of some gratifications; and were you not enriched with a superior nature, they would be perfect in their kind while they continued. As it is, they are necessarily imperfect. The senses and appetites of the body may find readily the pleasures for which they are adapted, in the suitableness of things around them to their nature; but the soul, an exile from its home, wanders about in such a world, solitary and sorrowful, seeking rest and finding none. In the midst, indeed, of animated spirits, social enjoyments, honorable duties, and soothing reputation, your passions have endeavored to importune you into a sense of happiness; but the effort has been as unsuccessful as it was clamorous. The soul, offended at the violence offered to its own unwelcome convictions, has refused to confirm the pleadings of the heart; and while the smile of joy has been playing on your cheek, and the breath of flattery exhilarating your spirit, and the cup of prosperity sparkling in your hand, it has ached with a bitter sense of vacancy and vexation!

O do not put from you this confession of a timid and silenced conscience! Do not hide yourself from the inquietudes of your own spirit! They are unwelcome, but they are salutary. To trifle with them is to trifle with your best interests; to conquer them is to achieve your own ruin. Rightly understood, they point you to peace and felicity; they are the flutterings of the winged spirit that would fain soar to its native heaven—the yearnings of the orphaned soul after its Father and its God. *Here*, in all the eye sees, in all the ear hears, in all the hand touches, in all the imagination devises, it finds nothing adapted to itself—nothing worthy of its *final* dependance. Earth is all too narrow, time is all too short, the world is all too gross, for its expanding and spiritual capacities. Its pasture, its alliances, its inheritance are in heaven.

Cease, then, from the world, and all the world contains—from the seductions of pleasure—from the blandishments of wealth—from the glory of fame and power. They are emptier than vanity, fleeter than the wind; the shadow of a shade, the image of a dream; fair to the sight, tempting to the lip; rottenness to the grasp, and bitter as gall in the remembrance. The love of them is in exact opposition to the love of God, to the soul's present joy and future salvation. O arise, then, to the pursuit of a portion adapted to your rational, commensurate with your eternal, existence! Let your earthbound thoughts and affections ascend to objects worthy of them; let them return to God who gave and inspires them—to God, the rest of the weary, the exclusive centre of the soul! *There*, in his light, the spirit shall see light, in his purity be made pure, in his glory be restored to its original nobility and grandeur. *There*, in the uncreated, infinite, and everduring excellence of Deity, it will find a portion which can never be explored—a fountain of perennial delight, which flows but the more freely for the largest demands made on its living fulness!

In your aspirations to this blessedness (if happily excited,) let no sense of your demerit enfeeble or check your desires. The enemy with whom you have to contend, when he can no longer detain you in captivity by the lulling opiates of carnal security, will seek to hold you by the oppressive chains of despondency. But be not ignorant of his devices. Admit, at once, all that he would urge against you; your folly and your sin; your departure from the living God; your idolatrous and perverse attachment to forbidden objects. Fall under the testimony of Scripture, on the error of your ways and the desert of your conduct. Allow that you are miserable, because you have been wicked; and that your wickedness might justly involve you in deepest punishment. But, admit all this, not as an argument *against* turning to the God you have forsaken, admit it as a reason why you should apply to him with greater earnestness of purpose. The more alarming the disease, the more needful the physician; the more formidable your offence, the more important is strenuous intercession for an act of divine forgiveness.

Say not, "There is no hope!" it is the whisper of a proud and unbelieving spirit. There is hope! abundant hope in God! in the compassion of his heart, in the power of his arm, in the promises of his gospel, in the vicarious atonement of his Son, in the effectual influences of his Holy Spirit. Return, then, to God, from whom you have revolted, humbly confessing your sins, trusting in the accepted merits of the Great Mediator, and looking for that assistance which you need, and he has graciously promised. Awake from the lethargy of indifference! arise from the depression of fear! You live under the richest dispensation of mercy. Every thing invites you to God. The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent (those who are sincerely intent on the object) take it by force. The Spirit says, Come; and the church says, Come; and whosoever *will*, let him come and take the waters of life freely. There is hope to all who *come*; none are without hope but those who *wilfully* stay away, and, by staying away, exclude themselves.

Yet again permit me to address you in the words of caution. There is a wide distinction between certain convictions reaching the *understanding*, and obtaining full possession of the *heart*. Yea, there is an essential difference between arriving at the formation of any resolutions, and carrying them out into instant, persevering action. If all who have formed purposes of abandoning sin and seeking in religion forgiveness and felicity, *were* saved, few indeed would be the number of those who would finally suffer for their crimes. But, alas! in most cases, these resolutions have never found expression in the conduct; they have been extorted by terror, or framed to appease an alarmed conscience. In defiance of them, the tenor of the life has remained unchanged; the *present time* has been, day after day, given to vanity; the *future, while future*, promised to better things. These better things, which were not distinctly realized, which the heart did not sincerely love, were postponed—and postponed—and postponed—till, the hour of inquest and retribution arriving, it was impossible to delay, or to trifle, or to hope any longer; and those resolutions which the will had never adopted, the heart never cherished, stood among the highest aggravations of guilt unpardoned and unpardonable.

In any ordinary circumstance, you would judge it a mark of pitiable and criminal weakness for an individual needlessly to transfer duties it is important to do at once, to a distant period. And, surely, you will not allow yourself to be deceived into the adoption of this dangerous procrastinating principle in a concern of the utmost moment to you? What infatuation and insincerity it implies! Is it too soon to be wise—too soon to be forgiven—too soon to be happy? If you act on a principle which has been fatal to myriads, but for a day, an hour, is it not just to conclude it will be fatal to you? This is a dispensation as strict in judgment as it is rich in mercy! The ordination of Heaven is, "that those who see," and act not agreeably to their perceptions, "shall be made blind." "*Now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation." It is all present—it is all passing! The Scriptures have not a promise, the ministry has not a commission, for any future time—no, not for the next day, the next hour! *Now, now* is the accepted time—the only time in which you can be assured of favor and forgiveness! O consider this very urgency of the divine grace, as the noblest proof of its condescension! consider the frailty of your existence as the most pressing motive to respect it! You will not resolve to give yourself up to religion *to-morrow*, when you may die *to-day!*

May die to-day! O, I beseech you, lay to your heart a deep sense of your mortality! And seriously, frequently inquire, in answer to all the illusions of the world and the plausibilities of conscience, how you can sustain your last conflict without the presence of religion! To the bed of death you must surely and shortly come! At this moment, time is shorter with you, the grave nearer to you than ever. *Then*, when the body is oppressed with languor and tormented with suffering; when the cold sweat stands on your forehead; when the shadows of death spread themselves over your countenance; when the earth trembles, and shakes, and recedes beneath you; when the spirit shudders at the presence of an opening, unknown eternity; when the dying wandering eye asks an assistance from weeping friends which they cannot afford; *then*, what will you do without the supports, the consolations of religion! The pleasures you ma have loved, the honors you may have gained, the property you may have amassed, the society you may have cultivated, what will they avail in such an hour? They all belong to a corporeal and temporal state of existence; in leaving the world you must leave them; and, as far as they are concerned, you will find yourself naked and alone at the footstool of your Creator!

As it is appointed for all men once to die, so all must enter into judgment. *You* must stand at the judgment seat of Christ—*you* must render an account of the deeds done in the body, of the thoughts cherished in the heart. Solemn, supreme, and final scrutiny! Nothing can be concealed, nothing palliated, nothing altered. The trumpet sounds—the Judge is coming—your eye watches for his appearing! The sun is smitten with darkness, the moon turned into blood, the stars fall from their courses—you see them not! The thunders of Omnipotence are rolling and raging from pole to pole, from world to world; the earth is dissolved, the heavens pass away with a mighty noise—you hear it not! Millions of your fellow-creatures are ascending from the ruins of perishable creation, and are pressing thick around you to the general judgment—you heed them not, know them not! Your fixed, your aching spirit is still searching for the first glimpses of the Judge's appearance! He comes! The tribunal is set—the books are opened—*you* are summoned to his bar! O how will you look on the face of a despised, neglected, injured Saviour! of a just, indignant, powerful Judge!

Judgment is followed by eternity. It is this gives it all its terrors. It is this clothes the felicities of heaven with imperishable glory; it is this which gives to punishment a deathless sting. O eternity, eternity! A period without beginning, without pause, without succession, without end! duration without time, being without limit! Your noblest birthright; but, if sinfully abused, your deepest curse! O think of the worm that dieth not—of fire that cannot be quenched! Think of a soul lost—lost for ever! Living only to suffer; invigorated, to be increasingly alive to suffering! Enlarged in its capacities to contain only a fuller cup of wo; immortalized to be immortally wretched! Nothing to love—nothing to pursue—nothing to divert the attention from unmixed, unabated misery. Wretched in itself—wretched in its society—wretched in the thought of heaven's felicity—wretched, above all, in the thought of the blessings wilfully cast away, the wrath wilfully plucked down on itself—wrath already realized, and always to come!

And are you an expectant of these things? Is the Judge at the door? Is an immortality of bliss or wo most surely yours? And can you for a moment be careless to the infinite alternative? Can you neglect now what will shortly *engross* you for ever? O, by the certainty of death; by the coming of the day of judgment; by the riches of immortality; by the ruinous punishment of the wicked; by all that is dearest to you; by all that is most dreadful; by all that is present; by all that is to come; I entreat, I beseech you—what shall I say? in the name of the book by which you are to be judged, I command you, not for an instant, to neglect your great salvation! Awake, arise, call upon God! Pray—watch—wrestle—agonize! All you can do—all you can suffer—all you can sacrifice, is unutterably trifling, when salvation is your object, and immortality your prize. The day of mercy is not yet passed—the time of life is not yet spent—the door of hope is not yet shut! Struggle to enter in! It is for your life! and that life eternal! Hell from beneath—heaven from above, are moved for you! Lost demons would decoy you into their own destruction; blessed spirits would minister to your deliverance! More and greater are they that are for you, than all that are against you. The Almighty Saviour is on your side in this conflict! Take hold of his strength—plead his mercy—rely on his promise—look to him—flee to him. He will cast out none—the weakest, the most unworthy—who come unto him. Blessed—supremely, eternally, infinitely blessed—are they who put their trust in him. Nothing can harm them—nothing impoverish them! To them, affliction loses its sting, and eternity its terrors. In the ruins of the universe they lose nothing—suffer nothing! Then life is to begin—their good things to come. Honors that never fade—riches that are never exhausted—pleasures that never cloy—are theirs. Heaven is their inheritance—eternity their time—and God—the great, the good, the blessed—the light of our light, the joy of our joy, the soul of our existence—is their portion and their glory! This incomprehensible being—opulent in his own perfections, happy in his own excellence—invites you to himself! His arms of paternal love are expanded to receive! The world by its vanity—time by its flight—the grave by its solemnities, urge you to obey this invitation. Yes, even the grave, on such a subject, has a voice awful as itself to warn and exhort you. The life we have traced, the death we have together lamented, the tomb we have together surrounded, do they not speak most powerfully in the ear of Reason and Conscience? Amid the silence, and the darkness, and the mysteries of mortality, is there not a spirit-voice that says—LIFE, EARTH, TIME, are NOTHING! ETERNITY, HEAVEN, GOD are EVERY THING!

APPENDIX.

LETTER I.

TO HER PARENTS.

MY BELOVED AND HONORED PARENTS—Permit your Martha to indulge the feelings of her heart towards you in writing a few lines. Shall I tell you how often I think of you? No—I cannot do it! Shall I tell you how much I wish you here? Language fails. Shall I describe the impression your kindness from childhood to the present hour has made on my heart? This, too, is impossible! I must be content to say, that your happiness is dearer to me than my own; and that the mind of your Martha is only peaceful and serene as she believes yours to be so.

I have the happiness to inform you, that my health seems gradually returning; and this, my dear parents, does not give me so much pleasure as the thought that you will be gratified to hear it.

A fond mother often says—a parent only can know the feelings of a parent; let me add—a daughter only can know the feelings of a daughter.

I have but two complaints to make; one is, that I am at such a distance from my family; and the other, that I am deprived of the ministry of my beloved pastor. Pray for me, my dearest parents, that I may exemplify all I have heard him inculcate; and may you abundantly realize all those holy delights he so earnestly commends to us!

Yours, with unvarying love and gratitude,

MARTHA.

LETTER II.

TO MRS. B——.

MY DEAR FRIEND—May I not, ought I not, to say, "Bless the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together!" O for a heart to praise him! How frequently the pleasures as well as the sorrows of life unfit us for this holy exercise! Strange that the streams of comfort should render us unmindful of the fountain!

How much I shall be gratified by seeing you. When we meet, may we evidently be as fast preparing for eternity as we are advancing towards it!

LETTER III.

TO THE SAME.

My dear friend—My journey was attended with pleasure, pain, and profit.

The pleasure and pain I regarded but little, knowing they would soon terminate; but I was anxious to seize the opportunity afforded me for *improvement*, because I knew it would never return. This is just as I wish to do in the journey of life.

On Sabbath morning, I entered that sacred place where we have often mingled our praises and our prayers. I looked round; you were not there. My dear mother was confined. Many of my friends had the emblems of mortality about them; upon the countenances of others sat languor and disease. My spirit sunk; and I felt afresh the need of inward consolation. The preacher ascended the pulpit, and chose these words for his text: "Because I live, ye shall live also." I listened while he showed the similarity of the Christian's life to the life of Christ. My spirit was refreshed, and I could not help exclaiming, O that all were acquainted with this source of consolation, wretched as they must be without it!

The preacher proceeded to show that life produced by exertion; and that in proportion as this life advanced in the Christian, his exertions would be general, uniform, energetic, and pleasurable. Such I wished my own exertions might be—such I devoutly wished might be yours; for I know not that I could ask for you any thing more desirable. O if such is the spirit of our exertions, what good may we not do! With such a disposition, every day will afford some opportunities of being useful. Let us determine, my dear, in the strength of Jesus, to engage in nothing without aiming at the divine glory.

LETTER IV.

TO THE SAME.

My dear friend—You are in debt to me I know not how many letters; but I am so much indebted to you in another sense, that I cannot help seizing every opportunity of acknowledging my obligations. You have heard, perhaps, that I have been suffering from a fresh disorder. Pray for me, that it may be sanctified, and that in patience I may possess my soul. If it is impossible to enjoy peace and serenity of mind in the hour of sickness, without the supports of religion, how can death be endured in their absence? Or should conscience, by a long course of sin, be stupified and rendered indifferent to the solemnities of that awful hour, how much will the anguish of the spirit be increased, at the moment of its separation from the body! These considerations ought to stir our zeal for the welfare of others, and lead us to seize on every prudent opportunity of impressing the minds of all around us with the infinite importance of attending to their eternal concerns.

LETTER V.

TO THE SAME.

My dear friend—Though I am very busy, I hope to have an opportunity of sending to you tomorrow. I therefore lay aside my work, in order to assure you that you are not forgotten by me. Does *this* assurance gratify you? O let us call to remembrance the repeated assurances we have, that Jehovah never forgets his people! But are you ready to fear that he does not remember you *in mercy*, because you so often forget him? If this is the case, I can sympathize with you; for when I look within, I am often ready to exclaim, Can God indeed dwell here? Yet, let us not be discouraged. Jesus has said, he will cast out none; and he has promised his Spirit to all who ask it. How often, when oppressed with sin and borne down by affliction, are we led to say—I loathe it, I loathe it! I would not live always! It is difficult, very difficult, to preserve a *waiting posture*, neither anxious for life nor death. When we are summoned to the bar of Jehovah, may our language be, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord!" It is at once the language of divine patience and heavenly hope.

LETTER VI.

TO THE SAME.

My dear friend—I cannot exactly enter into your present feelings; but I imagine them. It is no trifling thing to be in a small degree responsible for an immortal spirit; to be wholly so must then be a most serious charge. While reflections of this nature solemnize your mind, it is needful to watch against *despondency*. Our apprehensions should never sink us below a reliance on Him who has said, "Trust in me at *all* times."

Let us arise and tell Him all our wants; let us ask of Him great things worthy of a God to bestow; and let us ask *in faith*; remembering, that we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus.

When we consider how little we can accomplish by our actual exertions, it is gratifying to recollect that we may benefit the *whole world* by our prayers. May our exertions and our prayers be constantly united!

I hope you will be enabled to improve every talent entrusted to you. Your *influence* is no longer small. It is a talent you can, and will employ. How often has my conscience reproached me for neglecting it! May you learn from my regrets! and if possible, let no one come beneath your roof without deriving some advantage from your example, your counsel, your sympathy, or your prayers. Be not deceived, as I have frequently been, by thinking you have not prudence or skill sufficient for the occasion. We are not called to any duty for which divine wisdom cannot qualify us; and much of our fancied humility may be traced to our indifference.

LETTER VII.

TO THE SAME.

Soon, my dear Ann, you will become a parent. Then you will be able more fully to appreciate that pathetic declaration, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." When you know a mother's feelings, it will *appear* impossible for you, for a moment, to forget your dear infant. Remember, then, my love, for your consolation, it is *really* impossible that your Almighty parent should fail in his kindness towards you. I hope your soul is in perfect peace, being stayed on God. How soon will events that now engage us so completely, cease to interest! Shortly, very shortly, the only great concern will be, whether we are ready for the appearing of the Lord, and what we have done for his glory. May we live *now* as we shall desire to have lived *then!*

F——— often occupies my thoughts! I ardently wish its prosperity. Let every thought of your minister, my dear, be turned into prayer. Ah! we little know all they have to combat with. If we are dead or lifeless, the effect is trifling; but if they are so, all feel it—all discover it; and if this discovery invariably urged us to wrestle with God on behalf of his servants, what a change might we frequently witness in our families and our churches. Send me word on what evening the poor people assemble for their lecture. I like to meet them *in spirit.*

LETTER VIII.

TO MISS H———.

My dearest L———: To-day my prospect has been bounded by the opposite houses; my walk has been the length of the room in which I sit; and yet, perhaps, I have enjoyed the works of nature in imaginary rambles, as much as those who have actually taken them. How great are the pleasures of imagination! How kind is our Creator in allowing us so many sources of delight! Exquisite, indeed, was my pleasure while strolling down the shady lanes of Frampton, listening to the music of the birds, or the gentle rippling of the water, surveying the yellow grain, and the busy laborers gathering it in their bosoms.

It has been justly observed, that solitude and silence, properly enjoyed, exalt the mind above its natural tone, fire the imagination, and prepare it for the most sublime and exalted conceptions. Retirement gives birth to new and undefined emotions; but when every thing else is favorable to his happiness, without the smiles of his Heavenly Father the Christian's enjoyments are scarcely worth the name. It is the combination of spiritual and intellectual delights, that can transport and satisfy his longing spirit! Let us endeavor, my dear friend, to connect every thing with God.

If we are contented to pass through the present state as pilgrims, we shall meet with much to refresh and gratify us; but if we attempt to rest in the wilderness, we shall soon feel a thorn in our pillow. You did not say whether you went to the Sunday-school, or whether you were able to drop a few tracts in your journey. If beautiful scenery elevates and expands the heart, may our increasing sensibility discover itself in our fervent love to Jesus, and in our simple-hearted efforts to promote the interests of our fellow-creatures!

LETTER IX.

TO HER BROTHER.

And does my dearest brother love me? Cheering assurance! There is nothing of which I am more confident, yet nothing I delight more to be told. O, it is pleasing to dwell on the love of a brother! What, then, should we feel in dwelling on the love of a Saviour!

I am now seated in *your* study, and you can hardly tell the pleasure this simple circumstance occasions. Since you did not tell me what book I should read next, I have ventured to begin Allison on Taste. I love knowledge for its own sake; but I wish also to acquire information, that I may be worthy to be called your sister.

The sun shines delightfully this morning; I hope you and dear E. are able to enjoy its beams. When you said she was poorly, I was wishing to be with her, to pay her any little attentions she might require. Were I to indulge my feelings, how I should amplify in my wishes for you; but I forbear, well knowing the expression of our attachment must be restrained and regulated in order to be valuable. When clothed in *action*, however, it never ceases to be agreeable; and in this way will I ever seek to discover the affection of my spirit.

I heard Mr. K—— this evening with much pleasure. Every sentence he uttered was weighty. Good man! his race is almost run, and very soon he will be gathered to his fathers. The young minister, who is all zeal in the service of his Master, and the aged veteran, who has borne the heat and burden of the day, excite peculiar emotions; for one we pray much, for the other our souls are melted into gratitude. There were some excellent petitions offered up for you, in which I most heartily united. How could we live at a distance from those who were dear to us as life itself, if we are not permitted to indulge our affection for them at the throne of Mercy?

Pray, my dearest brother, that my life may be a *useful one.* I would fain be like a gentle stream, that glides quietly through the vale, refreshing and fertilizing wherever it goes?

LETTER X.

TO MRS. B———.

A happy, a prosperous year to you, my beloved friend, in every sense, but especially in a spiritual one! How long it is since I heard from you! The occupations of life press on us, and steal away our time; so that, at the close of each successive week, we are ready to exclaim, Can it be Saturday? How perpetually, too, are we constrained to lament, that the things of time and earth have engrossed too large a portion of our attention! If we are conscious of misimproving the past, let us seek to be doubly diligent in future. A *new* year is commenced: what *new* plans of doing good can we form? What is most likely to increase our zeal in the pursuit of those which exist already? Are there not some individuals over whom we possess a degree of influence, which has not been *sufficiently* exerted? Are there not many for whom we have not done all we *might* do? O how little do Christians *go out of their way* for the good of souls! How little do they evince the Spirit of Him who *came* to seek and to save that which was lost! Blessed Jesus, make us, and make all thy people, increasingly like thyself!

LETTER XI.

TO HER BROTHER.

It is Wednesday night, my beloved brother! consequently I am a little out of spirits, because I cannot fly to the chapel. I hope, however, to cheer myself by a few moments converse with you.

First, permit me to return my sincere thanks for your very kind loan of Stewart, especially as you may have sacrificed some pleasure in foregoing his delightful society. But while to offer thanks may be most gratifying to myself, I am aware that, to a heart like yours, it will be a higher gratification to know that the perusal has afforded me no small pleasure. Among other benefits I hope to derive from it, is a more profound veneration for the Author of my intellectual faculties. I wish to cultivate my rational powers, that I may form more enlarged views of the Divine Being, and that I may have another talent to dedicate to his service. O, my dear brother, what an exalted motive does religion supply to every pursuit!

LETTER XII.

TO MISS N———.

Now, then, my dear Maria, for a little chat. I suppose you are often affectionately saying, "I should like to know how Martha is going on." Well, my dear, I will endeavor to tell you; and for once will write "a great deal about myself." I lattend to my physician's advice, and walk twice a day. This morning I crept slowly down a lane, which commands on one side a very fine prospect. Every now and then my book was shut, and I gazed around me like one enamored. Then I looked within, and said—

The stillness of this hour expels
All tumult from my breast.

Yes, my dear, I felt invigorated by the pure air, and tranquillized by the delightful scenery. Then I leaned on a bridge, contemplating the present, the past, and the future. I thought of the Hand that had led me all my life long, and hoped I should never be unwilling to submit to its guidance, whether the path it shall select for me be rough or smooth. I then sauntered home, but not without feeling grateful to my dear parents for all their kindness.

So much for the passing day: now for something more substantial. To-morrow is the Sabbath. O, my dear, how fast is time rolling away! It is a common observation, but how little does it *affect* us! Let it not only solemnize our minds, but comfort them. The faster time flows, the sooner we hope to be released from sin, and admitted to the presence of our Lord. Is the time short? then let us do what we do with all diligence; not waiting, as I am apt to do, for great occasions of usefulness, but seizing with avidity all the lesser ones that offer; remembering that, as by repeated touches of the pencil, the artist completes the piece which remains to be admired for ages, so by a multiplicity of exertions, in themselves apparently trivial, we may hope finally to promote, in no small degree, the good of our fellow-sinners and the glory of our Lord.

You say, my dear, I tell you but little about my Sabbaths. Shall I explain the reason. I do not like the language of complaint, and therefore I am silent. Indeed I have cause to be very jealous of myself, lest I should sink into carelessness and indifference of spirit. I well remember ——'s saying, "One of the causes of declension in religion is, our attendance on a ministry by which we are not benefited." But let me not forget to remind you of the kindness of God. He has said, "the soul of the righteous shall not famish;" and I have never gone looking to him but I have received a portion.

LETTER XIII.

TO HER YOUNGER BROTHER.

My dear brother:—You are kind enough to solicit a frequent correspondence; and I comply with this request the more cheerfully, because it affords me an opportunity of expressing those sisterly feelings, which, at the present eventful period of your life, cannot fail to pervade my heart.

I feel that you are about to enter on the stage of life for yourself. I feel that your character is about to be stamped: and I am anxious, anxious with all the tenderness of a sister, for that character to be stamped by respectability and eminent piety. We have a brother,

* * * * * * * * * * *

Let us not disgrace him by neglecting to improve any opportunity either for our intellectual or spiritual advantage. We have parents who watch our conduct with inexpressible solicitude. O that their last days may be cheered and comforted, by seeing their children steadily pursuing their footsteps!

I am well aware that your heart joins with mine in fervently wishing that you may be the ornament and honor of your family; but how is this desirable end to be brought about? By uniting *fervent prayer* with *diligent exertion*. I need not inform you, my dear brother, that we cannot arrive at excellence of any description by sudden starts: it is only by patient, assiduous, and constant efforts. We shall doubtless meet with many obstacles in the path of duty, and many temptations to draw us aside; still, however, let us remember, as a constant incentive to our endeavors, *that the eye of God is on us*.

When depressed by innumerable difficulties, arising from ill health and want of time, I have been encouraged to persevere afresh, by reflecting that my efforts for self-cultivation were not for *time* but for *eternity*. O, my brother, never let us be contented with merely passing through life *without doing any harm*; but let us rather be ambitious of resisting all evil—of doing much good! Thus shall we manifest, that we are no common enemies of sin and Satan, nor common friends to the present and eternal interests of our fellow-creatures.

I enclose "Taylor on Self-cultivation." I trust you pray for me, that I may be a blessing in this place. Great, indeed, are my privations; but I am comforted by the hope, that perhaps God will render me the instrument of promoting his glory. Write as soon and as much as you can.

Your ever affectionate

Martha.

LETTER XIV.

TO MRS. B——.

I think, my dear friends, of your kindness by day and dream of it by night. May the Father of Mercies recompense all your affection. Poor Mrs. M—— is fast declining. O how much we suffer from the transitory nature of terrestrial good. At five-and-twenty we look around for the friends who cheered us at sixteen; but—where are they? Where are they? *Not lost*, my Ann; they are only gone before us to their heavenly home. O to view every thing in the light of faith, and not in those gloomy shades which unbelief throws over the actions of the Divine Providence!

LETTER XV.

TO THE SAME.

Now, my dear Ann, you must imagine me in a snug cottage, far away from the bustle of the town, and removed even from the little noise of the village street. In fact, the quietude which reigns here would often lead me to suppose myself really at F——, did I not look in vain for the countenances which greeted me in that peaceful spot.

Here my companions are a good-natured widow, and my faithful attendant Maria. Their kindness is a remembrance of yours. I visit but little; and the principal guests I entertain are some fine rosy children. They often beguile my solitary moments; and when I can indulge a hope of doing good to them, I can think of home without a sigh. O the word home! how many ideas does it recall to mind! how many tender regrets does it occasion! and, in defiance of all our efforts to look on the bright side, how many sighs escape us! Well, we will think of our eternal home; we will meditate on its ecstatic pleasures—on their nature and durability, till our spirits learn even to rejoice in tribulation, since we are assured that our light afflictions prepare us for a weight of glory.

O, my dear friends, what heights of piety have been attained by some of those who are now in the presence of their Lord, even in circumstances less favorable to religion than ours!—and what forbids our reaching the same eminence? Let us pray more fervently for each other.

LETTER XVI.

TO MISS N——.

My dearest M——:—I was concerned to hear you had not received the attentions from * * * * * which you expected. Let me remind you, my dear, of what you already know, that every individual has his own standard of kindness, and by that he is regulated. We must not permit ourselves to every occasion to think how *we* should have acted; but remember, that what would be real unkindness in us is not so possibly in the case of another person, who views the subject in a different light. After all, however, we are often unable to repress a sigh at the little attention paid by the generality of persons to the finer feelings of the heart. The truth is, we are by nature *selfish;* and it is only in proportion as religion prevails in the soul, that it becomes benevolent, and concerned to promote the happiness of every human being in every possible way.

It is our felicity to know, that a capacity for doing good is by no means confined to the learned; so far from it, they are often tempted to devote that time to literary pursuits which ought to be employed in the active duties of benevolence. Moderate talents, like small coin, may be brought into use every hour; while those talents we so often wish to enjoy, can perhaps be seldom turned to advantage, except for the gratification of the possessor. Indeed, I have often asked myself with severity, Why do I so much lament not having enjoyed the advantages which others possess? Is it because I could have done more good than is now in my power? Foolish reasoning! does not my Creator know best what means are necessary to fit me for the station he designs? Let me, then, in this, as well as in every thing else, acquiesce in his will, while I diligently strive to improve the opportunities he has bestowed. By the vigilant improvement of one talent, it may be increased sevenfold. Part of our discipline here, my love, is to learn contentment; and, to render this more easy in an intellectual sense, let us remember the period is fast arriving when we shall be perfect in knowledge.

I know of no species of knowledge which may not in some way, or at some time, be consecrated to the service of the Most High. It is an insult to the Almighty, while we profess to devote our talents to his honor, to let them lie aside and rust. Unworthy, indeed, is the most highly cultivated intellect of his acceptance; yet we know He will graciously accept the surrender of the meanest. Let us labor to render our intellectual faculties as little unworthy of an offering to him as possible.

LETTER XVII.

TO MRS. B——.

After your very long silence, my dear Ann, your letter was exceedingly welcome; but really I must not be put off as I have been. I shall most certainly call on Mr. B. to interpose his authority, unless I perceive an immediate reformation. Seriously, though, my dear friend, I am too much interested in your welfare not to be anxious for you to be a good correspondent.

Happy am I to hear such a good account of you and the family. What is the infant's name? I hope dear William's mamma will be no way concerned, that he does not yet begin to display his eloquence; she must remember that many have been long before they began to speak; but then, in after life they have often abundantly compensated for their delay by speaking much to the purpose. How I should like to have been present at the baptism. May all the petitions offered be abundantly fulfilled.

I have done myself the pleasure of working you a flounce. May you feel half the pleasure in wearing it which I have realized from your last token of affection. Indeed, I often think of the kindness I received from you and dear Mr. B.; and when depressed by long absence from almost all who are dear to me, I transport myself to F——, once more take my seat at your hospitable board, and listen to the supplications at the family altar. May the fire of devotion ever burn bright and clear on that altar, and the sacrifice of praise ascend to your heavenly Father, like incense perfumed in the merits of the dear Redeemer. Ah, my dear Ann, we sometimes think wealth important, health important, ease important; but, after all, what is there of any importance, compared to walking closely with God? Let us then aim, my dear, so to enjoy our comforts as to be led nearer to God by them, and let us cheerfully resign them when called upon, knowing that in all our sorrows, privations, and conflicts, Jehovah designs the good of our spirits. I have lately suffered so much from pain, that I am the more gratified to hear of your health. I hope that invaluable blessing will be long continued to you. Since I last wrote, I have been much better; but within this fortnight unpleasant symptoms have returned, and I fear—

After this statement, I need not tell you that I suffer both by night and day; but O, my dear friend, it is in the hour of suffering that we experience most of the tender compassion of our Saviour. Pray that I may glorify him under all circumstances.

> "How short are all our trials here,
> How light is every cross."

Give each of the dear little ones a kiss for us. May the blessing of the Almighty rest on them and on their parents!

Your truly affectionate

Martha.

LETTER XVIII.

TO MISS H——.

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I need not inform you, my dear, that some of the adverse scenes of life are literally *trials.* They try the character. They reveal that character both to ourselves and others. Sometimes they call for the utmost strength of mind, the greatest self-denial, and the constant exercise of prudence. If the individual possess none of these qualities, or possess them only in a small degree, the mind becomes enervated, and perhaps never recovers its proper tone. On the contrary, if these qualities are brought into action, they are strengthened, and the whole character becomes far more exalted.

* * * You complain, my dear, of want of time. Now, I do not exactly know how you distribute it; but I certainly agree with you, that it is very desirable to appropriate some part of every day to the cultivation of your mind. In attempting this, you must not be discouraged. Remember, my dear, it is not *crowding* the mind that makes us wise; hence, many who have comparatively little leisure, have more real knowledge than others, who have all their time at their disposal. In one instance, knowledge has time to take root; in the other, one plant is continually preventing the growth of another. It is frequently found, that where there has been most blossom there has been the least fruitfulness. Let us always endeavor to discriminate between a well cultivated mind and an overburdened memory. * * *

O, when shall I be able to be actively employed in the service of God? I am resigned and thankful for my present comparative ease, because I hope it will fit me for doing some good at a future period. If, however, I am not favored with the ability, pray, my dear, that I may never want the inclination. * * *

LETTER XIX.

TO MRS. B——.

Happiness attend you, my dear friend! It really appears a long time since I held communion with you through this medium; so I believe I must even indulge myself with scribbling a letter, especially as I hope it will be the means of obtaining a benefit. Yes, my dear friends, I have a favor to ask of you. I want your special prayers. After Christmas I am going to take a few little girls for the purpose of undertaking their education. I feel it is something to engage to impart knowledge, even of the lowest description; but what is that, compared to cultivating the understanding and the heart, with a view to the eternal welfare of the immortal spirit! Pray for me, my dear friends, that in this and every other pursuit I may glorify our God and Saviour. * * *

LETTER XX.

TO HER BROTHER.

It is enough, my dearest brother—I will try to wait patiently, and say, with you, The will of the Lord be done. These few words, "It is the Lord!" seem to me omnipotent. They hush the loudest storm. I suppose, before you receive this, dear E. will have left Cannon-street. I shall long for the time when you will meet at S——; and hope the pain of separation will be amply compensated by the pleasure you will enjoy at your retreat. As for me, I must be comforted by the idea of your happiness. O the rest of heaven! who can tell what it will be after the common toils of life, but especially after pastoral anxieties and sorrows! Ah, my brother, how often I think what he must be called to endure. * * *

LETTER XXI.

TO THE SAME.

Ah, it was all in vain! The hearth was touched and re-touched in vain; the fire was made to blaze in vain; in vain the dinner was prepared, and the homely dessert was spread! He came not to cheer our spirits and strengthen our faith. Well, the weather is bad, and perhaps he might have taken cold; so I will even bear my disappointment as heroically as I can.

I believe, however, I must begin by confessing, that notwithstanding all my efforts, my spirits are lower than usual. I hoped, and hoped; but here is the very day come that I thought would open to me a scene of usefulness, and provide me with the means of comfort; but my hopes are disappointed. Pray for me!

Well, we will change the subject. Do you wish to take a peep at us just as we are at this moment? Here is Miss C—— at the desk, F—— sitting by the drawers, working away briskly. Charley is on my bed, playing with a few toys, and calling out every minute, Look, look, look, at which I have enough to do to express my feigned astonishment. Andrew is at the table building a house, and taking a geometrical lesson; by-the-by, I should tell you how learned we are. No, no, I will not boast. I must not tell you how carefully we cultivate the heart and the understanding; nor what pains we take to draw forth the affections, regulate the temper, fix the attention, quicken the perceptions, strengthen the memory, &c. But here is Mrs. D. with some plums for the little ones.

What heart that feels and knows any thing of love, but is refreshed and soothed by the simplicity of childhood! O to be as a little child! My dear baby, I am so glad to hear she is pretty well; and yet I seem to grudge her growth, when I cannot mark her daily progress; but I am consoled for this loss by knowing that she comforts you. Her brothers talk of her; and many a fair dream, my dearest brother and sister, no doubt we mutually indulge, as we look forward and see these little creatures spring into life. May Almighty God bless them, and make them blessings, is all the full heart can utter. And surely God will bless them; yes, he will.

LETTER XXII.

TO MRS. B——.

My beloved Ann—You will be surprised to hear that I have relinquished my intention of receiving pupils; not, indeed, from choice, but from necessity. It is no small disappointment, at the moment I was hoping to live to some useful purpose, to be thrown back into a state of unusual infirmity and partial helplessness. My days and my nights are wearisome; but we know affliction springeth not from the dust. Pray for me, that the language of my heart may ever be, "The will of the Lord be done!"

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LETTER XXIII.

TO MISS H——.

The pain I am enduring would, my dearest L——, form a ready excuse for my silence, if I felt less affection for you than I do; but as it is, while I can guide the pen, it must be employed in your service. Indeed, my weakness makes me more anxious to write; for I long for you, my love, to be benefited by my afflictions.

God Almighty bless you, my dear, and help you to view all compromises with the world in the light that sickness, death, and judgment throw upon them! Let us beware of approaching to the *verge* of what we may suppose to be innocent. Let us remember, that whatever destroys our sobriety of mind and renders us unfit for communion with God, is dangerous, highly dangerous.

Pardon me this strain, but I am jealous of you. * * *

LETTER XXIV.

TO HER YOUNGER BROTHER.

My dearest brother—I am not able to write to you, but I avail myself of a hand which is ever at my service. Much it relieved the anxiety I felt on your account, to see you and hear from your own lips that you were comfortable. I think of you while lying on the bed or reclining on the chair. I think of you, and the ardent wish of my heart is, that you may be useful; useful by your exertions, your example, and your prayers. I, alas, can do no good. I am laid aside early in life; but you, my brother, have still the prize of health, with all its advantages, in your hand. May Jehovah hear me while I pray, that you may make the most diligent use of them, and that my affliction may stir you up to renewed devotedness. I know well how to sympathize in the changes you have experienced; but be of good cheer; for though the ways of Providence are mysterious, they are ways of love; and ere a few years have rolled away, you will give thanks for those trials which seem the most severe.

I have had the advice of an eminent surgeon: sometimes I think he may be of service to me; but

I am more inclined to fear, that neither medicine nor regimen can be of much use. Pray for me, my dear P——, that I may patiently suffer the will of God. Give thanks for me, also, that in this hour of suffering I have so much to alleviate its pangs. How I long to be of service to you; but I cannot. Well, my brother, you must take the will for the deed; and when Providence has prepared your mind, I hope you will be indulged with a competent portion of the good things of this life. Evening draws on, and admonishes me to close. Adieu, my dearest P——; may all the wishes of a sister's heart alight on you!

Your ever affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXV.

TO MRS. B——.

MY DEAR FRIEND—That part of your letter relative to the Sunday school gave me real pleasure. I assure you, before twelve months are elapsed, I expect to have the gratification of hearing that you rival us. Expect much, my dear, and then you are likely to pray for much; and where much is asked, much will be given. After all, the best plans will go but a very little way towards the prosperity of a school. Its teachers must be persons of prayer, persons whose minds are deeply impressed with their infinite obligations to redeeming love, and who are anxiously concerned to bring the dear children to Jesus. Let this, my dear, be our constant aim, and then, though we should see no fruit year after year, we need not be discouraged, knowing who hath said, "In due time ye shall reap if ye faint not." Those who sow in the youthful mind must in general wait long ere the seed spring up; but oh, when the time of reaping comes, who does not exclaim, "This is worth all our exertions, all our prayers, and all our tears?" Similar to this were my feelings lately, when I saw one of our scholars go forward to the sacred board.

With this I send the rules we adopt. The accompanying papers are pasted on boards, and hung up at the head of each class. By this means all the children are taught at once, and considerable time is saved for their spiritual instruction.

Winter is making rapid advances. How admirably the changing seasons are adapted to impress our spirits with a sense of our own mortality; and surely if we are properly affected with this consideration, it will lead us to self-examination.

It is long since we met. A winter and a summer have passed away.

During this period what advances have we made in faith, in holiness, in love, in humility, in penitence, in spirituality, in gratitude, in meekness? For myself, I have deeply to lament, that, notwithstanding the rich culture I enjoy, I am continually compelled to exclaim, "My leanness, my leanness!" Yet I hope I have learned to exercise more dependance on the Saviour. As we see more of ourselves, my dear friend, Jesus will be more precious in our eyes. Let us rejoice that God has promised to complete his work; and that we have not been permitted to return to the world. If we have any desires for communion with him, any faith in the Redeemer, any dependance on the Holy Spirit, let us praise him for his past goodness, and supplicate still larger blessings.

Remember me very kindly to Mr. B——, and tell him, if you can, how anxious I am for his prosperity.

May the Lord bless you temporally and spiritually, and finally administer to you individually an abundant entrance to his everlasting kingdom.

Yours affectionately, MARTHA.

LETTER XXVI.

TO MR. B——.

DEAR SIR—I am obliged to you for your very kind remembrance of me. It is indeed no small privilege to have a share in the good wishes and fervent prayers of the excellent of the earth.

I was much concerned to hear of your repeated afflictions. May those consolations you so benevolently wish for others, be ever realized by yourself and your dear family, in the hour of perplexity and sorrow. I long to hear how the concern fares in which you have recently engaged. Permit me to wish, that the blessing of the Almighty may rest on all the labors of your hands.

I feel much my absence from that dear spot in which you are so deeply interested. May I solicit you to supplicate not only that I may be blessed here, but made a blessing! O how fast is life passing away, and as yet how little have I done or suffered for the Redeemer!

I hope ere this you are able to renew your work of love among the dear children. I believe many of them are more attentive to your exhortations than you allow yourself to imagine. May the seed which has been sown with so much care, take deep root, and finally spring up to yield an abundant harvest; and in that great day, when hidden things shall be made manifest, may it appear that your sacrifices, your anxieties, and your prayers were by no means in vain. In that day, how many will bitterly regret, that they made no more sacrifices for the good of souls! but, who will regret that they made too many? O to act, to think, and to speak as having that day ever in view! Then, when we meet the Redeemer, may we be felicitated by hearing him say, "I was ignorant, and ye instructed me; sick, and ye visited me."

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. B. May the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, rest on you! Yours, respectfully,

MARTHA REED

LETTER XXVII.

TO MISS H——R.

WITH what cheerfulness, my dear Miss H., should I take up my pen, might I hope to be of any service to you. But what arguments can I use that have not been used? What promise can I point out to you with which you are not already acquainted? I can sympathize with you, I can pray for you; but alas! what can I do more? Yet I must write a few lines, merely to show you, that though it is not in my power, yet it is in my will to comfort you. One cause of your present distress I doubt not is your viewing the character of the Deity in a wrong light, or looking at some of his perfections to the exclusion of others. Surely you have forgotten that the Divine Being is love. Ah, do not, I beseech you, think of him merely as an inexorable judge; but think of him as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Be thankful, my dear, that you feel your need of the Saviour; and wait patiently till he reveals to you your personal interest in the covenant of his grace. Many eminent saints have been suffered to walk in darkness for years; but what sinner did we ever hear of, who wished to be made holy and accepted through the Redeemer, that was finally rejected?

As it relates to your departed relative, let me beg you to endeavor to dismiss the subject. When once an individual has quitted our world, it is not for us to decide on his state. I hope and believe, that God will render the preaching of his word effectual to your comfort and consolation.

I well recollect being in a similar state of mind to yours. Fearfulness came upon me, and horror overwhelmed me. I chose death rather than life. But God watched over me, and caused this darkness gradually to subside. Let his goodness to me encourage you. Do not be dismayed if you cannot ascertain one evidence of Christian character.—Come to Jesus as a sinner. If he seem to disregard you, tell him (for he kindly permits us to do this) he has promised to cast out none. Wait on him, and whatever you doubt, *doubt* not his willingness to save. Time forbids my adding more. May he bless you with peace, and make your latter end to increase greatly. Yours affectionately,

MARTHA REED.

LETTER XXVIII.

TO MISS B———.

PERMIT me, my dearest Eliza, to express the sympathy I feel for you under your present trial.—Thanks be to God, you are no stranger to the source of true consolation. Let me, however, remind you of the sympathy of Jesus—a sympathy inconceivable and inexhaustible. Remember, my dear, the character he sustains. He bears the name of friend, of father, of elder brother. And ah, how well does he fulfil the tender relationships they imply. It is beyond the power of man, it is beyond the power of angels, to describe his faithfulness as a friend, his care as a father, his tenderness as a brother. O that you may be enabled, under this and every trial, to contemplate the Saviour as yours in all his characters. I know not that I can wish you a greater blessing. But is it necessary for *me* to remind you of the sympathies of Jesus? O no, it is already done by every thing around you. Yes, we *see*, we *feel*, his tenderness in the trifling occurrences of each passing day; in the looks, the words, the actions of our associates. We see it in their smiles, we feel it in their progress. What shall we render to that God, who has brought to light those joys which endure for ever, and opened a new and living way to his heavenly habitation! There the inhabitant shall no more say, I am sick, and the days of his mourning shall be ended.

I am not much better; the winter is unfavorable to me. I wish, however, to commit myself patiently to God, and wait his will. Be assured your joys and sorrows are ever mine.

Your affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXIX.

TO THE SAME.

THE evening is lovely, the sky looks beautiful and serene; how much I should like a gentle ramble with you, my dear friend, over some of the delightful hills by which you are surrounded. Well, it is of little consequence, if we do but meet together in the heavenly world.

It is nearly seven years since our friendship commenced. Have we assisted each other as much as we possibly could in the way of holiness? Have the trials we have mutually suffered increased our patience, our meekness, and Christian charity? Have our mercies filled us with gratitude, and led us to a simple reliance on the providence of God? Alas! I feel compelled to exclaim with the poet,

"O how exceeding short I fall
Of what I ought to be!"

I have left my dearest brother's, and it has cost me more than I ever thought it would; but I can and do rejoice in his happiness, though I have no longer the felicity of watching his looks and obeying the language of his eye. O that I may learn wisdom from the pain I have so deeply felt, in being repeatedly separated from those in whom my life seemed bound up. Ah, there is a melancholy pleasure in retracing those paths which I have trod with anguish, and in fancying I once more behold those spots which have witnessed my sorrows. Alas, for me, that I feel so indifferent to Him who is my redeemer, my life, my all! Pray that I may love him with all my soul, and mind, and strength; that I may so love him, as not to be able to enter into society, without endeavoring to kindle around me this holy flame, nor to give rest to my spirit, while there remains a human being over whom I have *any* influence, who is unacquainted with his matchless glories! Do not let us exclaim, as the language of *despair*, What can *we* do? but let us utter this exclamation *in faith*, and God will find us employment. Adieu, my dear; send me particulars of yourself, and a piece of spar for my chimney-piece, that I may look at it, and say, It came from my friend. Your affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXX.

TO THE SAME.

MUCH as I am pressed for time, I cannot but write a few lines to you, my dear friend, in hope they will reach you before your departure. I rejoice that you can ask for the fulfilment of that gracious promise, "I will never leave nor forsake thee." O that you may at all times feel your interest in it, and then you will be able to go any where, or become any thing, with cheerfulness and gratitude. Rest assured you are always the subject of my sympathy and my prayers. Supplicate for me that I may live to the glory of God. I feel that I am nothing; but this should not discourage me, for Jehovah can make the meanest vessel a vessel of honor.

Farewell, my dear. May the angel of the covenant guide you, and send you prosperity!

Your affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXXI.

TO THE SAME.

I FEEL much indebted to you, my dear friend, for your kind inquiries and your affectionate solicitude for my beloved father. Last Thursday he was able to sit up for a few hours, and since then he has made considerable progress. What renders his recovery the more remarkable is, that only a few days ago we received information from * * * * quite sufficient to retard his amendment. Thus mercifully is the Lord dealing with us! Let us wait upon him, and be of good courage. He who is so ready to communicate spiritual blessings, will not withhold from us any good thing.

I can say but little of my own health. Last Wednesday I was seized with a violent pain in the optic nerves, which affected my sight; and soon after, the whole of that side was attacked with a dead stupid feeling. After this statement, I need scarcely tell you I am in constant danger of a stroke; but, my dear, I am in the hands of God, and that is enough, quite enough! Excuse this short letter from Your affectionate

MARTHA.

LETTER XXXII.

TO THE SAME.

MY DEAR FRIEND—It gave me great concern to hear of your illness. I hope you are by this time completely restored. You have, indeed, proved, that it is through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom. Well you have proved, also, that our God is faithfulness and truth. I hope you are enjoying much of the divine presence, or, if you are walking in darkness, that you are still staying yourself on the Lord. My Sabbaths here are my worst days. I sigh, but sigh in vain, for those privileges with which I was once favored. Pray for me that my present trials may be sanctified so as to cause the seed, long since sown, to spring up, and bring forth much fruit.

May the Almighty bless you, my dear, and cause you to prosper more and more till you are dismissed from this vale of tears, and admitted to the joy of your Lord.

Glorious period! blessed are those sorrows which prepare us for its approach. Your affectionate

MARTHA.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL.

October 13, 1813. A gentleman related at the dinner-table the experience of a pious woman who is recently dead. I lamented in myself the want of that humility which shone so conspicuously in her. If I had more humility I should not have such hard thoughts of God.

24. The time appears long since I saw my family. O to be enabled to look forward by faith to the period when we shall enjoy the unceasing smiles of Jehovah, and the society of all our friends.

27. Had no opportunity for private devotion, which affected my spirits through the day, and prevented me from fully enjoying its public services.

—— Slept at Mr. L.'s, and took the opportunity of conversing with the servant. O for greater zeal in the service of God!

28. I am now in the way to W———. The road is finely interspersed with hill and vale. While admiring them, I found it hard to set my affections on things above. My soul is almost lifeless. O for the special influence of the Holy Spirit, that I may enjoy communion with Jehovah.

30. Last night we travelled across P——. From the hill we had a fine view of the sea and surrounding country. There we were benighted, and hardly escaped a precipice, not being able to distinguish the road; but my mind was preserved from alarm, trusting in Him who watcheth over his people at all times. Descending the hill the horse fell, but we were not injured. These occurrences forcibly reminded me of the Christian's journey through life. May the tender providence of God preserve us from all the dangers of the wilderness.

November 3. I have been in much pain lately. O that I may learn to be more thankful for health and ease!

5. A friend who promised to take me to the Sunday school has neglected to call, and I am disappointed. How important it is to seize every means of doing good. I seem, in reviewing the past, to have lived only to myself. Lord, quicken me, and grant that I may return to my own dear little pupils with renewed devotedness! I trust this separation has made me more solicitous for their spiritual welfare. O that I may have a deeper sense of my own insufficiency; and then, if God permit me to be useful, I shall freely ascribe to him all the glory. Lord, revive my love to thyself, and help me to abound in love to my fellow-creatures.

10. The Sabbath has past. In the evening the text was, "Call upon me in the day of trouble." I need to be often reminded of this delightful obligation. O to be favored with clear and scriptural views of the Almighty, so that every hard thought may be for ever done away! Who could hope to overcome such powerful enemies as the Christian has to contend with, had not God engaged to bring him safely through? but since he has promised to defend his people, who shall dare to despair? What a comfort, to be assured that God is on our side! Have I, however, any right to this consolation? I am often at a loss to discover any resemblance to the Saviour. If I do resemble him, the likeness is faint indeed; and yet I would still be aiming at the mark, and pressing forward for the prize.

12. Since I have been from home, I think I have learned to set a higher value on the means of grace. May I never forget, that, where much is given, much will be required. Truly I have been fed with the finest of the wheat! I expect to reach home in a few days. From this period may I patiently suffer, and cheerfully obey the will of God! O my Father, fulfil my *spiritual* desires; as to my temporal concerns, I would have no will but thine.

What an unfeeling heart I possess; my ingratitude overwhelms me. Lord, undertake for me!

17. What a changing scene is this! Parting from some friends and saluting others. Be anxious, then, my soul, more than ever, to prepare for that world where there is no change!

18. What a variety there is in nature—we had some delightful prospects to-day! If our world is so beautiful, what must heaven be? Why, then, have I so little inclination to dwell upon its glories!

> "Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings—
> Thy better portion trace."

19. Arrived at home in safety. O for gratitude to our preserving God! How innumerable have been thy mercies while away! How many calamities might have befallen me! O that the kindness of Jehovah may influence my spirit!

20. Went to the funeral of a person to-day, who for some years previous to his death was blind and deranged. May I learn from this to be thankful that I am exempted from such awful calamities!

23. My mind is much relieved. I came home full of anxiety; but God has dissipated my fears, and in the day of temptation he has made a way for my escape. How *seasonable* is divine assistance! Help me, O Lord, to be very thankful for all thy mercies.

24. I am afraid I do not cordially approve the plan of salvation. This compels me to say, "Lord, search my heart, and try me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

25. My mind was much impressed this morning with the shortness of life; consequently I saw more beauty in the figures employed by the sacred writers when they describe its vanity. We may well be compared to a *shadow*, and the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cut down! How consolatory is the thought that Jehovah is the same, and that his years change not.

26. How sadly impatient I am at a trifling indisposition. O that I could properly feel my dependance upon God! Health and all our comforts are at his disposal. This is a pleasurable reflection. Does he behold me cleaving to the earth, and depending on the streams instead of the fountain, he can immediately imbitter them, or cause them to be dried up! Does he behold me bowed down with sorrow, and distracted by disappointments, how soon can he scatter every cloud, and lead me by a way I knew not. Do I believe this?—then let me confide in Jehovah, and fear nothing. O how elevated is the Christian's life, when he lives up to his privileges!

29. My mind has been much harassed of late with spiritual enemies, and anxiety for those who are dear to me. But I hope God has imparted a confidence in himself that will still bear me up. To-morrow is the Sabbath; and on that hallowed day I trust we shall experience the renewal of our spiritual strength.

—— I am very weary to-night. What a mercy to have a bed to lie on, and reason to hope I shall have a good night's rest. Blessed Spirit, deign to prepare my heart for the morrow: favor us with such a view of the Saviour's glories as shall overwhelm us with love and gratitude! May self be subdued at the foot of the cross to rise no more; there may our souls find a settled peace! May temptations lose their power, while we are enabled to praise the Lord, and go forward!

—— It is time to prepare for the solemnities of the morrow; to dismiss worldly thoughts, and contemplate my approaching duties. First, I am to instruct the children; let me seek to have my mind deeply impressed with the value of their souls; let me pray fervently for wisdom to communicate instruction with cheerfulness, affection, and simplicity, remembering that my utmost efforts can avail nothing without the divine blessing. Next, I am to hear the word of God; and since I stand in so much need of instruction, let me endeavor to hear with greater attention and prayerfulness. But this is not all; I am about to attend that ordinance which, above all others, has a tendency to subdue the powerful corruptions of my nature. Blessed Spirit, condescend to prepare me, by thy special influence, for these important solemnities.

Saturday morning. The Sabbath will shortly be here; how ought I to prepare for it? By fervent prayer, holy meditation, and leaving nothing undone of a worldly nature that would molest me. Is this, then, how I ought to prepare for the day of rest? Alas, how little I meditate! and when I attempt it, what disinclination I sometimes feel! O for repentance when I consider the past, and deep spirituality for the future. Amen.

—— How distressing to hear of the beauties of Jesus with eyes almost closed to them, and a heart, in a great measure, indifferent to his excellences! My fears at present rise high; but I know Jehovah is gracious and full of compassion. May we at all times *practically* believe it.

—— What cause have we as a church for thankfulness! Let me be careful that I am not satisfied with belonging to a prosperous body, without being myself in a flourishing condition.

—— O that I had but a right view of the character of Jehovah! I have been distressed all this day for the want of it.

—— In what a variety of ways may our comfort be destroyed; and when the mind is uncomfortable from outward circumstances, it is frequently unfitted for devotion, and thus spiritual troubles enter. What should we do at such times without the assurance that Jehovah constantly watches over us, and is never at a loss to accomplish our deliverance?

—— When Jehovah does not see fit to fulfil our wishes, how thankful we ought to be for any degree of acquiescence in his will.

—— This morning I enjoyed much in prayer, but alas! I soon found that spiritual pride had crept in. How transporting it is to think of being for ever free from sin! O that I may not fall short of that happiness!

—— Quite in a low mood this morning. I was thinking that I should always be the subject of sorrow. I took up a book, and in that I read an account of a singular turn of Providence for an individual, in raising her from sorrow to joy. This just suited my imagination, and I fell into a sleep, and dreamed of uninterrupted happiness. How great is my folly in both these instances. Why do I think so much of present things which are all uncertain, and so little of those which endure for ever? Nothing can ease a sorrowful heart like confidence in Jehovah.

—— How necessary does affliction seem to my real welfare. If things appear to be for a short time calm and fair, how ready am I to indulge in visionary schemes; and then I require something to awake me. When shall I learn to live, and think, and speak as a Christian! I do not quite despair of this, because God has promised to complete his work; but I fear, lest I should be still slow to learn.

—— I find in myself too great a desire to justify my conduct when any little fault is pointed out to me. Let me not only aim in future to discover my weak side, but when discovered, to set a double watch on it.

Jan. 1814. When languor of body and mind come together, they increase each other. O for faith to pray for the removal of these dark clouds, and then for patience to wait the Lord's time for an answer!

—— If I could but feel as I wish under afflictions, then—but ah, I do not! O for faith to confide in Jehovah!

—— We have just received a letter which says, that yesterday there was a little alteration for the better in our dear friend. This is a cause for lively gratitude. Whatever Jehovah sends to his people must be for the best, therefore it should quell every tumult of our minds to know "It is the Lord." With him too all things are possible. He can speedily restore health when he has taken it away. But I am afraid our hopes have not much foundation in this instance. O for proper feelings under this trial, and for wisdom so to conduct myself, as to mitigate in some small measure the acute sufferings of ——. Help me, Lord, to banish from my spirit whatever is trivial, and combine all my sympathies with his——

—— How hard it is to possess all that sympathy and solicitude for those we love which is desirable, and yet to be careful for nothing. Great have been the anxieties of the past week; but it is gone, and probably the circumstances of the next may almost obliterate them from my recollection.

In the same manner the anxieties of time will soon close, and be succeeded by the unalterable joys or sorrows of eternity! Why, then, am I discouraged with a few difficulties? Why this deep concern for *present* happiness, and comparative insensibility to the future?

—— I feel that trials are hardly worth the name, when we have those with us who bear the heaviest half.

—— How anxious we should be for a sense of the divine forgiveness while in health, that when we are called to suffer and die, we may not have the consolations of religion to seek.

A simple and active dependance on the Saviour is the great object of Christian experience. May my trials be sanctified to this end, and then I shall glory in tribulation.

How delightful it must be to contemplate the perfections of Jehovah, and to have the heart filled with his love! To be for ever exploring the mysteries of Providence and redemption. Let me accustom myself to these employments *now*.

—— If we commenced the journey of life with opposite feelings to those which are commonly excited, how much disappointment should we escape! It is in vain that we anticipate an Eden in the wilderness!

—— I have deeply to lament my want of solemnity in the service of God. There is great danger of resembling the children of Israel, who thought lightly of the manna, because it fell in such abundance.

I was much struck to-day with the life of Hannibal. How affecting it would be to trace the decline and fall of empires, did we not know that there is one which cannot be shaken, and that it is in subordination to this kingdom that every other is giving way.

—— O for such vigorous, constant, and glowing love to the Redeemer, as shall put our doubts completely to flight!

—— We should not be contented with looking at ourselves; let us attentively examine the condition of others. Who is there I can cheer by my sympathy, uphold by my charity, strengthen by my assistance, or relieve by my prayers? O for the Spirit of Christ to rest upon me! My dear * * * still promises fairly, but I want to see more decision of character. Our servants attend the means of grace, but I want them to feel more interested in their privileges. The dear children committed to my care are not so serious as I wish them to be. Let me aim to bless silently by my prayers, and wherever I can, let me second those prayers by my exertions.

—— When the love of Jesus fills the heart, there is nothing too hard to be endured. May this holy principle pervade my bosom! then I shall not only be ready to make great sacrifices occasionally, but be continually sacrificing my own will and desires.

—— The love of Jesus affects me little; but my mind is continually harassed with the idea of eternal punishment. O that God would prevent me from indulging hard thoughts of himself.

—— How thankful we ought to be, that the present state supplies such a mixture of pain and pleasure. Were it always painful, life would soon be useless and insupportable; were it always pleasant, we should consider death rather as an enemy than a friend. It is *every thing* to feel that the sorrows and uncertainties of the present state are overruled to fix our affections on the delightful realities of the next.

—— May I never sink below an humble reliance on the Saviour, nor be ever tempted to raise above it!

Oct. 1817. As I was walking along the road indulging in revery, I was suddenly affected by the distress of a paralytic. A brutal man was amusing himself with her awkwardness. Poor thing, her sufferings roused me to a sense of my own mercies.

30. The illness of my friend confines me to the house. O it is a luxury to be permitted in any way to contribute to the comfort of others.

Nov. Nature has lost her verdure, but the husbandman does not sit down in despair. On the contrary, he redoubles his exertions. Surely his example deserves my imitation.

3. The morning of this day was very wet and gloomy. I had no idea of its turning out fine. About two, however, the clouds were dispersed, the sun shone out in all his glory, and it was a most delightful evening. From this let me learn not to despair. However dark and gloomy the morning of life, yet the evening may be serene, peaceful, and happy.

4. This morning I awoke praying against selfishness. O that this may not only be my sleeping, but my waking prayer! I walked out in the morning, but had occasion to regret that it was not a walk of usefulness. How desirable it is to pass each day worthy of an immortal being.

5. Attended the Missionary Prayer Meeting. There was not that deep feeling for the poor heathen which I wished to have witnessed; still, however, there was enough to reprove me.

6. I have been pleased to-day with reading a short tale, entitled "The Governess," not only because it corresponded with my own views of education, but because it supplied me with some valuable hints. The more I see of children, the more I feel the great importance of early cultivation. How necessary is the formation of good habits with the inculcation of right principles, and how desirable it is that parents should concur in this great work.

7. This day has passed as most of my days have recently done, without doing any thing worth relating. It is proper, however, to distinguish between inability and disinclination. It is painful when Providence excludes us from activity, but it is only sinful when we exclude ourselves. When Providence interposes, it may probably be to prepare us eventually for greater good. Let me not, therefore, give way to discouraging thoughts, but endeavor to improve my afflictions so as to be the better for them; and while I am limited to a narrow sphere of exertion, let me be doubly careful to seize those trifling opportunities of glorifying God, which I may once have overlooked.

8. A lady and gentleman came to tea; they were strangers to me, but from every one we may learn something. In one of these persons, I saw a pattern of deep humility and deadness to the world. The other reminded me, that by nature we are without God.

11. How necessary it is to fulfil the duties of each day as they occur.

12. Walked to Enfield. Saw some dear little ones at school. Could not help thinking of the superior advantages of private education in early life. How surprising it is, that mothers can so easily banish their offspring, rather than enjoy the felicity of teaching them with their own hands.

14. Less time than usual for reading. The older I grow, the more anxiety I feel for mental improvement; but I must beware of impatience even here.

We have just established a working school in connection with our Sabbath day instructions. What *dispositions* of mind should I labor after in this undertaking?

An intense desire to promote the glory of Jehovah.

Tenderest pity for souls.

A deep sense of my infinite obligations to Almighty love, for making me a partaker of the blessings of redemption.

A lively feeling of my entire dependance on the divine blessing.

A fervent spirit of prayer.

Great watchfulness, and an affecting sense of the infinite value of an immortal spirit.

Behold the sea and the dry land; the mountains filled with treasures, and the valleys covered with the richest produce. The stars twinkling in the firmament, and the moon walking in all her quiet radiance. Behold too the meridian sun, riding in all his glorious majesty, imparting life, and light, and heat to the whole creation; and when thou hast beheld, and admired, and extolled these works of an Almighty hand, remember they are nothing, absolutely nothing, to one immortal spirit!

Turn from the contemplation of nature to Calvary, and while thou beholdest the dying agonies of the Redeemer—while thou hearest his groans—while thou art catching that expiring exclamation, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," learn, if thou canst, the value of one soul!

Let me inquire, in the next place, what *encouragements* I have.

God has commanded the use of means.

God has blessed these means.

God has given me a spirit of prayer.

God has promised to answer prayer.

God has repeatedly said, that nothing done from love to him shall lose its reward.

This is a period when our efforts to promote the Redeemer's cause are likely to be attended with peculiar success.

THE END.

THE GARDENER AND ROSE TREE.

A FABLE.

"In a sweet spot which Wisdom chose,
Grew an unique and lovely Rose;
A flow'r so fair was seldom borne—
A Rose almost without a thorn.
Each passing stranger stop'd to view
A plant possessing charms so new:
'*Sweet Flow'r!*' each lip was heard to say—
Nor less the Owner pleased than they;
Rear'd by his hand with constant care,
And planted in his choice parterre,
Of all his garden this the pride,
No flower so much admired beside.

"Nor did the rose unconscious bloom,
Nor feel ungrateful for the boon,
Oft as her guardian came that way,
Whether at dawn or eve of day,
Expanded wide—her form unveil'd,
She *double fragrance* then exhal'd.

"As months rolled on, the spring appear'd,
Its genial rays the Rose matur'd;
Forth from its root a *shoot* extends—
The parent Rose-tree downward bends,
And with a joy unknown before,
Contemplates the yet embryo flow'r.

"'Offspring most dear (she fondly said,)
'Part of myself! beneath my shade,
'Safe shalt thou rise, whilst happy I,
'Transported with maternal joy,
'Shall see thy little buds appear,
'Unfold and bloom in beauty here.
'What though the Lily, or Jonquil,
'Or Hyacinth no longer fill
'The space around me—All shall be
'Abundantly made up in thee.
'What though my present charms decay,
'And passing strangers no more say
'Of *me*, 'Sweet flower!' yet *thou* shalt raise
'Thy blooming head, and gain the praise;
'And this reverberated pleasure
'Shall be to me a world of treasure.
'Cheerful I part with former merit,
'That it my darling may inherit.
'Haste then the hours which bid thee bloom,
'And fill the zephyrs with perfume!'

"Thus had the Rose-tree scarcely spoken,
Ere the sweet cup of bliss was broken—
The Gard'ner came, and with one stroke
He from the root the offspring took;
Took from the soil wherein it grew,
And hid it from the parent's view.

"Judge ye who know a mother's cares
For the dear tender babe she bears,
The parent's anguish—ye alone
Such sad vicissitudes have known.

"Deep was the wound; nor slight the pain
Which made the Rose-tree thus complain;—

"'Dear little darling! art thou gone—
'Thy charms scarce to thy mother known!
Remov'd so soon!—So suddenly,
Snatch'd from my fond maternal eye!
'What hast thou done?—dear offspring! say,
'So *early* to be snatch'd away!
'What! gone for *ever!*—seen no more!
'For ever I thy loss deplore.
'Ye dews descend, with tears supply
'My now for ever tearful eye;
'Or rather come some northern blast,
'Dislodge my yielding roots in haste.
'Whirlwinds arise—my branches tear,
'And to some distant regions bear
'Far from this spot, a wretched mother,
'Whose fruit and joys are gone together.'

"As thus the anguish'd Rose-tree cry'd,
Her owner near her she espy'd;
Who in these gentle terms reprov'd
A plant, though murm'ring, still belov'd:—

"'Cease, beauteous flow'r these useless cries,
'And let my lessons make thee wise.
'Art thou not mine? Did not my hand
'Transplant thee from the barren sand
'Where once a mean unsightly plant,
'Expos'd to injury and want,
'Unknown, and unadmir'd, I found,
'And brought thee to this fertile ground;
'With studious art improv'd thy form,
'Secur'd thee from the inclement storm,
'And through the seasons of the year,
'Made thee my unabating care?
'Hast thou not blest thy happy lot,
'In such an owner—such a spot?
'But now because thy shoot I've taken,
'Thy best of friends must be forsaken.
'Know flow'r belov'd, e'en this affliction
'Shall prove to thee a benediction:
'Had I not the young plant remov'd,
'(So fondly by thy heart belov'd)
'Of me thy heart would scarce have thought,
'With gratitude no more be fraught:
'—Yea—thy own beauty be at stake
'Surrender'd for thy offspring's sake.
'Nor think, that, hidden from thine eyes,
'The infant plant neglected lies—
'No—I've another garden where
'In richer soil and purer air
'It's now transplanted, there to shine,
'In beauties fairer far than thine.

"'Nor shalt thou always be apart
'From the dear darling of thy heart
'For 'tis my purpose thee to bear
'In future time, and plant thee there,
'Where thy now absent off-set grows,
'And blossoms a CELESTIAL Rose.
'Be patient, then, till that set hour shall come,
'When thou and thine shall in new beauties bloom
'No more its absence shalt thou then deplore,
'Together grow, and ne'er be parted more.'

"These words to silence hush'd the plaintive Rose,
With deeper blushes redd'ning now she glows,
Submissive bow'd her unrepining head,
Again her wonted, grateful fragrance shed—
Cry'd, 'Thou hast taken only what's thine own,
'Therefore, thy will, my Lord, not mine, be done.'"

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION,

AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

BY BLAISE PASCAL.

A NEW TRANSLATION, AND

A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE.

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PREFACE.

The original manuscripts of Mons. Pascal's Thoughts are deposited in the Royal Library of Paris. They were in the library of the Abbey of St. Germain des Pres, but having been saved from the fire in the year 1794, which consumed that building, they were deposited where they now lie. They are arranged in one large folio volume; and there is with them a copy, made at the time of printing the first edition of the work, most probably by M. Guerrier, a Benedictine monk, which very materially assists the reading of the original; but even with this aid, the difficulty is not small.

When the MM. de Port Royal published their edition in 1670, they adopted an arrangement of the Thoughts into chapters, which was still very imperfect; and according to this arrangement, many other editions were published both in France and Holland. In the year 1776, Condorcet published an edition with notes, which, though better in the arrangement, was only a selection of about half the original Thoughts, such, in fact, as might answer his nefarious purpose of blunting the edge of Pascal's masterly arguments against infidelity; and by corrupting the text, and exposing it to ridicule in his comments, bringing his authority as a writer on the side of truth, into contempt. With this view, he appended to his edition a series of notes, of the profanity and wickedness of which, there can now be but one opinion. Some of these notes were Voltaire's; but two years afterwards, Voltaire published an edition of his own, with additional notes by himself, equally objectionable. In these editions, many of the Thoughts are mutilated and altered from the original text, to suit the particular purpose of these infidel writers, and almost all of them, on which any remark is made, are attacked by their keen and biting sarcasm.

Up to this period, therefore, no complete edition of the Pensees had appeared; but in the year 1779, an edition of the whole works of Pascal was sent forth, edited by M. Bossut. He had no occasion to leave out those passages, which the earlier editors withheld from fear of the Jesuits; and he had no wish to follow the dishonorable example of the two infidel philosophers. He printed, therefore, every thing which he could find, adding a number of Thoughts from the Histoire de Literature, of the Pere Desmolets, and collating the whole with the original papers. He adopted, in some measure, the order which Condorcet had chosen, but not without some improvements. Since then, two small editions of the Thoughts, with a few additional gleanings, were issued by M. Renouard, in the years 1803 and 1812; and in the year 1819, a very complete edition of the whole works was printed at Paris, the editor of which professes to have availed himself of every advantage which the labors of his predecessors set before him. From the text of this last edition, the present translation is made.

The translator is only aware of two English translations of the Thoughts being in existence. Neither of these is complete. They are both made from copies of the work, earlier than the edition of Bossut. One of them is a very antiquated version; and the other is little more than a reprint of it, a little modernized in the style of expression, together with a few additional Thoughts. Many of the passages in both these, are so very ill rendered, as to convey no definite meaning whatever.

A fresh and a complete translation of the whole of the published Thoughts became desirable, that Pascal might be really known in this country to the English reader, according to his real merits. As far as the moral and religious Thoughts extended, this has been now attempted.

To translate Thoughts so inaccurately and imperfectly expressed as many of these are, and to give a close and literal rendering that would, at the same time, convey the sense, which, in the original, is really in some instances enigmatical and questionable, was a task of serious difficulty. The translator does not profess to have accomplished this. If he has done something towards the ultimate attainment of such a faithful version of this valuable book, he will feel thankful. And in the mean time, he will readily avail himself of the critical remarks of those who may differ from him, as to his conception of the author's idea in any place, with a view to reconsider the passage, in case the work should ever reach another edition. He has certainly not satisfied himself.

The first three chapters of the original work have been left out, as not being connected immediately with its general object. And the translator does not hesitate to avow, that he has withheld a few passages, which occur occasionally, on the subject of the peculiar tenets of the Romish Church; because he did not feel warranted, by the mere wish to record faithfully in a translation, all the sentiments of an author, to circulate what he believes to be dangerous error, and which, from the strength and accuracy of other statements among which it was found, might lead some weak minds astray. Had the task of original publication devolved on him, he would have felt differently: for it is right that every man should have a fair opportunity of giving his opinions to the world. But in making a translation for the benefit of a subsequent age, it is perfectly equitable to select that which common consent has stamped with its approbation, and to leave out the few remains of prejudice and unscriptural opinion, which might borrow, from the sanction of such a name, an influence that they ought not to have.

Finally, the translator does not hesitate to say, that the intervals of time, which the duties of an active pastoral charge allowed him to give to this work, and to the meditations which its pages suggested, have been among the happiest and most gratifying portions of his life; and, that if this version, though imperfect, shall afford even a moderate share of such gratification to those readers who are shut out from the pages of the original, or shall lead others to seek for that pleasure in the original text, he will have realized an ample reward.

Great King Street, Edinburgh,
1st June, 1825.

MEMOIR OF BLAISE PASCAL.

Although the facts of Pascal's life cannot but be very extensively known, it seems scarcely correct to send forth a fresh translation of his Thoughts to the world, without a brief memoir of that extraordinary genius.

Blaise Pascal was born at Clermont in Auvergne, 19th June, 1623. His father, Stephen Pascal, was first president of the Court of Aids, and had, by his wife, Antoinette Begon, three other children, a son who died in infancy, and two daughters: Gilberte, married to M. Perier, and Jacqueline, who took the veil, in the convent of Port Royal in the Fields, and died there of grief, arising from the persecutions under which that community suffered.

Stephen Pascal was a superior and well educated man, and possessed an extensive knowledge of the law, of mathematics, and natural philosophy; to which he added the advantages of noble birth, and of manners peculiarly simple. Till the year 1626, he shared with an amiable wife, during the intervals of public occupation, the duties of educating his family; but in that year she died, and he then devoted himself exclusively to this object. For this purpose he retired from office; and having continued a few years in the country, in the year 1631, brought his family to Paris, to complete their education.

The attention of Stephen Pascal was, of course, chiefly occupied with his son, who gave promise, at a very early age, of superior genius, and readily received the elementary principles of language, and of the sciences in general; but one of the earliest features of those talents which were subsequently developed, was the eagerness, and the nice and accurate discernment with which, on all subjects, he sought for truth, and which would not allow him to feel satisfied till he had found it.

The circle of his father's acquaintance was of a superior order. He numbered among his friends, Mersenne, Roberval, Carcavi, Le Pailleur, &c. At their occasional meetings, for the discussion of scientific subjects, Blaise Pascal was sometimes allowed to be present, at which times he listened with great attention to what passed, and thus gradually formed the habit of scientific research. To trace effects up to their causes, was one of his chief pleasures; and it is stated, that at eleven years of age, having heard a plate give forth, on its being struck, a musical vibration, which ceased on its being touched again, he applied his mind to the subject which it presented to him, and at length produced a short treatise upon the nature of sounds.

His father, however, fearful that this evidently strong predilection for scientific pursuits would delay his progress in the attainment of classical learning, agreed with his friends that they should refrain from speaking on such topics in his presence; and this opposition to his evidently ruling tendency was, on principle, carried so far, that on his making an application to his father to be permitted to learn mathematics, the permission was positively withheld, till he should have mastered the Greek and Latin languages. In the mean time, he obtained no other information on the subject, but that geometry was a science which related to the extension of bodies—that it taught the mode of forming accurate figures, and pointed out the relations which existed between them. But beyond this general information, he was forbidden to inquire; and all books on the subject were positively forbidden to him.

This vague definition, however, was the ray of light which guided him onward in mathematical study. It became the subject of continued thought. In his play hours, he would shut himself up in an empty room, and draw with chalk on the floor, triangles, parallelograms, and circles, without knowing their scientific names. He would compare these several figures, and would examine the relations that their several lines bore to each other; and in this way, he gradually arrived at the proof of the fact, that the sum of all the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles, which is the thirty-second proposition of the first book of Euclid. The young geometer had just attained this point, when his father surprised him, deeply occupied in the prohibited study. But he was himself no less astonished than his son, when, on examining into the nature of his occupation, he ascertained the conclusion to which he had come; and on inquiring how he arrived at it, the child pointed out several other principles which he had previously ascertained, and at length stated the first principles which he had gathered for himself in the way of axioms and definitions.

To control, after this, such evident manifestations of superior mathematical genius, was quite out of the question. Every advantage was afforded to him, of which he eagerly availed himself. At twelve years of age, he read through the Elements of Euclid, without feeling the need of any explanation from teachers; and at sixteen, he composed a treatise on Conic Sections, which was considered to possess very extraordinary merit. He attained rapidly to a very high degree of knowledge and of celebrity as a mathematician; and before the age of nineteen, he invented the famous arithmetical machine which bears his name, and by which, through the instrumentality of a mechanical movement, somewhat similar to a watch, any numerical calculation might be performed. The main difficulty in arithmetic lies in finding the mode of arriving at the desired result. This must ever be a purely mental operation; but the object of this instrument was, that in all those numerical operations where the course to be pursued was fixed and certain, a mechanical process might relieve the mind from the monotonous and wearisome labor of the mere detail of calculation. Pascal's invention succeeded; but it was found too cumbrous for general use.

About this time, Stephen Pascal was appointed the Intendant of Rouen, to which place he removed his family. He remained there seven years; and during that period, his son diligently pursued his studies, although it was quite evident that his severe application had already affected his health, and marked him with the symptoms of decline.

Here his ardent mind, which had been turned during his retirement to the study of Physics, occupied itself with one of the most striking phenomena of the natural world, and did not rest till he had elicited a satisfactory explanation of it. This phenomenon was that in a pump, in which the piston played at a distance of more than thirty-two feet above the reservoir that supplied it, the water rose to the height of thirty-two feet, and no farther. On this question, Galileo had been consulted; and the explanation of this fact which was offered by him was, that the water rose to a certain height in the pipe because nature abhorred a vacuum; but that the force by which she resisted a vacuum was limited, and that beyond a height of thirty-two feet, it ceased to act. This answer, however, was not even then satisfactory; and within a short period of that time, Torricelli, the disciple of Galileo, ascertained, by a series of experiments, that the cause of this ascent of the water in fountains and pumps, was the pressure of the weight of the atmosphere upon the surface of the reservoir. At this juncture, however, Torricelli died; but Pascal, to whom the result of his experiments had been communicated by Mr. Mersenne, through Mr. Petit, the Intendant of Fortifications at Rouen, having repeated the experiments of Torricelli, verified their results, and completely refuted the popular notion of the abhorrence of a vacuum. And in the year 1647, in a small tract dedicated to his father, he published the account of these experiments.

It does not however appear, that, at this time, he had arrived at a satisfactory solution of the phenomenon in question—he had done little more than ascertained, that it could not arise from the cause to which it had been attributed, according to the popular doctrine of the day, and that the notion of nature's abhorrence of a vacuum, had no foundation in fact. Pascal therefore followed out his inquiries most perseveringly; and in the year 1653, he wrote two pamplets, one on the equilibrium of fluids, and another on the weight of the atmosphere; in which, by a series of satisfactory experiments, he completely established that doctrine on the subject, which is now universally received. The most important and original of these experiments were those which showed that the rise of the water, or the mercury in the tube, varied in proportion to the height above the level of the sea, of the place where the experiment was tried. Many attempts have been made to rob Pascal of the merit of these discoveries, but they have altogether failed. It was, however, to be regretted, that the two latter tracts were not printed till 1663, the year following his death.

At the time, however, when M. Pascal issued his first tract on this subject, his health had manifestly given way before the severity of his studies; and at the close of the year 1647, he had an attack of paralysis, which deprived him, in a great measure, of the use of his limbs. He returned to Paris, and resided there with his father and sister, and, for some time, relaxed from study, and took several journeys by way of recreation. But in the year 1651, he lost his father; and in 1653, his sister Jacqueline, in the fulfilment of a wish which she had long cherished, joined the sisterhood of Port Royal; and being thus left alone at Paris, for his other sister and M. Perier then resided at Clermont, he returned without restraint to those habits of severe and excessive study which must, in a short time, had they not been interrupted, have brought him to the grave. But his friends interfered, and their advice, seconded by the severity of his bodily afflictions, constrained him for a time to lay aside his studies, and to mingle more than he had done with general society. Here he gradually regained his spirits, acquired a fresh relish for the fascinations of life, and began even to think of marriage. But an event which occurred about this time, and which we shall have occasion afterwards to mention, dissipated all these thoughts, and gave an entirely new color to his whole life, and tended especially to induce him to consecrate his splendid talents to the noblest of all employments—the service of God.

There is reason to suppose, that the paralytic attack that Pascal experienced in the year 1647, first led him to the serious consideration of the subject of religion. He read, at that time, some few devotional books, and the effect which they produced upon his mind, was a clear conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, and of the propriety of its high requirements. He saw that it enjoined upon men the necessity of living for God, and of making Him the supreme object of their attention and love; and so strong was his conviction of this, that he determined about that time to renounce the studies to which, up to that period, he had so eagerly applied himself, and thenceforth, to devote the powers of his mind, to that subject of supreme interest, which Jesus Christ has declared to be *the one thing needful.*

It is evident that the resolution then formed, did materially influence M. Pascal's whole character and habits, and that gradually he gave an increased attention to the subject of religion. Still there is reason to suppose, that the state of his mind underwent some material variations in this respect, and that, for several years, he was not altogether so entirely devoted to religious topics, nor so cordially separated from irreligious society, as he afterwards considered to be necessary. His residence at Paris, and his entrance into its society, with a view to recreation, tended, for a time, to dissipate in a degree his religious impressions, and to awaken a desire to return to the ways of that world, which he had professed to renounce, and to those pursuits and pleasures, the vanity and fruitlessness of which he had already confessed.

It does not follow necessarily, that a man convinced of the truth, and feeling, in some degree, the power of religion, does at once, from the time of that conviction, give himself unreservedly and entirely to the duties and the pleasures of a religious life. Experience shows that there is a wide difference between the most satisfactory conviction of the understanding in favor of such a course, and the effectual and habitual control of the strong passions of the heart, so as to accomplish it; and too frequently it is found, that even after an individual has really seen and loved the religion of the Bible, and made the path which it points out the object of his decided preference—the temptation to recur to the thoughtless and irreligious, but fascinating and seductive habits of the majority, again acquires fresh force; and though he may not be led aside sufficiently to allow his religious inconsistency to be seen, and reproved by less devoted men, yet he declines so far, as to exhibit to himself in a stronger light his own weakness, and to induce him to seek, when convinced of the need of recovery, for greater assurance, and more palpable assistance in the grace of the gospel of Christ.

This appears to have been the case with Pascal, during his residence in Paris. His sister, Jacqueline, witnessed with regret, on his occasional visits to her, at Port Royal, the deteriorating effect of the promiscuous society with which he associated; and she remonstrated faithfully and earnestly with him on the necessity of greater decision, and the need of a more real and marked separation from those who lived only for this present world.

The mind of Pascal, however, notwithstanding these minor aberrations, had taken a decidedly religious turn; and the power of Scriptural truth gradually gained a permanent influence over his heart, and gave a color to all his pursuits. His attention was drawn off from matters of merely sublunary importance, and fixed on the phenomena of the moral world, and the principles of that book which unveils to us the glories, and imparts the hope of an eternal existence; and this change gradually exhibited itself with greater distinctness.

The first public incident of his life which indicated this change, was of a controversial and scholastic nature. During his residence at Rouen, he attended a series of lectures on philosophy, in which the lecturer took occasion to advance some positions which tended to call in question the decisions of the church, and which led him to infer that the body of Jesus Christ was not formed of the blood of the Virgin Mary. M. Pascal addressed himself boldly to the suppression of this heresy. He first remonstrated with the lecturer, but finding this useless, he denounced him to the Bishop of Rouen; and being foiled there by an equivocal confession, he carried the matter before the Archbishop, by whom the philosopher was compelled publicly to renounce the dangerous notions which he had advanced; and the whole of this process was conducted with so much temper, that the defeated philosopher never retained the least acrimonious feeling against his youthful antagonist. That Pascal should apply his extraordinary powers to combat and to give importance to such subtleties, is to be attributed to the genius of the times. In those days the grand and simple truths of revelation were much lost sight of, and theological knowledge and religious zeal, were shown in those metaphysical speculations, and those ready powers of logical discussion, which may gratify the pride of the understanding, but do not mend the heart.

Pascal was not, however, to be kept down by the trammels of the schools, and the semi-barbarous theology of the day. He read and thought for himself. It was impossible for a mind like his to do otherwise; and such was the practical influence of his religious studies on his character, that it was felt and acknowledged by all around him. Even his father, previously to his death, did not hesitate to learn at the feet of his son, and gradually reformed his own manner of life, and became more devoted to the subject of religion; and abounding in his later days in Christian virtues, at length died a truly Christian death.

The circumstance, however, which seemed in the providence of God most effectually to influence M. Pascal's mind in favor of religion—to dissipate all remaining attachment to this world, and to give the especial character to his remaining years, was an accident which happened to him in October, 1654. He was taking his usual drive in a coach and four, when, as they passed the bridge of Neuilly, the leaders became unmanageable at a point of the bridge where there was no parapet, and they were precipitated into the Seine. Happily the traces broke suddenly by the weight of the horses, and the carriage remained safely at the very verge of the bridge. Pascal's valuable life was preserved; but the shock which his frail and languishing frame sustained was very great. He fainted, and remained for a long time in a state of insensibility; and the permanent nervous impression which this alarm produced was so strong, that frequently afterwards, in moments of peculiar weakness, or during a sleepless night, he fancied that there was a precipice close to the side of his bed, into which he feared that he should fall.

It was after this event that Pascal's religious impressions regained that strength, which they had in a degree lost. His natural amiability of temper—his ready flow of wit—the fascinations of the best circles of Parisian society, and the insidious influence of well applied flattery, had, previously to this accident, succeeded in cooling, in some measure, the ardor of his piety, and had given him somewhat more of the air of a man, whose hopes and whose treasures were to be found within the limits of this transitory and imperfect existence. But this providential deliverance from sudden death, led to a very decided and permanent change of character. He regarded it as a message from heaven, which called on him to renounce all secular occupations, and to devote the remainder of his life exclusively to God. From that time, he bade adieu to the world. He entirely gave up his habits of general visiting, and retiring altogether from merely scientific society, retained only the connection which he had formed with a few religious friends, of superior intellectual attainments and devotional habits. In order to accomplish this the more effectually, he changed his residence, and lived for some time in the country.

He was now about thirty years of age; and it was at this time that he established that mode of life in which he persevered to the last. He gave up all search for earthly pleasure, and the use of all indulgences and superfluities. He dispensed as far as possible with the service of domestics. He made his own bed, and carried his own dinner to his apartment. Some persons may be disposed to consider this as a needless and ascetic peculiarity. Nor is it attempted here to justify the stress which he laid upon these minor and comparatively unimportant matters; but be that as it may, every one must admire the elevated piety with which these peculiar notions were associated, and the principle on which these acts of self-denial were performed. Prayer, and the study of the Scriptures became the business of his life, in which he found inexpressible delight. He used to say, that the Holy Scriptures were not a science of the understanding, so much as of the heart; and that they were a science, intelligible only to him whose heart was in a right moral state, whilst to all others they were veiled in obscurity. To this sacred study, therefore, Pascal gave himself, with the ardor of entire devotion; and his success in this line of study, was as eminent as it had been in matters of general science. His knowledge of the Scriptures, and his facility in quoting them, became very great. It was quite remarkable in that day. His increasing love for the truth of religion, led him also to exercise readily all the powers of his mind, both by his pen, and by his very great conversational powers, in recommending religion to others, and in demolishing whatever appeared likely to oppose its progress, or to veil and to deform its truth. An opportunity of the very first importance shortly afterwards occurred, which called forth the exercise of his splendid talents and extensive knowledge in that way which he most especially desired.

The sincere religion of M. Pascal, together with the connection of his family with the religious recluses of the Monastery of Port Royal, had gathered round him as his friends, many of the illustrious scholars and Christians who were associated together in that retirement. About the time when Pascal's mind had been led to the formation of his religious principles, and to the more serious adoption of his religious habits, the Monastery of Port Royal had risen into importance and notoriety, which were increased by the difficulties with which it had to contend. Under the superintendence of Angelique Arnauld, sister of M. Arnauld, the celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, the society of female recluses there, had undergone a very extensive and thorough reform; and many young persons of superior rank and exalted piety had gathered round this renowned leader, and risen under her instructions, and the pastoral guidance of a few excellent men of similar sentiments, the male recluses of the same society, to still loftier attainments in the love of God, and in conformity to his revealed will.

At the same time also, many men of the first talents and acquirements, disgusted with the world, with the fruitlessness of its service, and the falsehood of its promises, and sick of the heartless and dissipated state of society around them, came to dwell together in a retired mansion in the same neighborhood, and to seek in the solitude of the wilderness, that peace which the world cannot give. Among these were two brothers of the Mere An gelique, her nephews Le Maitre and De Sacy, Nicole, Lanceclot, Hermant, and others. Here they devoted themselves to the instruction of youth, both in literature and science, and in religion, and their seminaries soon rose into importance. From this little society of recluses, issued forth many elementary works of learning and science, which became the standard works of the day; and such was their progress and the celebrity of the Port Royal schools, and the Port Royal grammars, and other treatises, that they seriously threatened the Jesuits with ejection from that high station which they had long almost exclusively held as the instructors and spiritual guides and governors of all the young people of condition throughout France.

The true principle of the Romish apostacy from the simplicity of the Christian faith, has ever been a despotic dominion over the consciences of men. That fallen and false church has, in all the varying phases of its condition, ever held this point steadily in view; and if a few words may delineate the essential feature of her enormous and unchristian pretensions, it is the substitution in the stead of true religion, of a system of terror and power, founded upon unwarranted and unscriptural assumptions, altogether contrary to the spirit of the gospel of Christ, which is the rational dominion of Divine influence over the heart, through the medium of the doctrinal truths of Scripture. To veil, in some degree, this presumption, and to render it palatable to men in general, Rome has gathered round her, in the style of her buildings, the formularies of her worship, the splendor of her attire, and the fascinations of her choral music, every thing that is imposing and calculated to seduce the affections through the medium of the senses. But as knowledge spread among the nations, and the art of printing providentially rendered the suppression of knowledge more difficult, it became necessary to adopt a more efficient system of police to guard all the avenues of this widely extended dominion of priestcraft over ignorance. The court of Rome, therefore, eagerly availed itself of the plan of Loyola, and the order of the Jesuits was established for the defence of the Roman Catholic church; and never was any system more admirably organized for such a purpose.

Framed from infancy to intrigue, and hardened to all the evils of the morality of expediency, these emissaries of the Roman power formed a complete system of police spread over the whole extent of Papal Christendom; and thoroughly informed. by means of auricular confession, of the secret history of courts, families, and individuals, and bound to each other in the most solemn manner by the covenant of their order, they were prepared to adopt and to vindicate any measures, however infamous, that might advance the cause of the church with which they were identified. History furnishes an abundance of well-authenticated facts of the darkest dye, to show the boldness with which, at all risks, they rushed on to their object, and the dangerous errors with which they endeavored to justify their crimes. There is in the unsanctified heart a fiendlike delight in power. Union is power: and for the sake of feeling that they have that power, men are content to become even subordinate agents, according to their capacities, in a great scheme, that they may thereby realize, by combination, an influence extensive, irresistible, and terrific, which no one could have obtained alone. This is most probably the secret of the efficiency of that system of ecclesiastical espionage; and it certainly was carried to such an awful degree of success, that the thrones of Europe, and even the Papal tiara itself, trembled before it. It was not therefore to be wondered at, that this powerful body, whose reign over France, at that time, was almost uncontrolled, should behold, with bitter malice, the growing influence and success of a few retired pietists, who now threatened to invade their chartered rights, and by the simple principles of Scriptural truth, to divide, if not to annihilate their power.

But while the prejudices and hostilities of the Jesuits were thus roused against the Port Royalists, it would not have been a consistent Jesuitical ground of complaint against them, to say that they endangered their craft. It was needful to seek an objection against them in the things concerning their God. And they soon found ample food to nourish and to embitter their venom, and to lay the basis of a plot for their ruin, in the sound doctrinal sentiments, and practical piety of these separatists from the corrupt manners of the time. And though probably the sentiments of these gentlemen might have been left unnoticed, but for their interference with the secular interests of the disciples of Loyola, yet when once these artful men had found real ground of hostility in the success of the Port Royalists in education, they were thankful indeed to find a still more plausible ground of assault against them, in the peculiarity of their religious sentiments. They rejoiced at the opportunity afforded to them of covering that envy, which originated in the success of their opponents in a course of honorable rivalry on the field of science, by the more specious pretext of zeal for the purity of the faith, and the integrity of the pontifical power. On this ostensible ground, therefore, a series of persecutions was commenced, which terminated only by the entire destruction of the brightest ornaments that ever graced the church of France.

In the year 1640, the celebrated work of Jansenius,* bishop of Ypres, entitled, Augustinus, was published. It was published about two years after the death of the author, and is a very clear and luminous exposition of the doctrine of Scripture on the subject of the fall and redemption of man. It exhibits very prominently the opinions of St. Augustine, and as distinctly condemns the Pelagian errors.

The recluses of Port Royal, who were diligent students of the Scriptures, and had derived their opinions from that source only, were led to adopt views precisely similar to those of Augustine and Jansenius; and the more deeply they searched the Scriptures by the mutual aid of superior intellect and sound erudition, the more abundantly were they confirmed in these opinions, and in rooted aversion to the whole system of false and ruinous theology then prevalent in the schools of the Jesuits. These opinions they did not hesitate to avow; and the Jesuits beheld with dread, the progress of a doctrine so fitted for the enlightening and comforting of the human heart, and the consequent decline of their popularity and their dominion, before the simple, but powerful statements of Scriptural truth.

It is a well established fact, that however plainly the Scriptures speak on these subjects, the careless multitude who have not religion at heart, and especially those ecclesiastics, whose chief object in the sacred profession has been its emoluments, will not receive the truths which those Scriptures teach; and hence the prevailing opinion, even among the teachers of the Christian church, has always been hostile to the gospel declarations of human corruption, and Divine mercy. So that in those days of ignorance and irreligion, although the doctrine of St. Augustin had been formally sanctioned as the doctrine of the church of Rome, the authorities of that church were fully prepared by the corrupt bias of the irreligious mind, to act in direct opposition to dogmas which the church itself had recognized. To those who have not looked closely into ecclesiastical history, this may seem extraordinary. But the fact is not uncommon. And the present state of religion, both in the English and Scottish Establishments, exhibits a case of a similar kind; the larger portion of the clergy in both churches holding doctrines decidedly opposed to the dogmatical statements of their standard documents, and in the strength of their majority, denouncing, as heretical, those members of the church whose opinions precisely and literally accord with their Articles and Confessions.

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* His real name was Otto; but at Louvain he was called first Jansen, or the son of John, and this in the Latinized form became Jansenius.

The Jesuits, therefore, relying on the preferences and strong prejudices of the great body of the priesthood, boldly assailed the writings of Jansenius, and the opinions of the Port Royalists; and a long and tedious controversy arose, in which M. Arnauld and several other members of the society of Port Royal abundantly distinguished themselves; but which did not appear at all likely to draw to a close, except as it threatened the Port Royalists with ruin, when Pascal was induced to take up his pen in defence of his persecuted friends, and of those scriptural truths to which he was sincerely attached.

In the year 1656, M. Pascal published the first of his twenty celebrated letters, on the subject of the morality of the Jesuits, and which have been improperly called "The Provincial Letters." They were published first under the title, "Letters written by Louis de Montalte to a Provincial, and to the Reverend the Fathers of the Jesuits, on their moral and political principles;" and from this they acquired the erroneous title by which they are universally known. Of the merit of these letters, nothing need be said here. They are known to every one. Even Voltaire has said of them, that "Moliere's best comedies are not so pungent in their wit as the earlier letters; and that Bossuet has nothing more sublime than the latter." They are now regarded as the first book which purified and fixed the French language. The effect of them was wonderful. The whole edifice of the reputation of the society fell before the power of Pascal's genius. The boldest casuists fled from the two edged sword of his manly and honest sarcasm. An universal clamor rose against them. They were on every side regarded as the corrupters of morals; and after having, in one or two pamphlets, most unwisely and vainly endeavored to justify the system of casuistry which Pascal had exposed, they were compelled for a time to shrink before the scourge with which he had chastised them, and to bear in silence the general indignation of the more virtuous portion of society, which he had effectually roused against their errors.*

Enmity, however, such as theirs did not languish, because for a time, it was repressed. Though the multitude had now seen and abhorred the immoral principles of the Jesuits, they had not the means to overthrow their power. These were men who could resolutely and pertinaciously maintain their position after their character was gone. Their channels to influence over men of power, were too effectually occupied for any one to shake their dominion over the court and the government; and in the mysterious providence of God, a few years gave to this intriguing society a complete and bitter revenge. The history of the persecution, dispersion, and ruin of the saints of Port Royal, is perhaps one of the most interesting points in the annals of the Christian church. It does most powerfully establish the truth, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and that the reward of the true servants of God is reserved for another.

The contest of M. Pascal with the Jesuits continued for about three years, during which time, he was very much occupied. To expose their errors required a very diligent study of their voluminous and useless writings; and though, in this respect, Pascal was much indebted to the labors of Arnauld and Nicole, yet much application on his own part was absolutely necessary. He says, "I have been asked if I had read all the books which I have quoted? I answer, No. To do this, I must have spent a large portion of my life in reading very bad books. But I have twice read the works of Escobar through; the others, my friends read for me. But I have never made use of a single passage, without having read it in the book from which I quoted, and without having studied the ground on which it was brought forward, and examined the context both before and after, that I might not run the risk of citing that as an averment, which was brought forward as an objection."

Application so close, could not but materially affect a constitution already seriously enfeebled by disease; and the evils which were gathering, were doubtless aggravated by the severe mode of life to which he rigidly adhered. His food was of the plainest kind. His apartment cleared of every thing like luxury, or even comfort; and in order to check the risings of vanity, or any other evil suggestion, he wore beneath his clothes a girdle of iron, with sharp points affixed to it, the inconvenience of which must have been at all times great; but whenever he found his mind wandering from the one great subject, or taking delight in the things around him, he struck this girdle with his elbow, and forced the sharp points of the iron more deeply into his side. This fact cannot be recorded with approbation. It is one of the strong evidences of the evil occasioned by the false doctrines of the Church of Rome, that even a genius so elevated and liberal as that of Pascal, could not altogether free itself from the errors of education. What a far more effectual principle of reform is the love of Christ! All the bodily suffering which we can inflict upon ourselves, will not be sufficient alone to inspire one holy, or restrain one unholy thought; but a faithful, affectionate lifting up of the soul to the God of all grace, is blessed by Divine appointment as the means of victory over temptation; and they who have sincerely tried this "more excellent way," have realized its success. They know what is the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free.

But though Christians, in a day of clearer ligh and richer privilege can discern the error into which Pascal had been led, and can mourn over the bondage in which he was still retained, yet they who know the difficulty of a sincere and uncompromising service of God, will look with reverence at these evidences of a serious devotion to the cause of holiness, and admire the resolute self-denial which dictated and endured such extraordinary sufferings. It is surely not becoming in the careless, sensual professor of the Christian faith, who in any degree makes his liberty a cloak for licentiousness, to look with contempt on these striking proofs, that Pascal hated vain thoughts, more than he loved his own flesh. It has been well said, that "a poor mistaken Papist, wounded by a girdle, or bleeding under a scourge, with a broken and a contrite heart, is nearer to the kingdom of God, than a proud, insolent, intolerant professor of religion, who, with a less exceptionable creed, is lamentably deficient in the graces of humility, self-denial, and charity." Happy will that man be, who, if he is working upon sound principles, and has renounced the notion of human merit before God, shall find, in his daily conduct, proofs equally strong with those which the life of Pascal furnishes, of a sincere desire to *mortify the deeds of the body*, and to silence the impure suggestions of carnal inclination.

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* No serious attempt was made to answer the Provincial Letters for forty years.

Worn down, however, by rigid self-denial, and painful devotion to study, the frame of Pascal began to exhibit serious symptoms of decline. The constitutional disease, which had shown itself in earlier years, gained ground; and after five years of active exertion, his general health completely gave way, and he became, in several respects, a very great sufferer. One part of his affliction was a severe, and almost unceasing pain in the teeth, so that he was unable to sleep, and was compelled to lie whole nights in thought, in order, if possible, to divert his attention from the agony that he endured.

At this time, however, an incident occurred which must not be omitted, because it tends to exhibit, in a striking point of view, the originality and superiority of his mind. During one of his wakeful and painful nights, some propositions respecting the curve, called the Cycloid,* recurred to his recollection. He had, for a long time, given up all mathematical study; but the train of thought to which these recollections led, interested him, and beguiled the pain under which he was suffering. He allowed himself, therefore, to be led on by the beauty of the thoughts which occurred to him, and at length pressed his examination of the subject to such important results, that even now the discoveries which he made that night, are regarded among the greatest efforts of the human mind. Yet so completely had his attention been turned away from such speculations, and occupied with those religious contemplations, which, as relating to God and eternity, he thought far more important, that he did not attempt to commit to paper these interesting and splendid discoveries, till speaking one day of them to the Duke de Roannez, it was suggested to him that they might be made useful in support of the cause of the true religion, at that time persecuted in the persons of the Jansenists; and he then consented to the mode of publication which was subsequently adopted.

In June, 1658, therefore, Pascal issued a paper, under the signature of Amos Dettonville, which is an anagram of the name of Louis de Montalte, the signature affixed to the Provincial Letters, proposing certain questions for solution, respecting the properties of the Cycloid, and offering two rewards if the questions were solved, and the mode of solution were exhibited, by a given day, to certain judges chosen for the purpose. The proposal gave rise to much discussion, and called forth much mathematical talent. Only two persons, however, claimed the prize, the Jesuit, Lallouere, and Dr. Wallis, the Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford; but at the expiry of the given time, they had not satisfied the judges that a proper solution of the questions had been offered, and then immediately Pascal printed his own treatise on the subject, which completely established his claim to the discovery of the right method of solution.

How far this mathematical discovery could aid the cause of religion, is very questionable. Probably the Duke de Roannez wished it to be inferred, that the highest gifts of superior intellect are bestowed by a kind providence upon the servants of God, as a mark of approbation, and a proof of the nobler gifts of grace; but this is, to say the least of it, a very questionable position, and one not borne out by fact; for generally speaking, the children of this world, are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light. The event, however, has its use in a different way. It tends to confirm our confidence in the superior mind of Pascal, as one of those lights that God has graciously vouchsafed to his church, to mark out the path of truth, amidst the mazes of error. And it exhibits, in a very interesting manner, the reality of Pascal's religion, that discoveries so calculated to gratify a mind like his, and to call out the ambitious desire of giving them to the world, should have appeared of little importance to him, compared with the general course of pious meditations, in which his days and nights were spent, and only worthy to occupy him seriously when it could be made to appear to him, however erroneously, that the publication might subserve the interests of that religion which was, of all things, nearest to his heart. There is very little indeed of this practical elevation above the world. There are few who really feel it; and whenever it is seen, it is worthy of reverence; for few proofs of the realizing consciousness of another existence, and of a rational hope of happiness in it, are more satisfactory and impressive than the calm and composure with which some superior minds loose their grasp upon those things of the present scene that are naturally precious to them, and find their highest delight in the promises of holiness and glory, beyond this scene of death. As St. Paul says, *Yea doubtless, and I count all things but dung that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith: that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection of the dead.*

In Pascal, turning aside from the career of fame to which his acute and active mind almost involuntarily led him, and neglecting those imposing discoveries which spontaneously opened to the energies of his genius, even in the very agonies of disease, to occupy himself with prayer and meditation on the Divine perfections, and with designs for the moral and religious improvement of his fellow-creatures, an instance of true magnanimity presents itself, which nothing but the reality of the great subject of his hopes can at all explain. Skeptics may profess to smile at what they call the superstitions of weaker minds, and they may find ample food for unholy mirth in the errors and imbecilities of many faithful Christians, but when they see the loftiest spirits of the age, men whose comprehensive grasp of intellect makes all their boasted philosophy look mean and meagre, making light of all that the material world can offer to their notice, and eagerly holding forth the torch of revelation, to catch, as their worthiest prospect, a view of the realities of the eternal world, they are compelled to admit that there is, at least, no small probability that the testimony of that book is true, and that it is not folly to carry inquiry farther.

The most interesting and important of the productions of this great mind, remains to be noticed. It has been seen, that the original tendencies of Pascal's mind, aided by the habits of his early education, had peculiarly fitted him for patient and accurate investigation into any subject that came before him. He grappled with the difficulties of his subject, and never was satisfied till he had discovered the truth. Subsequently, the decline of his health, and some other providential circumstances, followed up by the advice of his pious relatives, gave a decidedly religious bias to his mind, and with all his native ardor and acumen, and patience and perseverance in inquiry, he applied himself to the study of the Scriptures, the writings of the fathers, and every book of importance on the subject, on which he could lay his hand. In this way, following up his reading, according to his usual method, with frequent and mature reflection on the points in question in all the variety of their bearings, he gradually became completely master of the subject of the Christian religion, of the evidence for its truth, the suitability of the remedy to the state of man, the poverty and want of solidity in all the skeptical objections brought against it, and the true method of confuting each. The abstract which he has given of the opinions of Montaigne and Epictetus, shows how diligent had been his research into the opinions of other men, and how admirably fitted his mind was for unravelling their sophistries, and exposing their errors.

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* It is the curve, described by a nail upon the felly of a wheel of a carriage in motion

Pascal, feeling no doubt master of his subject, and conscious, in a degree, of the fitness of his powers for it; at all events, tracing in his own mind a clear road to conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, determined to write a comprehensive work on the subject. Like most of his subjects of thought, he revolved it repeatedly in his mind, and sometimes spoke of it. On one occasion, he was requested to give in conversation, an outline of his plan, before a number of his friends. He consented; and in an extempore discourse of from two to three hours, developed the plan of his work. He pointed out the subject on which he purposed to treat; he gave a concise abridgment of the mode of reasoning, and a synoptical view of the order in which the different branches of the subject were to be treated; and his friends, who were themselves as capable as most men of judging in such a case, declared, that they had never heard any thing more admirable, or more powerfully convincing. It is recorded, that, from the hasty conversational view which he then gave them of the work, they anticipated a splendid performance from that mind, the powers of which they well knew, and whose assiduity they knew to be such, that he never contented himself with his first thoughts, but wrote and rewrote, even eight or ten times, tracts, which any one but himself, would have thought excellent at first.

For this work, Pascal had been preparing several years; but the circumstances which occurred, in connection with the supposed cure of his niece, Mademoiselle Perier at Port Royal,* and which peculiarly directed his attention to the subject of miracles, accelerated his efforts to accomplish it. He gave himself entirely to the work; and for a whole year, previously to the general breaking up of his health, he was occupied in collecting materials, and noting down his thoughts for the purpose. From that time, however, his life was an almost unbroken continuance of suffering, during which, he was able to do little towards the furtherance of his object. Worn down with pain, and oppressed by extreme languor, he could not occupy himself in lengthened meditation, and his utmost effort was, during the short intervals of relief from pain that were granted him, to write down his thoughts on the first morsel of paper that came to hand; and at times, when he could not hold the pen, he dictated to his servant.

In this way Pascal accumulated materials for his work. The whole subject came repeatedly before him in the detail of its different parts; and any thought which it might be needful to work into the general scheme, was committed to paper as it arose, and with a degree of accuracy or inaccuracy, according to the state of his mind or body at the time, and the degree of attention that he was enabled to give. Hence some of them were expressed in a manner peculiarly short, imperfect, and enigmatical; while others were evidently labored, and made out with care.

But in the mysterious providence of God, this work was not to be completed. The health of the author rapidly declined; and at his death, nothing was found of it but this mass of detached Thoughts, written on separate pieces of paper, which were evidently the raw material, out of which he had purposed to erect the fabric that he had planned.

It may be thought by some surprising, that after several years of study, for the express purpose, nothing more connected was found among his writings; but the habit of his mind explains this. It had always been his custom to reflect much on the subjects on which he wrote, and completely to arrange the matter in his mind before he embodied it on paper, in order that he might ascertain carefully the order in which the different parts should be disposed, so as to produce the effect which he desired; and having a memory so retentive, that as he used to say, no thought which he had once strongly impressed on his mind, ever escaped him, it appears probable, that, confiding to the clear analytic view which he had of his plan, he went on, using the intervals of rest from pain, to collect the specific thoughts, and looking to a period of greater freedom from disease, to bring them forth according to the general arrangement on which he had determined. That period, however, did not arrive; and instead of a luminous and comprehensive defence of the whole Christian scheme, we have in his Thoughts, as published, only some imperfect attempts, expressive of his intentions. These are, however, admirably calculated to suggest subjects of interesting speculation to other minds, on many important points of the great question which he had in view, and from their almost unrivalled excellence as far as they go, must ever give rise to sincere and deep regret, that their author left his work unfinished.

As to the plan of the work, we are left entirely to conjecture, except so far as he unfolded it in the conversation before mentioned; but of that abridged statement, one of his friends who was present, has given from memory the following account:—

"After having shown them what modes of proof produce the greatest impression on the minds of men, and are most effectual as means of suasion, he undertook to show that the Christian religion had marks of certainty as decided, and evidence in its favor as strong, as any of those things which are received in the world as unquestionable.

"He began by a delineation of man, in which he omitted nothing which might tend to give him a minute and comprehensive knowledge of himself, both within and without, even to the most secret emotions of his soul. He then supposed the case of a man, who, having lived in that state of ignorance in which men generally live, and in indifference to most things around him, but especially to those which concern himself, comes, at length, to consider himself in the picture which he had previously drawn, and to examine what he really is. He is surprised with the discovery which he makes there of a multitude of things, on which he had never previously thought; and he cannot notice without astonishment, all that Pascal's description causes him to feel of his greatness and his vileness, his power and his weakness, of the little light that lingers with him, and the thick darkness which almost entirely surrounds him, and of all those wonderful contrarieties which are found in his nature. After this, however weak his intellectual powers may be, he can no longer remain in indifference; and however insensible he may have been hitherto to such questions, he cannot but wish, after having ascertained what he is, to know also whence he came, and what is to become of him.

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* The facts of the case are very curious; and there is no doubt that M. Pascal believed the truth of the miraculous cure; but to go into a minute examination of the circumstances, would far exceed the limits of this memoir, and must be reserved for a more extensive work in contemplation, but which may perhaps never be accomplished.

"Pascal having, as he supposed, thus awakened in him the disposition to seek for information on a subject so important, proposed to direct his attention, first to the philosophers of this world; and having unfolded to him all that the wisest philosophers of all the different sects have said on the subject of man, to point out to him so many defects, weaknesses, contradictions, and falsehoods, in all that they have advanced, that it would not be difficult for the individual in question, to determine, that it is not in the schools of human philosophy that he must seek for instruction.

"He then carries his disciple over the universe, and through all the ages of its history, and points out to him the variety of religions which have obtained in it; but he shows him, at the same, by strong and convincing reasons, that all these religions are full of vanity and folly, of errors, extravagance and absurdity, so that here also he finds nothing which can give him satisfaction.

"Then Pascal directs his attention to the Jewish people, and points out a train of circumstances so extraordinary, that they easily rivet his attention. And having called his attention to all the singularities of that nation, he fixes it especially on the one book by which that people are guided, and which comprehends at once their history, their law, and their theology.

"Scarcely has he opened this book, when he learns that the world is the work of God, and that the same God has made man in his own image, and endowed him with all the powers of body and mind, adapted to this state of being. Although he has not yet attained to a conviction of these truths, they are a source of gratification to him; and reason alone is sufficient to discover to him more probability in the supposition, that one God is the creator of men, and of all things in the universe, than in all the wild inventions which tradition offers elsewhere to his notice. He soon perceives, however, that he is far from possessing all the advantages which belonged to man, when he first came from the hands of his Maker. But his doubt in this matter is speedily cleared up; for on reading further, he ascertains, that after man had been created in a state of innocence, and gifted with many perfections, his first act was to rebel against his Maker, and to use his new created powers in offending him.

"Pascal proposed then to show him, that this crime being one of the most aggravated in all its circumstances, it was punished, not only in the first man, who, having fallen by that sinful act, sunk at once into misery, and weakness, and blindness, and error, but also in all his descendants, in all time following, to whom he transmits, and will transmit, his own corrupt nature.

"His plan was then to point out to him several passages of this book, in which he must discover the averment of this truth. He shows him that it never speaks of man but with reference to this state of weakness and disorder; that it is frequently said there, that all flesh is corrupt; that men are become sensual, and that they have a bias to evil from their birth. He shows him that this first fall is the origin, not only of all that is otherwise incomprehensible in the nature of man, but also of many effects which are external to him, and of which the cause is otherwise unknown. In fact, it would be his object to point out man, as so accurately depicted in this book, that he would appear in no respect different from the character which he had previously traced.

"But merely to teach man the truth of his misery, would not be enough. Pascal proposed to show him, that in this same book also he might find his consolation. He would point out that it is said there, that the remedy of this evil is with God; that we must go to him for strength; that he will have compassion, and will send a deliverer who will make a satisfaction for guilty man, and be his support in weakness.

"After having set before his disciple a number of important remarks on the sacred book of this peculiar people, he proposed to show him that this was the only book which had spoken worthily of the Supreme Being, and that had given the idea of an universal religion. He would point out what should be the most evident marks of such a religion; which he would then apply to those which this book inculcated, and would direct his attention especially to the fact, that these Scriptures make the essence of religion to consist in the love of God, which is a feature entirely peculiar to themselves, and distinguishes them from all other religious writings in the world, the falsehood of which appears manifestly detected by the want of this essential characteristic.

"Hitherto, although Pascal might have led his scholar so far onward towards a disposition for the adoption of the Christian religion, he had said nothing to convince him of the truth of the things which he had discovered; he had only induced in him the disposition to receive them with pleasure, if he could be satisfied that it was his duty; he had led him to wish with his whole heart, that these things were substantial and well-founded truths, since he found in them so much that tended to give him repose, and to clear up his serious and distressing doubts. And this, M. Pascal considered, is the state in which every reasonable man should be, who has once seriously entered on that train of considerations that he wished to set before the mind of his disciple; and that there is reason to believe, that a man in such a state of mind, would then easily admit all the proofs which might be brought to confirm the reality of those important truths of which he had spoken.

"Then in the way of proof, having shown generally that these truths were contained in a book, the genuineness and authenticity of which, could not reasonably be doubted, he proposed to look minutely into the writings of Moses, in which these truths are especially taught, and to show by an extensive series of unquestionable proofs, that it was equally impossible that Moses had left a written statement of untruths, or that the people to whom he left them, could have been deceived as to the facts, even though Moses himself had been an impostor.

"He would speak also of the miracles recorded there, and he would prove that it was not possible that they could not be true, not only by the authority of the book that relates them, but by the many attendant circumstances which made them, in themselves, unquestionable.

"Then he would proceed to show, that the whole law of Moses was figurative; that all which happened to the Jews, was but a type of the realities accomplished at the coming of Messiah; and that the veil which covered these types having been withdrawn, it had become easy now to perceive the complete fulfilment of them, in those who had received Jesus Christ as the promised teacher come from God.

"He then undertook to prove the truth of religion by prophecy; and, on this point, he spoke more fully than on some others. Having thought and examined deeply on this subject, and having views which were quite original, he explained them with great accuracy, and set them forth with peculiar force and brilliancy.

"And then having run through the books of the Old Testament, and made many powerful observations, calculated to serve as convincing proofs of the truths of religion, he proposed to speak of the New Testament, and to draw from it the proofs which it afforded of the truth of the gospel.

"He began with Jesus Christ; and although he had already triumphantly proved his Messiahship by prophecy, and by the types of the law which he showed to have in him their perfect accomplishment, he adduced further proofs still, drawn from his person, his miracles, his doctrine, and the events of his life.

"He then came down to the apostles; and in order to show the truth of that faith which they had so generally preached, he *first* established the notion that they could not be accused of supporting a false system, but upon the supposition, either that they were deceivers, or were themselves deceived; and then in the *second* place, he showed that the one and the other of these suppositions were equally impossible.

"Finally, he took a very comprehensive view of the evangelical history, making some admirable remarks on the gospel itself—on the style and character of the evangelists—on the apostles and their writings—on the great number of miracles—on the saints and martyrs of the early church, and on all the various means by which the Christian religion had obtained a footing in the world: and although it was quite impracticable in such a discourse, to treat such an extensive range of material at length, and with the minuteness, accuracy, and collective force which he purposed in his work, he said enough to exhibit most luminously, the conclusion to which he wished to come, that God only could have so conducted the issue of so many different agents and influences, as that they should all concur in supporting the religion which he himself wished to establish among men."

This is the short abstract which has been handed down of the plan of M. Pascal's work; and short as it is, it gives us some faint view of the comprehensiveness of his genius—of the grasp that he had of his subject, and of the irresistible mass of evidence in existence for the support of the Christian religion, if it could be thus brought to bear upon the question by the energies of one great mind adapted for the purpose. It must remain a matter of wonder to short-sighted mortals, why a work apparently so important, should not have been permitted to reach its completion. Perhaps the explanation of this difficulty may, in some measure, be obtained from one of M. Pascal's Thoughts, in which he says, "So many men make themselves unworthy of God's clemency, that he is willing to leave them ignorant of those blessings for which they do not care to seek. It was not right that he should appear in a mode unequivocally divine, so as to force conviction upon all men. Nor was it right that he should be so entirely concealed, as not to be recognized by those who sincerely seek him. To such he wished to be known; and willing therefore to be discovered by those who seek him with their whole heart, but hidden from those who as heartily avoid him, he has so regulated the discovery of himself, that he has given evidences which will be clear and satisfactory to those who really seek him, but dark, and doubtful, and depressing to those who seek him not." On this ground probably it is, that the evidences for our religion which do exist, have never yet been accumulated with all their force and brilliancy, so as to exhibit one comprehensive and conclusive testimony to the truth.

But though Pascal did not live to complete his work, the fragments that he left behind him were too valuable to be lost. It was necessary that they should be given as a posthumous work to the public. His friends, therefore, who were aware of his design to write such a work, were peculiarly careful after his death, to collect every thing which he had written on the subject; and they found only the Thoughts which are published, with others yet more imperfect and obscure, written, as has been mentioned, on separate pieces of paper, and tied up in several bundles, without any connection or arrangement whatever, but evidently being, in the greater proportion of instances, the mere rough expression of the thought as it first entered his mind. He had been often heard to say, that the work would require ten years of health to complete it; and he had only been able to devote to it the short intervals of comparative ease, or rather of less acute suffering, which he enjoyed during four or five years of a complicated mortal disease.

At first, from their confused and imperfect state, it seemed almost impossible to give these papers publicity; but the demand for them, even as they were, was so impatient, that it became necessary to gratify it; and the labor of editing them was committed to his leading confidential friends, the Duc de Roannez, and Messieurs Arnauld, Nicole, De Treville, Dubois, De la Chaise, and the elder Perier.

And here a serious difficulty was to be encountered on the threshold. In what form should these fragments be given to the world? To print them precisely in the state in which they were found, would be worse than useless. They would have been a mass of mere confusion. To complete them as far as possible, by adding to the imperfect Thoughts, and enlightening the obscure, would have produced a very interesting and useful work; but it would not have been the work of Pascal, even supposing the editors able to enter fully into his original design. Both these methods, therefore, were rejected; and a third plan was adopted, according to which they are now reprinted. The editors selected from a great number of Thoughts, those which appeared the most perfect and intelligible; and these they printed as they found them, without addition or alteration, except that they arranged them as nearly as might be in that order, which, according to the Syllabus that Mr. Pascal had formerly given of his plan, they conceived would come nearest to his wishes.

The first editions of the work were comparatively imperfect; but subsequently, many other valuable Thoughts were gleaned from the MSS. and in the later editions an accurate collation with the original papers, has secured, as far as possible, the meaning of the author. The first edition was printed in 1669, and was surprisingly successful. Tillemont, in speaking of it, says, "It has even surpassed all that I expected from a mind which I considered the greatest that had appeared in one century. I see only St. Augustine that can be compared with him." And most unquestionably, however imperfect the work remains, or rather, though it falls entirely short of being the efficient defence of the Christian religion which Pascal had contemplated; yet even now, this collection of scattered Thoughts stands forth to claim the meed of praise, as a work of unrivalled excellence. It bears the marks of the most extraordinary genius. It exhibits a master's hand in touching the difficult questions of the evidences for our religion, and in probing the secrets of the human heart. It exhibits many points of the argument with great originality and force, and contains the germ of many new and valuable speculations. Many of these thoughts, hastily and imperfectly expressed as they are, have been the native ore, out of which other students have drawn the most valuable and elaborate treatises on different points of the extensive argument which he purposed to consider.*

But one of the finest features of the work, is, the mastery which his mighty mind had over the human heart. Pascal had been a diligent student of his own heart; he knew its tendencies, its weaknesses, its errors. He knew what were its natural resources for comfort, and he knew their vanity; and having gone down into the depths of this question for his own sake, he was able to deal with a resistless power with the children of sin and folly. He could strip their excuses of all vain pretence. He could exhibit their lying vanities in all their poverty and comfortlessness; and he could set forth man in all the reality of his misery, as a dark and cheerless being, without hope or solace, except he find it in the mercy of his God, and in the revealed record of his compassion.

It is this extensive knowledge of human nature which constitutes the peculiar charm of the Pensees. They who read it, feel that the writer gets within their guard; that he has, from experience, the power of entering into the secret chamber of their conscience, and of exhibiting to them the many evils which would otherwise lie there unmolested, but which, seen in the light in which he placed them, must be recognized as their own. The arguments of such a writer must have weight; and it is almost natural to feel, that he who has so thorough a knowledge of the disease, may be followed also in his recommendation of a remedy.

The close, however, of M. Pascal's life, demands our attention. His infirmities and sufferings rapidly increased; and at length unfitted him for any exertion whatever; but they had a most blessed effect upon himself as the means of preparing him more manifestly and entirely for a holier world. It was evidently his wish to detach himself as much as possible from the present material scene; and, with this view, he made it a matter of conscience to check the indulgence of all his appetites and affections. His disease rendered it absolutely necessary that his food should be very delicate, but he was always anxious to take it without occupying his mind with it, or remarking upon its flavor. All this he considered as savoring strongly of sensuality. He objected therefore to the introduction of any kind of sauces, even the juice of an orange into his food, and rigidly regulated the quantity which he thought he ought to take daily for his sustenance; and this he would not exceed. He watched with an anxious jealousy over the still stronger passions, lest the slightest indulgence should be given to them, in himself or others. His views of the necessity of purity in general conversation, were of the highest kind; and he would not even allow his sister to remark on the personal beauty of any one whom she had seen, lest in the minds of his servants, of young people or himself, it should give rise to a questionable thought.

M. Pascal felt it necessary, even to detach himself still more from the present world, and to restrain within himself those excessive attachments to lawful objects here, to which he was by nature strongly disposed. His most ardent affections for any thing in this life, were given to his sister Jacqueline; yet so effectually had he, by Divine contemplation, become elevated above the common views which men take of separation by death, and so entirely was he absorbed in approbation of the will of God, that when her death was announced to him, an event which occurred about six months anterior to his own, he merely said, "May God give us grace to die as she died;" and thenceforth, he never spoke of her, but to remark on the grace with which God had blessed her during her life, and the peculiar mercy of her death at that time, in the crisis of the afflictions and persecutions of the Port Royal establishments; concluding always with the passage of Scripture, "*Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.*"

But this endeavor to break loose from all earthly attachments, did not arise in him, as it does in some stoical minds, from a proud sense of superiority, and a dominant feeling of satisfaction in himself. On the contrary, he powerfully felt his own defects—he was equally anxious that others should not form any attachment to him. On this point he became so determined, and so conscientiously strict, that his manner seriously grieved his sister, Madame Perier, during his last illness, who complained of the evident coldness and reserve with which he received her tenderest and most assiduous attention to his infirmities. Madame Perier states, that this dryness and reserve were to her very enigmatical, because she saw, notwithstanding the coldness of his general manner, that whenever an opportunity occurred in which he could serve her, he embraced it with all his original ardor; and she mentions, that the difficulty on her mind in this respect, was never cleared up till the day of his death, when he stated his views to a friend, that it was highly criminal, for a human being, full of infirmities, to attempt to occupy the affections of a heart which should be given to God only, and that it was robbing God of the most precious thing that this world afforded.

Nor did Pascal's endeavor to rise superior to earthly attachments, originate in hard-heartedness or misanthropy. On the contrary, in proportion as he separated himself from the ties of affection to relatives, and well known individuals, his affections towards the poor and the afflicted of his fellow-creatures increased. And herein he obtained an eminent degree of assimilation to the Divine mind. When a stone is thrown into the water, the ripple occasioned nearest to the centre of impulse, is the largest; and as the circles widen and recede, it diminishes. This is an emblem of human affection. The nearer the relation of the object to ourselves, the warmer is our love; and as the objects become remote, our love declines, till it is scarcely perceptible. Perfect love, the love of God, is the same to all; and with him, nearness of relation, or position makes no difference. All God's creatures are loved by him, with an affection proportioned to their real worth: and the more fully we are assimilated to the Divine Being, the more shall we realize of this reigning principle of love; we shall love, not because we are loved, or because we receive any thing again, or because, in the person of our relatives, we bestow our affection remotely on our own flesh; but we shall love souls for their own sake, for their intrinsic value as the creatures of God, and as sharers with us in the same necessities and distresses.

M. Pascal's regard for the necessities of the poor was so great, that he could not refuse to give alms, even though he was compelled to take from the supply necessary to relieve his own infirmities.

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* A work of very superior talent on Prophecy has been lately sent forth by the Rev. John Davidson, of Oriel Coll. Oxon. of which the germ is to be found in the following Thought of M. Pascal. "The prophecies are composed of particular prophecies, and prophecies relating to the Messiah; in order that the prophecies of Messiah might not be without collateral proof, and that the prophecies relating to particular cases, might not be useless in the general system."

And when at times he exceeded his income, and his friends remonstrated with him on account of it, he would answer, "I have invariably found, that however poor a man is, he has something left when he dies." He was often reduced to the necessity of borrowing money at interest, to indulge himself in these charitable donations. And at one time, when there was a prospect of his income being increased, he proposed to borrow a large sum in advance, upon the strength of his expectations, that he might send it to the poor of Blois, whose distresses were then peculiarly severe.

His views on the subject of charity towards the poor, are thus given by Madame Perier. "His regard for the poor had always been great; but it was so far increased towards the close of his life, that I could not please him better than by indulging it. For four years he continued to press upon me the duty of dedicating myself and my children to the service of the poor. And when I replied, That I feared this would interfere with the proper care of my family, he answered, 'That this was only the want of good-will, and that this virtue might be practised without any injury to domestic concerns.' He said that charity was generally the vocation of Christians, and that it needed no particular mark to indicate a call to it, for it was certain, that on that very ground, Christ would judge the world; and that when we consider that the mere omission of this duty will be the cause of the soul's eternal ruin, this one thought, if we have faith, should lead us willingly to suffer the privation of all things. He said also, that the habit of going among the poor, is extremely useful, because we acquire a practical conviction of the miseries under which they suffer; and we cannot see them wanting, in their extremity, the common necessaries and comforts of life, without being willing to part with our own luxurious superfluities.

"Such sentiments led us to adopt some general plan, according to which, the necessities of all might be supplied; but this he did not approve. He said, we were not called to act on general principles, but to meet particular cases; and he believed, that the most pleasing method of serving God, was in serving the poor out of our poverty; that each should relieve the poor around him, according to his several ability, without occupying his mind with those great designs, which aim at a fancied and probably unattainable excellence of operation, and leave the practicable good undone; and that instead of intermeddling with great enterprises which are reserved for but few, Christians generally were called to the daily assistance of the poor in the particular cases which occurred within the sphere of their own immediate influence."*

One very interesting instance of Pascal's benevolence occurred about three months before his death. As he returned one day from the Church of St. Sulpice, he was accosted by a young person about fifteen years of age, and very beautiful, who asked charity. He felt the danger of her situation, and inquired into her circumstances; and having learned that she came from the country—that her father was dead, and that her mother being ill, had been that day brought to the Hotel Dieu for medical assistance; he regarded himself as sent of God to her relief, in the crisis of her necessity; and he took her, without delay, to a seminary, where he placed her under the care of a pious clergyman, provided for her support, and, through the assistance of a female friend, settled her, at length, in a comfortable situation.

Another instance of the extreme force of the principle of charity in his mind, occurred subsequently to this. He had been seized with such a degree of nausea, that his medical attendant had required him to abstain from all solid food; and he was, in consequence, reduced to great weakness. He had in his house at the time, a poor man, with his wife and family, for whose accommodation, he had given up one of his rooms. One of the children had fallen ill of the small-pox; and Pascal, who needed at the time, on account of his great debility, the attendance of his sister, was unwilling that she should come to him, from the risk of infection to her children. It became necessary, therefore, that he and his sick inmate should separate; but considering the probability of danger to the child, if he were removed, he preferred to submit to the inconvenience himself, and consequently, allowing the poor family to retain possession, he left his own house, never to return, and came to die at Madame Perier's. Whether this be viewed in the light of an act of tenderness to the poor, or of self-denial for the comfort and the safety of his relatives, it is equally lovely, and worthy of regard and veneration.

Three days after this circumstance, Pascal was visited by that attack of disease which removed him out of this present world. It began with violent internal pain; the severity of which, he endured with wonderful patience and composure. His medical attendants perceived, that his sufferings were very great; but finding his pulse good, and no appearance of fever, they ventured to assure his friends, that there was not the least shadow of danger. Pascal however felt that owing to the severity of his sufferings, and the exhaustion of constant sleeplessness, he was becoming much enfeebled, and on the fourth day of his illness, sent for the curate of the parish, and confessed. The report of this spread rapidly among his friends; and they gathered round him, overwhelmed with apprehension. The medical men were so surprised by this, that they said, it was an indication of fear on his part, which they did not anticipate from him; and, notwithstanding his suspicions, they persisted in maintaining a favorable opinion of his case. In the mean time, however, he became much more emaciated; and believing, in opposition to all their representations, that he was really in danger, he communicated freely and repeatedly with the curate, on the subject of his religious hope.

At this time also he made his will, on which occasion he stated, that if M. Perier had been at Paris, and would have consented, he would have given all his property to the poor. He said to Madame Perier, "How is it that I have done nothing for the poor, though I have always loved them?" To which she replied, "Your means have not been such as to enable you to do much for them." "But," said he, "if I could not give them money, I might, at least, have given my time and my labor. Here I have come short indeed! And if the physicians are right, and God permits me to recover, I am determined to have no other employment all the rest of my life."

There are multitudes of persons gifted with both wealth and leisure, who know nothing whatever of the wants and miseries of the poor, and of those scenes of distress and death which occur around them, and which, a little attention on their part, might materially alleviate. To float upon the stream of pleasure—to indulge a luxurious and selfish listlessness, in the expenditure of all the means that they can command—to turn away from, and forget that others are miserable, this seems with many the great object of life. Let such persons look at Pascal, at the close of a life of disease, the small intervals of which, he had dedicated to useful and charitable purposes; let them consider his sincere and penitential regrets, that he had done so little for his poorer fellow-creatures; and then let them ask themselves, how they will meet the solemn scrutiny of that hour, when God will enter into judgment with them? It is an awful sentence, "In as much as *ye did it not*, to the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me." The truly Christian view of duty in this respect is, that the gifts of a bounteous Providence, are not bestowed on us for personal indulgence; but that while we take a moderate and rational enjoyment of the comforts of life, we should regard ourselves as stewards of the manifold gifts of God, to dispense blessings to those who suffer, and to make the opportunity of relieving temporal distresses, the channel for a gift still more valuable, in the instruction of the soul in righteousness. To live for this, is duty and happiness.

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* This thought will recall to the attention, the lessons of a modern school of no little celebrity; and the peculiar, but important and convincing statements of one great mind, from which that school has originated. It is impossible to be well acquainted with the writings of Pascal and of Chalmers, and not to feel in more instances than one, the striking coincidence of thought between them

The Saviour of mankind lived among the poor of this world, and labored for their relief and their salvation. Pascal endeavored to follow in the steps of his blessed Master, and only regretted, that he had done this so imperfectly. And whoever shall strive sincerely to follow the lovely example of Christ's most holy life, will find in it, both here and hereafter, an abundant blessing—a blessing which no contingency can alter—the present sense of Divine favor on earth, and the approving smile of his gracious and compassionate Lord in heaven.

The patience with which Pascal endured pain, was equally remarkable with his overflowing love to the poor. When some one observed to him the distress which they felt at seeing him suffer, he answered, "It does not grieve me. I only fear to be relieved. I know both the dangers of health, and the benefit of suffering. Do not mourn for me; disease is the natural and proper state for Christians. Then we are, as we ought to be—in a state of affliction, by which we become alienated from the joys and the pleasures of sense, and delivered from those passions which disturb all other periods of our life; we are freed from ambition and from avarice, and looking perpetually for death. Is not this the life that a Christian should live? Is it not a privilege to be brought into a state that makes it imperative so to live; and that requires only the duty of humble and thankful submission? For this reason, I desire no other blessing now of God, than that he would continue to me the grace of sanctified affliction."

He was so simple and child-like in his spirit, that he would listen to any one who pointed out a fault in him, and yielded implicitly to their advice. The exquisite sensitiveness of his mind, sometimes betrayed him into impatience; but if this was mentioned to him, or if he discovered that he had grieved any one, he instantly addressed himself to the reparation of his fault, by acts of the most unqualified tenderness and kindness. The curate of St. Etienne, who attended him during the whole of his illness, used to say repeatedly, "He is an infant—humble and submissive as an infant." And another ecclesiastic who came to see him, and remained an hour with him, said to Madame Perier when he left him, "Be comforted, Madame; if God calls him, you have good reason to bless him for the grace bestowed on your brother. I have always admired many noble points about his character; but I have never noticed any thing superior to the child-like simplicity which he now exhibits. In a great mind like his, this is incomparably lovely. I would gladly change places with him."

As the time drew on, he earnestly desired to receive the sacrament; but the medical men opposed it, on the ground that they could not justify the administering *the viaticum*, because he was not in immediate danger of death; and because he was too weak to receive it with fasting, according to the customary method of persons not dangerously ill; and that it was preferable, that he should wait till he was able to receive it at the church. His sufferings, however, continued to increase; and though they yielded, in a degree, to the influence of medicine, they were, at length, attended with severe pain and giddiness in the head, which distressed him greatly, and induced him to press on his friends with the greatest earnestness, that they would allow him to partake of the Lord's Supper, and cease to make those objections by which he had hitherto been prevented from receiving it. He said, "They do not feel what I suffer; and they will find themselves mistaken about me. There is something very extraordinary about this pain in my head." When, however, he found that his wish was still opposed, he ceased to importune, but said, "Since they will not grant me this favor, let me, at least, substitute something else in its stead. If I may not communicate with the head, at least, let me have communion with the members. Let a poor person be brought into the house, and treated with the same attention as myself, that in the confusion with which I am overwhelmed at the abundance of my mercies, I may, at least, have the gratification of knowing, that one poor creature shares them with me. For when I think of my own comforts, and of the multitude of poor who are in a worse state than I am, and are destitute of the merest necessaries, I feel a distress which I cannot endure." And when he found that this wish could not be granted, he entreated to be carried out to the Hospital of the Incurables, that he might die among the poor. He was told, that the physicians could not consent to his being removed, at which he was much grieved, and made his sister promise, that if he at all revived, this indulgence should be granted to him.

About midnight, however, of the 17th of August, he was seized with violent convulsions, at the termination of which, he appeared to be rapidly sinking; and his friends began to fear, that although Madame Perier had, of her own accord, made arrangements for his partaking of the Lord's Supper on that day, he must at length, die without the comfort of that sacred ordinance, which he had so earnestly requested, and which they, at the instance of the medical advisers, had withheld. But, as if God was willing graciously to indulge his request, his convulsions subsided, and his senses became as perfectly collected, as if he were in health; and just at this moment, the curate arrived with the sacred elements. As the curate entered the room, he said, "Now you shall be indulged in your earnest wish." This address completely roused him. He raised himself by his own strength on his elbow, to receive the communion with greater outward reverence. On being questioned previously as to the leading points of the faith, he answered distinctly to each question, "Yes, sir, I believe this with all my heart." He then received the *viaticum*, and *extreme unction*, with sentiments of the tenderest emotion, and with tears. He repeated the several responses; he thanked the curate for his attention; and when he received his blessing, said, "May my God never forsake me." Excepting a short expression of thanksgiving, these were his last words. Immediately afterward, the convulsions again returned, and continued till his death, about twenty-four hours after, without any returning interval of consciousness. He died on the 19th of August, 1662, at one o'clock in the morning, aged thirty-nine years, and two months.

On examination, his stomach and liver were found very much diseased, and his intestines in a state of mortification.

Thus died a man who was one of the brightest ornaments that the church of Rome could ever boast. If nothing else were wanting, there is, in the life and death of Pascal ample proof, that notwithstanding all the wretched errors and criminal abominations of that apostate church, and the fearful wickedness, hypocrisy, and pretence of a large portion of its ecclesiastics, there have been some faithful men, sincere servants of God, who have adhered to its communion. In proof of this it is fashionable and popular now, for the friends of Rome, to make a parade of the virtues and merits of Pascal; but then, it must ever be remembered, that though he remained in the communion of the Romish church, and cordially submitted to its discipline, and respected what he considered as the unity of the church, never was any man a more determined enemy of its errors. He was hated as the very scourge of its abominations; and there is good reason for suspicion, that the man of whom now they make their boast, was not permitted by them to continue the exercise of those commanding talents, which would have gone far towards working a reformation in the church of France, at least, if not elsewhere. Louis de Montalte could never be forgiven, by that deep designing body of men, whom he had exposed; and who have always regarded poison among the most legitimate modes of silencing an adversary.

Most probably Pascal fell the slow but certain victim of their enmity. The circumstances of his disease were very peculiar. They were evidently unintelligible to his physicians, who had no conception that he was so near his end; and the extensive decay that had taken place within, can scarcely be referred to any one specific disease, without the symptoms of it having been such, as to render its nature unequivocal. To these grounds of suspicion are to be added, the unquestionable sentiments of the school of the Jesuits, on this method of removing an obnoxious person, and the many authenticated instances of murder in which they are implicated. It would be cruel indeed to charge the Jesuits as a body, with more than the enormous load of guilt which lies upon their heads; but knowing as we do historically, their dark machinations, their bitter and unmitigable hate, and their bold admission of the principle, that the end sanctifies the means—knowing also that no individual ever did more than Pascal did to sting them to the quick, and to bring all their rancor and malice in its deadliest form upon his head, it is impossible to look at the suspicious circumstances of his death-bed, without fear and indignation. This is, however, one of those mysteries which must be referred, with many other scenes of horror and treachery, in which Rome has borne a part, to that day when "the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain." It is impossible, however, to leave this subject without recalling to the recollection, that the society of the Jesuits is revived—that their principles of morals and of policy are precisely the same as ever—that they have never disclaimed a single sentiment of all their code of vice; and that at this moment, they have large educational establishments, not only in Ireland, but in the very heart of Britain.

But to return; it does seem strange, that Pascal and his friends should now be made the prominent subject of praise, by the friends of the Papacy, when, in fact, they were treated when living, as its bitterest enemies, and their works proscribed in the Index of prohibited books. And if the history of the MM. de Port Royal were well known, it would be seen that the Jesuits never ceased from their political intrigues, till they had succeeded in expelling this last remnant of pure religion from the church of France. The Protestants were murdered by thousands. This need not be wondered at. But in proof that the hostility of the Jesuits was not against names and sects, so much as against principles, we have their inflexible hostility and unrelenting persecution of these great and holy men, who were faithful and regular members of their communion, but who differed from the Jesuits, mainly in this, that instead of making a religious profession a cloak for personal aggrandizements, for the accumulation of wealth, the attainment of power, and the secret command of every sensual indulgence, they were, in the midst of a corrupt church with which they were conscientiously associated, faithful, humble, self-denied followers of the blessed Jesus. The fact is a valuable one. It teaches, that there may be in remote corners, and in private life, and possibly even in the priesthood, some individuals in the communion of Rome, who are the sincere servants of God; yet that wherever they are, they must, in their conscience, protest against and renounce some of the evils by which they are surrounded; but that the grand scheme and system of its hierarchy is a mere pretence—a forcing upon men of a human system of policy and power, garnished with every trick and trapping that art can invent, and blind and childish superstition receive, to conceal its real deformity, infidelity, and cool intentional iniquity from its deluded followers. Through all this mass of mischief, it is just possible, that in the mercy of God, a man may find his way to the Saviour, and repose his soul upon the simple promise of salvation through him; but he who does so, must first renounce those other grounds of confidence which the Romish church puts far more prominently forward, the merit of his own works and penances—the blasphemous indulgences of the Pope and his vicars—the value of money as a coin current at the gate of heaven—the impious adoration of a woman, who has herself entered heaven only as a forgiven sinner, and the idolatrous worship, and the fabled intercession of the whole Calendar of Saints, many of whom, it is to be feared, are not in heaven, and never will be. Not one of these vital errors stained the creed of Pascal. His great mind threw them all off as utterly inconsistent with the simplicity of the Christian faith. But how few must they be, who have strength for this! How few are likely to discern, through these mists of error, the simple object of worship and confidence in the incarnate Son of God, or to break through all this bondage, to the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free!

The man who is saved in the Romish church, must be essential *protestant* against its errors; and till the whole body of its hierarchy shall be brought to this, and to lay their unscriptural and unholy honors at the feet of Him whose power they have usurped, and whose truth and purity they have libelled and insulted, this must continue to be the case. And if this be the fact, then it must ever be a subject of mourning, that any portion of our empire is so criminally left to this meagre chance of salvation in her communion. However men may differ as to their opinion of the rights of men, as subjects of a human government, it becomes them to remember what the Church of Rome has ever been, and what in all its avowed sentiments and public documents it still is—the patron of ignorance and debasing superstition in the mass of its members; and if they see it right to give liberty to her sons with one hand, they should be yet more strenuous to give them light with the other. Nothing can be more awful, and to the British empire more disgraceful, than that 300 years after the reformation, four millions of its subjects, at our very doors, should be in a state of the most melancholy ignorance of the first principles of the pure word of God, worshipping idols, doing meritorious penances, wearing charms and consecrated amulets, trusting purchased indulgences, vowing allegiance to a foreign potentate, as the representative of their God, and denouncing certain perdition on all those who are not partakers of their folly. When will the spirit of our fathers come upon us again? Where is the mantle of our Elijahs of former days? When will a truly Protestant heart return again to the British people? When will the day come, in which we shall be prepared, as a people, in the simplicity of a scriptural faith, to leave the message of mercy unfettered by the safeguards of human prudence, to win its own triumphant way to the hearts of men? When will the churches of this favored land, rise, as with one consent, against the vile and debasing superstitions which the influence of Rome still pours as a poisonous deluge over so fair a portion of the British dominions; when they shall go forth, not to increase or to perpetuate the political rigors of former days—nor to punish, by the privation of civil rights, the errors of an uninformed and misguided conscience; but to visit these sad victims of priestcraft and delusion, with the kindly offices of mercy and love, to remonstrate affectionately, to reason calmly, to open and explain the Scriptures, to preach in their highways and hedges the unsearchable riches of the gospel of Christ, and to triumph as the Head and High-priest of our profession triumphed, by *turning them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.*

Pascal was a very striking instance of the superiority of a great mind, enlightened by the reading of Scripture, to the errors and superstitions of his age and country. Though he was a layman, yet to him, as a man of learning, those Scriptures were open, from which the common people are, by authority, excluded; and the promised blessing of God attended the obedient study of His word. The progress of his mind was rapid, in the perception of religious truth, and in the discrimination of it from the essential and destructive errors with which it had been mixed up, in the avowed doctrinal sentiments of the Romish Church. His views were clear, perspicuous, and liberal; and, at the same time, he maintained a chastened, child-like, and humble spirit. But there was in him that inflexible rectitude of mind, by which he saw almost intuitively, the prominent and essential features of truth; and grasping these with gigantic firmness, he was prepared, in the seraphic strength which they imparted, to combat for them against the world. Of course, the accuracy and keenness with which he detected error was equally remarkable, and only equalled by the honesty with which he went forth against it. He knew his own principles too well to be inconsistent. He knew the power and the promises of God too well, to be any other than undaunted. He was prepared equally to defend Divine truth against infidelity or superstition, or against that worst, and most frequent of all opponents in the Romish Church, against him who upholds for sinister purposes, the superstitious practices which, in the secret of his heart, he holds in contempt.

To this unbending rectitude of spirit, Pascal united talents peculiarly adapted to make him a powerful and efficient controversialist. The readiness which brings all his powers up at the moment of necessity; the perspicuity which facilitates the communication of ideas, and the playful wit which adorns them; the habitual humility which is the best safeguard against betraying himself by the indulgence of any evil passion, and the simple, affectionate reliance upon the blessing of a Divine power, which makes a man regardless of consequences, as long as he does his duty—these were the qualities which fitted him, in an especial manner, to be the champion of scriptural truth, in the fallen church of the Papacy. Had he been gifted with health and strength, he was the man, of all others, adapted to accomplish a general return to the Christian principles from which that church had strayed; and if views, simple and scriptural as his, had spread and become popular—if the bad parts of the Romish system had, with others, as with him, fallen into dissuetude and contempt; and its ministers, instead of being the fawning supporters of an unchristian tyranny over the consciences of men and the sceptres of the earth, had become like him, the faithful advocates of the leading features of scriptural truth—such a change would have gone far to satisfy the Christian world. There can be no wish, on the part of the universal church of Christ, to unchurch the Church of Rome, or needlessly to interfere with any of its views or non-essential points, which are harmless in their nature, and are, in fact, ground on which charity requires all to be neutral; and though, upon some points, that church might still be regarded by some as too superstitious, yet had she openly and honestly maintained and preached the doctrine of her Pascals, and Arnaulds, and Quesnels, and Fenelons, the leading features of quarrel with her on the part of the Protestant churches, would have almost ceased to exist.

But it is not so. These men must now be looked on only as extraordinary exceptions, from the dominant evils of that community. They are not specimens of the brilliant attainments in knowledge and piety of the disciples of the Papacy. They are anomalies to the universality of error. They are only a few scattered lights, that have been permitted occasionally to shine out amidst the surrounding gloom—to make the palpable thickness of the darkness that covers the multitude more visible. They are only proofs of what the Romish clergy should have been, and might have been, even while they remained conscientiously in communion with that church. But they stand forth as a swift witness against the errors, that have almost universally been sanctioned and encouraged by its authorities; and perhaps, no condemnation more fearful will issue in the last day against the antichristian errors of Rome, than that which marks, with Divine approbation, the solemn protestation of Pascal and his friends, and recognizes the melancholy fact, that sound scriptural truth was hunted down and persecuted, and condemned in their persons, and the true religion of the Saviour once more sacrificed in them to the worldly policy and intrigue, to the pride and passion of the Jesuits.

With the death of Pascal, and the banishment of his friends, all rational hope of the reformation of the French church ceased. "Darkness covered the people—gross darkness that might be felt." And from that day to this, successive woes have fallen, in almost unmingled bitterness, on that irreligious and careless people. What further evils may yet assail them, time will unfold; but even now, increasing darkness gathers round. The sad lessons of experienced suffering, are already thrown aside; and darker superstition frowns, while she forges for them new and heavier chains. In the prospect of the gloom that lowers upon that melancholy country, and in the belief that the torch of truth in the hand of the Jansenists, and of their great champion, might have dispelled it, the friends of true religion may well take up the friendly lamentation which mourned over the tomb of Pascal, the loss sustained by his country in his untimely fall, and say, *Heu! Heu! Cecidit Pascalis.*

Pascal was buried at Paris, in the parish church of St. Etienne du Mont, behind the main altar, near to, and directly before the pillar on the left hand, entering the Chapel of the Virgin. A Latin epitaph, remarkably quaint and original in its style, written by Aimonius Proust de Chambourg, Professor of Law in the University of Orleans, was laid over the grave; but as it lay in a very frequented part of the church, it was speedily effaced; and a second inscription, engraved on a marble tablet, was affixed to the pillar immediately adjoining. This second inscription, owing to some repairs in the church, was afterwards removed, and placed over the side door at the right side of the church. During the revolution, it was carried away to the Museum of French Monuments; but on the 21st of April, 1818, it was restored to its original pillar, in the presence of the Prefect of the department of the Seine, a deputation of the academy, and many relations of the deceased.

Nobilissimi Scutarii Blasii Pascalis Tumulus.
D. O. M.
BLASIUS PASCALIS SCUTARIUS NOBILIS HIC JACET.
Pietas si non moritur, æternum vivet;
Vir conjugii nescius,
Religione sanctus, Virtute clarus,
Doctrina celebris,
Ingenio acutus,
Sanguine et animo pariter illustris;
Doctus, non Doctor,
Æquitatis amator,
Veritatis defensor,
Viginum ultor,
Christianæ Moralis Corruptorum acerrimus hostis.
Hunc Rhetores amant facundum,
Hunc Scriptores norunt elegantem,
Hunc Mathematici stupent profundum,
Hunc Philosophi quærunt Sapientem,
Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,
Hunc Pii venerantur austerum.
Hunc omnes mirantur, omnibus ignotum,
Omnibus licet notum.
Quid plura? Viator, quem perdidimus
PASCALEM,
Is Ludovicus erat Montaltius.
Heu!
Satis dixi, urgent lachrymæ,
Sileo.
Ei qui bene precaberis, bene tibi eveniat,
Et vivo et mortuo.
Vixit. An. 39. m. 2. Obiit an. rep. Sal. 1662.
14 Kal. Sept.
ΩΛΕΤΟ ΠΑΣΚΑΛΙΟΣ.
ΦΕΥ! ΦΕΥ! ΠΕΝΘΟΣ ΟΣΟΝ!
Cecidit Pascalis.
Heu! Heu! qualis luctus!
Posuit A. P. D. C. mærens Aurelian. Canonista.

Pro columna superiori,
Sub tumulo marmoreo,

Jacet Blasius Pascal, Claromontanus, Stephani Pascal in Suprema apud Arvernos Subsidiorum Curia Præsidis filius, post aliquot annos in severiori secessu et divinæ legis meditatione transactos, feliciter et religiose in pace Christi, vita functus anno 1662, ætatis 39, die 19 Augusti. Optasset ille quidem præ paupertatis et humilitatis studio, etiam his sepulchri honoribus carere, mortuusque etiamnum latere, qui vivus semper latere voluerat. Verum ejus hac in parte votis cum cedere non posset Florinus Perier in eadem subsidiorum Curia Consiliarius, ac Gilbertæ Pascal, Blasii Pascal sororis, conjux amantissimus, hanc tabulam posuit, qua et suam in illum pietatem significaret, et Christianos ad Christiana precum officia sibi et defuncto profutura cohortaretur.

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

ON SELF-KNOWLEDGE.

When man considers himself, the first thing that claims his notice is his body; that is a certain portion of matter evidently appertaining to himself. But if he would know what this is, he must compare himself with all that is superior or inferior to him; and thus he will ascertain his own just limits.

But he must not rest contented with the examination of the things around him. Let him contemplate universal nature in all the height and fulness of its majesty. Let him consider that glorious luminary, hung as an eternal lamp, to enlighten the universe. Let him consider that this earth is a mere point, compared with the vast circuit which that bright orb describes.* Let him learn with wonder, that this wide orbit itself is but a speck compared with the course of the stars, which roll in the firmament of heaven. And if here our sight is limited, let the imagination take up the inquiry and venture further. It will weary with conceiving, far sooner than nature in supplying food for thought. All that we see of the universe is but an almost imperceptible spot on the ample bosom of nature. No conception even approaches the limits of its space. Let us labor as we will with our conceptions, we bring forth mere atoms, compared with the immensity of that which really is. It is an infinite sphere, whose centre is every where, and whose circumference is no where. And, in fact, one of the most powerful sensible impressions of the omnipotence of God is, that our imagination is lost in this thought.

Then let man return to himself, and consider what he is, compared with all else that is. Let him consider himself as a wanderer in this remote corner of nature; and then from what he sees of this narrow prison in which he lies—this visible world; let him learn to estimate rightly the earth, its kingdoms, its cities, himself, and his own real value. What is man in this infinity? Who can comprehend him?

But to show him another prodigy equally astonishing, let him search among the minutest objects round him. Let a mite, for instance, exhibit to him, in the exceeding smallness of its frame, portions yet incomparably smaller; limbs well articulated; veins in those limbs; blood in those veins; humors in that blood; globules in that humor; and gases in those globules;—and then dividing again their smallest objects, let him exhaust the powers of his conception, and then let the lowest particle that he can imagine become the subject of our discourse. He thinks, perhaps, that this is the minutest atom of nature, but I will open to him, within it, a new and fathomless abyss. I can exhibit to him yet, not only the visible universe, but even all that he is capable of conceiving of the immensity of nature, embosomed in this imperceptible atom. Let him see there an infinity of worlds, each of which has its firmament, its planets, its earth; bearing the same proportion to the other parts as in the visible world: and in this earth, animals, and even mites again, in which he shall trace the same discoveries which the first mites yielded; and then again the same in others without end and without repose. He is lost in these wonders, equally astonishing in their minuteness, as the former by their extent. And who would not wonder to think that this body, which so lately was not perceptible in that universe, which universe was itself an imperceptible spot on the bosom of infinity, should now appear a colossus, a world, a universe, compared with that ultimate atom of minuteness to which we cannot arrive.

He who thus thinks of himself, will doubtless be alarmed to see himself, as it were, suspended in the mass of matter that is allotted to him, between these two abysses of infinity and nothingness, and equally remote from both. He will tremble at the perception of these wonders; and I would think, that his curiosity changing into reverence, he would be more disposed to contemplate them in silence, than to scrutinize them with presumption. For what after all is man, in nature? A nothing compared with infinity—a universe compared with nothing—a mean between all and nothing. He is infinitely distant from both extremes. His being is not less remote from the nothing out of which he was formed, than from the infinity in which he is lost.

His mind holds the same rank in the order of intelligent beings, as his body in material nature; and all that it can do, is to discern somewhat of the middle of things, in an endless despair of ever knowing their beginning or their end. All things are called out of nothing, and carried onward to infinity. Who can follow in this endless race? The Author of these wonders comprehends them. No other can.

This state which occupies the mean between two extremes, shows itself in all our powers.

Our senses will not admit any thing extreme. Too much noise confuses us, too much light dazzles, too great distance or nearness prevents vision, too great prolixity or brevity weakens an argument, too much pleasure gives pain, too much accordance annoys. We relish neither extreme heat, nor extreme cold. All excessive qualities are injurious to us, and not perceptible. We do not feel them, we suffer them. Extreme youth and extreme age alike enfeeble the mind; too much or too little nourishment weakens its operation; by too much or too little instruction it becomes stupid. Extreme things are not ours, any more than if they were not; we are not made for them. Either they escape us, or we them.

This is our real condition. It is this which confines our knowledge within certain limits that we cannot pass, being equally incapable of universal knowledge, or of total ignorance; we are placed in a vast medium; ever floating uncertainly between ignorance and knowledge; if we attempt to go farther forward, our object wavers and eludes our grasp —it retires and flies with an eternal flight, and nothing can stay its course.

This is our natural condition; yet it is ever opposed to our inclination. We burn with desire to sound the utmost depth, and to raise a fabric that shall reach infinity. But all we build up crumbles, and the earth opens in a fathomless abyss beneath our deepest foundation.

2. I can readily conceive of a man without hands or feet; and I could conceive of him without a head, if experience had not taught me that by this he thinks. Thought then is the essence of man, and without this we cannot conceive of him.

What is it in us which feels pleasure? Is it the hand? the arm? the flesh? the blood? It must be something immaterial.

3. Man is so great, that his greatness appears even in the consciousness of his misery. A tree

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* The Copernican system was not then generally received by the members of the Romish church.

does not know itself to be miserable. It is true that it is misery indeed to know one's self to be miserable; but then it is greatness also. In this way, all man's miseries go to prove his greatness. They are the miseries of a mighty potentate—of a dethroned monarch.

4. What man is unhappy because he is not a king, except a king dethroned. Was Paulus Emilius considered miserable that he was no longer consul. On the contrary every one thought that he was happy in having it over, for it was not his condition to be always consul. But Perseus, whose permanent state should have been royalty, was considered to be so wretched in being no longer a king, that men wondered how he could endure life. Who complains of having only one mouth? Who would not complain of having but one eye? No man mourns that he has not three eyes; yet each would sorrow deeply if he had but one.

5. We have so exalted a notion of the human soul, that we cannot bear to be despised by it, or even not to be esteemed by it. Man, in fact, places all his happiness in this esteem.

If on the one hand this false glory that men seek after is a mark of their misery and degradation, it is on the other a proof of their excellence. For whatever possessions a man has on the earth, and whatever health or comfort he enjoys, he is not satisfied without the esteem of his fellow-men. He rates so highly the human mind, that whatever be his worldly advantages, if he does not stand, as well also in man's estimation, he counts himself wretched. That position is the loveliest spot in the world. Nothing can eradicate the desire for it. And this quality is the most indelible in the human heart; so that even those who most thoroughly despise men, and consider them equal with the brutes, still wish to be admired by them; their feelings contradict their principles. Their nature which is stronger than their reasonings, convinces them more forcibly of the greatness of man, than their reason can do of his vileness.

6. Man is but a reed; and the weakest in nature; but then he is a reed that thinks. It does not need the universe to crush him: a breath of air, a drop of water will kill him. But even if the material universe should overwhelm him, man would be more noble than that which destroys him; because he knows that he dies, while the universe knows nothing of the advantage which it obtains over him.

Our true dignity then, consists in thought. From thence we must derive our elevation, not from space or duration. Let us endeavor then to think well; this is the principle of morals.

7. It is dangerous to show man unreservedly how nearly he resembles the brute creation, without pointing out, at the same time, his greatness. It is dangerous also to exhibit his greatness exclusively, without his degradation. It is yet more dangerous to leave him ignorant of both, but it is highly profitable to teach him both together.

8. Let man then rightly estimate himself—let him love himself, for he has a nature capable of good; but yet let him not love the evils that he finds there. Let him despise himself, because this capacity is without an object; but let him not on that account despise the natural capacity itself. Let him both love and hate himself. There is in him the power of discerning truth, and of being happy, but he is not in possession of certain and satisfying truth. I would lead man to desire to find truth, to sit loose to his passions, and to be ready to follow truth wherever he may find it: and knowing how sadly his powers of comprehension are clouded by his passions, I would wish him to hate in himself that concupiscence which overrules his judgment, that henceforth it may not blind him in making his choice, nor impede his progress when he has chosen.

9. I blame with equal severity those who elevate man, those who depress him, and those who think it right merely to divert him. I can only approve of those who seek in tears for happiness.

The stoics say, Turn in upon yourselves, and there you will find your repose. This however is not true. Others say, Go forth from yourselves, and seek for happiness in diversion. This is not true either. Disease will come. Alas! happiness is neither within us, nor without us. It is in the union of ourselves with God.

10. There are two ways of regarding human nature, one according to the end of man, and then it is grand and incomprehensible; the other according to his habits, as we judge of the nature of a horse or a dog, by the habit of observing his going, and then man is abject and vile. It is owing to these two different ways that philosophers judge so differently, and dispute so keenly; for one denies what the other assumes. One says, man is not born for this noble end; for all his actions are opposed to it. The other says, when he commits such base and grovelling actions, he wanders from the end of his being. Instinct and experience, taken together, show to man the whole of what he is.

11. I feel that I might not have been; for when I speak of myself, I mean my thinking being; and I, who think, would not have been, if my mother had been killed before I was quickened. Then I am not a necessary being, nor am I eternal, nor infinite; but I see clearly that there is in nature, a being who is necessary, eternal, infinite.

CHAPTER II.

THE VANITY OF MAN.

We are not satisfied with the life that we have in ourselves—in our own peculiar being. We wish to live also an ideal life in the mind of others; and for this purpose, we constrain ourselves to put on appearances. We labor incessantly to adorn and sustain this ideal being, while we neglect the real one. And if we possess any degree of equanimity, generosity, or fidelity, we strive to make it known, that we may clothe with these virtues that being of the imagination. Nay, we would even cast off these virtues in reality, to secure them in the opinion of others; and willingly be cowards, to acquire the reputation of courage. What a proof of the emptiness of our real being, that we are not satisfied with the one without the other, and that we often sacrifice the one to the other; for he is counted infamous who would not die to save his reputation.

Glory is so enchanting, that we love whatever we associate it with, even though it be death.

2. Pride countervails all our miseries, for it either hides them, or if it discloses them, it boasts of acknowledging them. Pride has so thoroughly got possession of us, even in the midst of our miseries and our faults, that we are prepared to sacrifice life with joy, if it may but be talked of.

3. Vanity is so rooted in the heart of man, that the lowest drudge of the camp, the street, or the kitchen, must have his boast and his admirers. It is the same with the philosophers. Those who write to gain fame, would have the reputation of having written well; and those who read it, would have the reputation of having read it; and I who am writing this, feel probably the same wish, and they who read this, feel it also.

4. Notwithstanding the sight of all those miseries which wring us, and threaten our destruction, we have still an instinct that we cannot repress, which elevates us above our sorrows.

5. We are so presumptuous that we wish to be

known to all the world, and even to those who come after us; and we are so vain, that the esteem of five or six persons immediately around us, is enough to seduce and satisfy us.

6. Curiosity is but vanity: too frequently we only wish to know more, that we may talk of it. No man would venture to sea, if he were never to speak about what he sees—for the mere pleasure of seeing, without ever speaking of it to others.

7. We do not care to get a name in the towns through which we are travelling: but if we come to sojourn there a short time, we soon become desirous of it: and what time is sufficient for this? a period proportioned to our vain and pitiful duration.

8. The nature of self-love and of human egotism, is to love self only, and to consult only self-interest. But to what a state is man reduced! He cannot prevent this object of his love from being full of defects and miseries. He wishes to be great, but he sees himself little: he wishes to be happy, but he sees himself miserable: he wishes to be perfect, but he sees that he is full of imperfections: he wishes to be the object of men's love and esteem, and he sees that his errors deserve their hatred and contempt. This state of disappointment generates in him the most wretched and criminal passion that can be imagined: he conceives a deadly hatred against that truth which reproves him, and convinces him of his faults: he desires to destroy it, and unable actually to destroy it in its essential nature, he blots it out as far as possible from his own knowledge and from that of others: that is, he does his utmost to conceal his faults both from others and from himself, and will not suffer others to exhibit them to him, or to examine them themselves.

It is surely an evil to be full of faults; but it is a far greater evil to be unwilling to know them, since that is to add to them the guilt of a voluntary delusion. We do not like others to deceive us; we do not think it right that they should wish to be esteemed by us beyond their deserts: it is not right then that we should deceive them, and that we should wish them to esteem us more than we deserve.

So that when they discover in us nothing but the imperfections and vices which we really possess, it is evident that in this they do us no wrong, because they are not the cause of those errors; and that they even do us good, since they aid us in avoiding a real evil—the ignorance of these our imperfections. We should not be indignant that they discover these errors if they really exist, nor that they should know us to be what we really are, and despise us, if we really are despicable.

These are the thoughts that would rise spontaneously in a heart full of equity and justice: what then shall we say of our own when we see its disposition to be just the reverse. For is it not true that we hate the truth, and those who tell it us; and that we love men to be deceived in our favor, and wish to be estimated by them very differently from what we really are?

There are different degrees of this aversion for truth; but we may affirm that in some degree it exists in every one, because it is inseparable from self-love. It is this vile sensitiveness to applause, which compels those whose duty it is to reprove another, to soften the severity of the shock, by so many circuitous and alleviating expressions. They must appear to attenuate the fault; they must seem to excuse what they mean to reprove; they must mix with the correction the language of praise, and the assurances of affection and esteem. Yet still this pill is always bitter to self-love: we take as little of it as we can, always with disgust, and often with a secret grudge against those who presume to administer it.

Hence it is that those who have any interest in securing our regard, shrink from the performance of an office which they know to be disagreeable to us; they treat us as we wish to be treated; we hate the truth, and they conceal it; we wish to be flattered, and they flatter; we love to be deceived, and they deceive us.

And hence it arises that each step of good fortune by which we are elevated in the world, removes us farther from truth; because men fear to annoy others, just in proportion as their good will is likely to be useful, or their dislike dangerous. A prince shall be the talk of all Europe, and he only know it not. I do not wonder at this. To speak the truth is useful to him to whom it is spoken, but sadly the reverse to him who speaks it, for it makes him hated. Now they who live with princes, love their own interests better than that of him whom they serve, and do not therefore care to seek his benefit by telling him the truth to their own injury. This evil is doubtless more serious and more common, in cases of commanding rank and fortune, but the very lowest are not free from it; because there is always some benefit to be obtained by means of man's esteem. So that human life is perpetual delusion—nothing goes on but mutual flattery and mutual deceit: no one speaks of us in our presence, as he does in our absence. The degree of union that there is among men, is founded on this mutual deception; and few friendships would subsist, if each one knew what his friend says of him when he is not present, although at the time he speaks sincerely and without prejudice.

Man, then, is nothing but disguise, falsehood, and hypocrisy, both towards himself and others. He does not wish them to tell him the truth—he will not tell it to them: and all these dispositions, so far removed from justice and sound reason, have their root naturally in his heart.

CHAPTER III.

THE WEAKNESS OF MAN.

That which astonishes me most is, that no man is astonished at his own weakness. Men act seriously, and each one follows his occupation, not because it is actually good to follow it, since that is the custom; but as if each one knew precisely where to find reason and truth. Each one however finds himself deceived repeatedly, and yet by a foolish humility thinks that the failure is in his own conduct, and not in the faculty of discerning truth, of which he continually boasts. It is well that there are so many of these persons in the world, since they serve to show that man is capable of holding the most extravagant opinions; inasmuch as he can believe that he is not naturally and inevitably in a state of moral weakness; but that on the contrary, he has naturally wisdom adequate to his circumstances.

2. The weakness of human reason appears more evidently in those who know it not, than in those who know it.

He who is too young will not judge wisely; no more will he that is too old. If we think too little or too much on a subject we are equally bewildered, and cannot discover truth. If a man reviews his work directly after he has done it, he is pre-occupied by the lively impression of it: if he reviews it a long time after, he can scarcely get into the spirit of it again.

There is but one indivisible point from which we should look at a picture; all others are too near, too distant, too high, or too low. Perspective fixes this point precisely in the art of painting; but who shall fix it in regard to truth and morals?

3. That queen of error, whom we call fancy and

opinion, is the more deceitful because she does not deceive always. She would be the infallible rule of truth if she were the infallible rule of falsehood: but being only most frequently in error, she gives no evidence of her real quality, for she marks with the same character both that which is true and that which is false.

This haughty power, the enemy of reason, and whose delight is to keep reason in subjection, in order to show what influence she has in all things, has established in man a second nature. She has her happy and her unhappy, her sick and her healthy, her rich and her poor, her fools and her sages; and nothing is more distressing than to see that she fills her guests with a far more ample satisfaction, than reason gives; since those who think themselves wise have a delight in themselves, far beyond that in which the really prudent dare to indulge. They treat other men imperiously; they dispute with fierceness and assurance—whilst others do so with fear and caution; and this satisfied air often gives them advantage in the opinion of the hearers: so much do the imaginary wise find favor among judges of the same kind. Opinion cannot make fools wise, but she makes them content, to the great disparagement of reason, who can only make her friends wretched. The one covers her votaries with glory, the other with shame.

Who confers reputation? who gives respect and veneration to persons, to books, to great men? Who but opinion? How utterly insufficient are all the riches of the world without her approbation!

Opinion settles every thing. She constitutes beauty, justice, happiness, which is the whole of this world. I would like much to see that Italian work, of which I have only heard the title. It is called "Opinion, the Queen of the World." It is worth many other books. I subscribe to it without knowing it, error excepted.

4. The most important concern in life, is the choice of an occupation; yet chance seems to decide it. Custom makes masons, soldiers, bricklayers, &c. They say, "That's a capital workman," or when speaking of soldiers, "What fools those men are:" others again say, "There is nothing noble but war, all men but soldiers are contemptible." And according as men, during their childhood, have heard those several occupations praised and others vilified, they make their choice; for naturally we love wisdom and hate folly. It is these words that influence us; we err only in the application of them; and the force of custom is such, that in some countries, the whole population are masons; in others, soldiers. Now we do not conceive that nature is so uniform. It is custom which does this, and carries nature with it. There are cases, however, in which nature prevails, and binds man to his specific object, in defiance of custom, whether bad or good.

5. We think very little of time present; we anticipate the future, as being too slow, and with a view to hasten it onward; we recall the past to stay it as too swiftly gone. We are so thoughtless, that we thus wander through the hours which are not here, regardless only of the moment that is actually our own:—so vain, that we dream of the times which are not, and suffer that only which does exist, to escape us without a thought. This is because, generally, the present gives us pain; we hide it from our sight, because it afflicts us; and even if it ministers pleasure, we grieve to see it flying: and hence we bring up the future to sustain it, and speculate on doing things which are not in our power, at a time which we can have no assurance that we shall ever see.

Let any man examine his thoughts; he will find them ever occupied with the past or the future. We scarcely think at all of the present; or if we do, it is only to borrow the light which it gives, for regulating the future. The present is never our object: the past and the present we use as means; the future only is our object. Thus in fact we never live, we only hope to live; and thus ever doing nothing, but preparing to be happy, it is certain that we never shall be so, unless we seek a higher felicity than this short life can yield.

6. Our imagination so magnifies this present existence, by the power of continual reflection on it; and so attenuates eternity, by not thinking of it at all, that we reduce an eternity to nothingness, and expand a mere nothing to an eternity; and this habit is so inveterately rooted in us, that all the force of reason cannot induce us to lay it aside.

7. Cromwell would have laid desolate all Christendom. The royal family was ruined; his own was completely established; but for a small grain of sand, which entered the urethra, even Rome would have trembled before him; but when only this atom of gravel, which elsewhere was as nothing, was placed in that spot, behold he dies, his family is degraded, and the king restored!

8. We see scarcely any thing, just or unjust, that does not change its quality with its climate. Three degrees of latitude upset all the principles of jurisprudence; a meridian determines what is truth, or a few years of settled authority. Fundamental laws may vary. Right has its epochs. Droll justice indeed, that a river or a mountain limits! Truth on one side of the Pyrenees is error on the other.

9. Theft, incest, parricide, infanticide, each has been ranked among virtuous actions. Is there any thing more ridiculous, than that a man has the right to kill me, because he lives across the water, and that his prince has a quarrel with mine, though I have none with him?

There are certainly natural laws, but this corrupted reason has corrupted every thing, *Nihil amplius nostri est; quod nostrum dicimus, artis est; ex senatus consultis et plebiscitis crimina exercentur, ut olim vitiis sic nunc legibus laboramus.*

From this confusion it arises that one affirms that the essential principle of justice is the authority of the legislature; another, the convenience of the sovereign; another, present custom; and this is the safest. There is nothing, if we follow the light of reason only, that is in itself, independently just. Time alters every thing; custom makes equity, simply because it is received. That is the mystic basis of its authority, and he who traces it to its origin, annihilates it. Nothing is so faulty as those laws which redress faults. He who obeys them because they are just, obeys that which he has conceived to be justice, but not the essence of the law. Its whole force lies in this, It is law and nothing more. He who looks into the principle will find it so weak and flimsy, that if he is not accustomed to the prodigies of the human imagination, he would wonder how a century could have nourished it with so much pomp and veneration.

The secret for overturning a state, is to shake to their foundation established customs, by going back to their origin, and showing the defect of the authority or the principle on which they rest. "We must return," say they, "to those fundamental and primitive laws of the state, which corrupt custom has abolished." This is a sure play for losing every thing. In such a balance nothing will appear right; yet the people listen eagerly to such discourses. They throw off the yoke as soon as they perceive it; and the great make their advantage of this to ruin both them and these curious inspectors of established customs. Yet there is an error directly the reverse of this, and there are men who think that any thing can be done justly, which has a precedent in its favor.

Whence one of the wisest legislators said, "That for the welfare of man, he must frequently be deceived;" and another great politician says, *Cum veritatem qua liberetur ignoret, expedit quod fallatur.* Man should not ascertain the truth of the usurpation; for it was introduced in ancient times, without good reason. But now it must always be held up as authentic and eternal; we must veil its origin, if we wish it to be perpetuated.

10. Set the greatest philosopher in the world upon a plank, even broader than the space he occupies in walking on plain ground, and if there is a precipice below him, though reason convinces him of his safety, his imagination will prevail to alarm him: the very thought of it would make some perspire and turn pale. Who does not know that there are persons so nervous, that the sight of a cat, or a rat, or the crushing of a bit of coal, will almost drive them out of their senses.

11. Would you not say of that venerable magistrate, whose years command the respect of a whole people, that he is under the control of pure and dignified wisdom, and that he judges of things as they are, without being influenced by those adventitious circumstances which warp the imagination of the weak. But see him enter the very court where he is to administer justice; see him prepare to hear with a gravity the most exemplary; but if an advocate appears to whom nature has given a hoarse voice, or a droll expression of countenance—if his barber has but half shaved him, or an accidental splash of mud has fallen on him, I'll engage for the loss of the judge's self-possession.

12. The mind of the greatest man on earth, is not so independent of circumstances, as not to feel inconvenienced by the merest buzzing noise about him: it does not need the report of a cannon to disturb his thoughts. The creaking of a vane or a pully is quite enough. Do not wonder that he reasons ill just now; a fly is buzzing by his ear; it is quite enough to unfit him for giving good counsel. If you wish him to see the rights of the case, drive away that insect, which suspends his reasoning powers, and frets that mighty mind which governs cities and kingdoms.

13. The will is one of the principal sources of belief; not that it produces belief, but that things appear true or false to us according to the way they are looked at. The will, which inclines to one thing more than another, turns away the mind from considering the qualities of that which it does not approve; and thus the whole mind led by the will or inclination, limits its observation to what it approves, and thus forming its judgment on what it sees: it insensibly regulates its belief by the inclinations of the will, i. e. by its own preferences.

14. Disease is another source of error. It impairs the judgment and the senses: and if serious disorders do visibly produce this effect, doubtless minor ailments do so in proportion.

Self-interest also is a surprising means of inducing a voluntary blindness. Affection or dislike will alter our notions of justice. For instance, when an advocate is well paid beforehand, how much more just he thinks the cause which he has to plead. Yet owing to another strange peculiarity of the human mind, I have known men who, lest they should serve their own interest, have been cruelly unjust, through a contrary bias: so that the sure way to lose a good cause, was to get it recommended to them by one of their near relations.

15. The imagination often magnifies the veriest trifle, by a false and romantic preference, till it fills the whole soul; or in its heedless presumption, brings down the most elevated subjects to our own low standard.

16. Justice and truth are two points of such exquisite delicacy, that our coarse and blunted instruments will not touch them accurately. If they do find out the point, so as to rest upon it, they bruise and injure it, and lean at last more on the error that surrounds it, than on the truth itself.

17. It is not only old and early impressions that deceive us: the charms of novelty have the same power. Hence arise all the differences among men, who reproach each other, either with following the false impressions of their infancy, or with hastily running after new ones.

Who keeps the golden mean? Let him stand forth and prove it. There is not a single principle, however simply natural, and existing from childhood, that may not be made to appear a false impression, conveyed by instruction or the senses. Because, say they, you have believed from your infancy that a chest was empty when you saw that there was nothing in it, you have assumed that a vacuum is possible. But this is a strong delusion of your senses, confirmed by habit, which science must correct. Others on the contrary say, Because you have been taught in the schools, that there is no vacuum in nature, your common sense, which previous to this delusive impression, saw the thing clearly enough, has been corrupted, and must be corrected by a recurrence to the dictates of nature. Now, which is the deceiver here, our senses or our education?

18. All the occupations of men have respect to the obtaining of property; and yet the title by which they possess it, is at first only the whim of the original legislator: and after all, no power that they have, will insure possession. A thousand accidents may rob them of it. It is the same with scientific attainment: Disease takes it away.

19. What are our natural principles but the result of custom? In children, they are those which have resulted from the custom of their parents, as the chace in animals.

A different custom would give different natural principles. Experience proves this. And if there are some that custom cannot eradicate, there are some impressions arising from custom, that nature cannot do away. This depends on disposition.

Parents fear the destruction of natural affection in their children. What is this natural principle so liable to decay? Habit is a second nature, which destroys the first. Why is not custom nature? I suspect that this nature itself is but a first custom, as custom is a second nature.

20. If we were to dream every night the same thing, it would probably have as much effect upon us, as the objects which we see daily; and if an artisan were sure of dreaming every night for some hours' continuance, that he was a king, I think he would be almost as happy as a king, who should dream every night for twelve hours successively, that he was an artisan. If we should dream every night that we are pursued by enemies, and harassed by distressing phantoms, and that we passed all our days in different occupations, as if we were travelling; we should suffer almost as much as if this were true, and we should dread to sleep just as much as we dread to awake, when we fear to enter really upon such afflictions. In fact, these dreams would be almost as serious an evil as the reality. But because these dreams are all different, what we see in them afflicts us much less than what we see when awake, on account of its continuity;—a continuity, however, not so equal and uniform that it undergoes no change, but less violently, as in a voyage; and then we say, "I seem to myself to dream;" for life is a dream a little less variable.

21. We suppose that all men conceive and feel in the same way, the objects that are presented to them: but we suppose this very gratuitously, for we have no proof of it. I see plainly that the same word is used on the same occasion; and that wherever two men see snow, for example, they express their notion of the same object by the same word—both saying that it is white; and from this agreement of the application of terms, we draw a strong conjecture in favor of a conformity of ideas; but this is not absolutely convincing, though there is good ground for the supposition.

22. When we see an effect regularly recurring, we conclude that there is a natural necessity for it, as that the sun will rise to-morrow, &c. But in many things nature deceives us, and does not yield a perfect submission to its own laws.

23. Many things that are certain are contradicted; many that are false pass without contradiction: contradiction is no proof of falsehood, nor universal assent, of truth.

24. The instructed mind discovers that as nature carries the imprint of its author stamped on all things, they all have a certain relation to his twofold infinity. Thus we see that all the sciences are infinite in the extent to which their researches may be carried. Who doubts, for instance, that geometry involves in it an infinity of infinites of propositions? It is infinite also in the multitude and the delicacy of its principles; for who does not perceive, that any which are proposed as the last, must rest upon themselves, which is absurd; and that in fact they are sustained by others, which have others again for their basis, and must thus eternally exclude the idea of an ultimate proposition.

We see at a glance, that arithmetic alone furnishes principles without number, and each science the same.

But if the infinitely small, is much less discernible than the infinitely great, philosophers have much more readily pretended to have attained to it; and here all have stumbled. This error has given rise to those terms so commonly in use, as "the principles of things—the principles of philosophy;" and other similar expressions, as conceited, in fact, though not quite so obtrusively so as that insufferably disgusting title, *De omni scibili.*[*]

Let us not seek then for assurance and stability. Our reason is perpetually deceived by the variableness of appearances, nothing can fix that which is finite, between the two infinites that enclose it, and fly from it; and when this is well understood, each man will, I believe, remain quietly in the position in which nature has placed him. This medium state, which has fallen to our lot, being always infinitely distant from the extremes, what matters it whether man has, or has not a little more knowledge of the things round him? If he has, why then he traces them a degree or two higher. But is he not always infinitely distant from the extremes, and is not the longest human life infinitely short of eternity?

Compared with these infinities, all finite things are equal; and I see no reason why the imagination should occupy itself with one more than another. Even the least comparison that we institute between ourselves and that which is finite, gives us pain.

25. The sciences have two extremities, which touch each other. The one is that pure natural ignorance in which we are born: the other is that point to which great minds attain, who having gone the whole round of possible human knowledge, find that they know nothing, and that they end in the same ignorance in which they began. But then this is an intelligent ignorance which knows itself. Out of the many, however, who have come forth from their native ignorance, there are some who have not reached this other extreme; these are strongly tinged with scientific conceit, and set up a claim to be the learned and the intelligent. These are the men that disturb the world; and they generally judge more falsely than all others. The crowd and the men of talent, generally direct the course of the world; the others despise it and are despised.

26. We think ourselves much more capable of reaching the centre of things, than of grasping the circumference. The visible expanse of the world, manifestly surpasses us; but as we visibly surpass little things, we think ourselves on a vantage ground for comprehending them; and yet it does not require less capacity to trace something down to nothing, than up to totality. This capacity, in either case, must be infinite; and it appears to me that he who can discover the ultimate principles of things, might reach also to the knowledge of the infinitely great. The one depends on the other; the one leads to the other. These extremities touch and meet in consequence of their very distance. They meet in God, and in God only.

If man would begin by studying himself, he would soon see how unable he is to go further. How can a part comprehend the whole? He would aspire probably to know, at least, those parts which are similar in proportion to himself. But all parts of creation have such a relation to each other, and are so intertwined, that I think it is impossible to know one without knowing the other, and even the whole.

Man, for instance, has a relation to all that he knows. He needs space to contain him—time for existence—motion that he may live—elements for his substance—warmth and food to nourish him, and air to breathe. He sees the light, he feels his material body. In fact, every thing is allied with him.

To understand man, therefore, we must know wherein it is that air is needful for his support; and to understand air, we must trace its relation to human life.

Flame will not live without air; then to comprehend the one, we must comprehend the other also.

Since, then, all things are either caused or causes, assisting or being assisted, mediately or immediately; and all are related to each other by a natural and imperceptible bond, which unites together things the most distant and dissimilar; I hold it impossible to know the parts, without knowing the whole, and equally so to know the whole, without knowing the parts in detail.

And that which completes our inability to know the essential nature of things is, that they are simple, and that we are a compound of two different and opposing natures, body and spirit; for it is impossible that the portion of us which thinks, can be other than spiritual; and as to the pretence, that we are simply corporeal, that would exclude us still more entirely from the knowledge of things; because there is nothing more inconceivable, than that matter could comprehend itself.

It is this compound nature of body and spirit which had led almost all the philosophers to confuse their ideas of things; and to attribute to matter that which belongs only to spirit, and to spirit, that which cannot consist but with matter; for, they say boldly, That bodies tend downwards; that they seek the centre; that they shrink from destruction, that they dread a vacuum; that they have inclinations, sympathies, antipathies, &c. which are all qualities that can only exist in mind. And in speaking of spirits, they consider them as occupying a place, and attribute to them motion from one place to another, &c. which are the qualities of body.

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[*] The title of a thesis maintained at Rome, by Jean Pic de la Mirandole.

Instead, therefore, of receiving the ideas of things, simply as they are, we tinge, with the qualities of our compound being, all the simple things that we contemplate.

Who would not suppose, when they see us attach to every thing the compound notions of body and spirit, that this mixture was familiarly comprehensible to us? Yet it is the thing of which we know the least. Man is, to himself, the most astonishing object in nature, for he cannot conceive what body is, still less what spirit is, and less than all, how a body and a spirit can be united. That is the climax of his difficulties, and yet it is his proper being.—*Modus quo corporibus adhæret spiritus comprehendi ab hominibus non potest, et hoc tamen homo est.**

27. Man, then, is the subject of a host of errors, that divine grace only can remove. Nothing shows him the truth; every thing misleads him. Reason and the senses, the two means of ascertaining the truth, are not only often unfaithful, but mutually deceive each other. Our senses mislead our reason by false impressions; and reason also has its revenge, by retorting the same trick upon our senses. The passions of the soul disturb the senses, and excite evil impressions; and thus our two sources of knowledge mutually lie and deceive each other.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MISERY OF MAN.

Nothing more directly introduces us to the knowledge of human misery, than an inquiry into the cause of that perpetual restlessness in which men pass their whole lives.

The soul is placed in the body to sojourn there for a short time. She knows that this is only the prelude to an eternal progress, to prepare for which, she has but the short period of this present life. Of this the mere necessities of nature engross a large portion, and the remainder which she might use, is small indeed. Yet this little is such a trouble to her, and the source of such strange perplexity, that she only studies how to throw it away. To live with herself, and to think of herself, is a burden quite insupportable. Hence all her care is to forget herself, and to let this period short and precious as it is, flow on without reflection, whilst she is busied with things that prevent her from thinking of it.

This is the cause of all the bustling occupations of men, and of all that is called diversion or pastime, in which they have really but one object—to let the time glide by without perceiving it, or rather without perceiving self, and to avoid, by the sacrifice of this portion of life, the bitterness and disgust of soul, which would result from self-inspection during that time. The soul finds in herself nothing gratifying. She finds nothing but what grieves her when she thinks of it. This compels her to look abroad, and to seek, by devotion to external things, to drown the consciousness of her real condition. Her joy is in this oblivion; and to compel her to look within, and to be her own companion, is to make her thoroughly wretched.

Men are burdened from their infant years with the care of their honor and their property, and even of the property and the honor of their relations and friends. They are oppressed with the study of languages, sciences, accomplishments, and arts. They are overwhelmed with business, and are taught to believe that they cannot be happy unless they manage, by their industry and attention, that their fortune and reputation, and the fortune and reputation of their friends, be flourishing; and that a failure in any one of these things would make them miserable. And hence they are engaged in duties and businesses which harass them from morning to night. "A strange method this," you would say, "to make men happy; what could we do more effectually to make them miserable?" Do you ask what we could do? Alas! we have but to release them from these cares, for then they would see and consider themselves; and this is unbearable. And in proof of this we see, that with all this mass of cares, if they have yet any interval of relaxation, they hasten to squander it on some amusement, that shall completely fill the void, and hide them from themselves.

On this account, when I have set myself to consider the varied turmoil of life; the toil and danger to which men expose themselves at courts, in war, and in the pursuit of their ambitious projects, which give rise to so much quarrelling and passion, and to so many desperate and fatal adventures: I have often said that all the misfortunes of men spring from their not knowing how to live quietly at home, in their own rooms. If a man, who has enough to live on, did but know how to live with himself, he would never go to sea, or to besiege a city, merely for the sake of occupation; and he whose only object is to live, would have no need to seek such dangerous employments.

But when I have looked into the matter more closely, I have found that this aversion to repose, and to the society of self, originates in a very powerful cause, namely, in the natural evils of our weak and mortal state—a state so completely wretched, that whenever nothing hinders us from thinking of it, and we thoroughly survey ourselves, we are utterly inconsolable. Of course, I speak only of those who meditate on themselves without the aid of religion. For most assuredly it is one of the wonders of the Christian religion, that it reconciles man to himself, in reconciling him to his God; that it makes self-examination bearable, and solitude and silence more interesting than the tumults and the busy intercourse of men. But religion does not produce this mighty change by confining man to the survey of himself. It does this only by leading him up to God, and sustaining him, even in the consciousness of his present misery, with the hope of another existence, in which he shall be freed from it for ever.

But as for those who act only according to the impulse of those natural motives, that they find within them, it is impossible that they can live in that tranquillity which favors self-examination, without being instantly the prey of chagrin and melancholy. The man who loves nothing but self, dislikes nothing so much as being with himself only. He seeks nothing but for himself; yet he flies from nothing so eagerly as self; for when he sees himself, he is not what he wishes; and he finds in himself an accumulation of miseries that he cannot shun, and a vacuity of all real and substantial good which he cannot fill.

Let a man choose what condition he will, and let him accumulate around him all the goods and all the gratifications seemingly calculated to make him happy in it; if that man is left at any time without occupation or amusement, and reflects on what he is, the meagre, languid felicity of his present lot will not bear him up. He will turn necessarily to gloomy anticipations of the future; and except, therefore, his occupation calls him out of himself, he is inevitably wretched.

But is not royal dignity sufficient of itself to make its possessor happy, by the mere contemplation of what he is as a king? Must he too be withdrawn from this thought the same as other men? I see plainly that it makes a man happy to turn him away from the thought of his domestic sorrows, and to engage all the energy of his mind in the attaining of some light accomplishments, even such as dancing: but is it so with a king? Would he be happier in a devotion to these vain amusements, than in the thought of his own greatness? What object more satisfying can be given to him? Would it not be thwarting his joy, to degrade his mind to the thought how to regulate his steps by the cadence of a fiddle, or how to strike a billiard ball; instead of leaving him to enjoy in tranquillity the contemplation of the glory and the majesty with which he is invested? Try it: leave a king to himself without any delight accruing to him through the senses; leave him without any care upon his mind, and without society, to think at his leisure of himself; and you will see that a king who looks within, is a man equally full of miseries, and equally alive to them, with other men. Hence they carefully avoid this; and there is always about the person of kings, a number of menials, whose concern it is to provide diversion when business is done, and who watch for their hours of leisure to supply them with pleasures and sports, that they may never feel vacuity; that is, in fact, they are surrounded by persons who take the most scrupulous care, that the king shall not be left alone to be his own companion, and in a situation to think of himself; because they know that if he does, with all his royalty he must be wretched.

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* The union of mind with matter, is a subject utterly incomprehensible to man, and yet this is man's essential nature.

The principal thing which bears men up under those weighty concerns, which are, in other respects, so oppressive, is that they are thus perpetually kept from thinking of themselves.

For instance: What is the being a governor, a chancellor, a prime minister, but the having a number of attendants flocking on every side to prevent them from having a single hour in the day in which they can think of self? And when such men are out of favor, and are banished to their country-seats, where they have no want of either money or servants to supply their real wants, then indeed they are wretched, because then they have leisure to think of self without hinderance.

Hence it is that so many persons fly to play or to field sports, or to any other amusement which occupies the whole soul. Not that they expect happiness from any thing so acquired, or that they suppose that real bliss centres in the money that they win, or the hare that they catch. They would not have either as a gift. The fact is, they are not seeking for that mild and peaceful course which leaves a man leisure to speculate on his unhappy condition, but for that incessant hurry which renders this impracticable.

Hence it is, that men love so ardently the whirl and the tumult of the world; that imprisonment is so fearful a punishment; and that so few persons can endure solitude.

This, then, is all that men have devised to make themselves happy. And those who amuse themselves by showing the emptiness and the poverty of such amusements, have certainly a right notion of a part of human misery; for it is no small evil to be capable of finding pleasure in things so low and contemptible; but they do not yet know the full depth of that misery which renders these same miserable and base expedients absolutely necessary to man, so long as he is not cured of that internal natural evil, the not being able to endure the contemplation of himself. The hare that he buys in the market, will not call him off from himself, but the chase of it may. And therefore, when we tell them that what they seek so ardently will not satisfy them, and that nothing can be more mean and profitless, we know that, if they answered as they would do if they thought seriously of it, they would so far agree with us at once; only that they would say also, that they merely seek in these things a violent impetuous occupation, which shall divert them from themselves, and that with this direct intention, they choose some attractive object which engages and occupies them entirely. But then they will not answer in this way, because they do not know themselves. A gentleman believes sincerely that there is something noble and dignified in the chase. He will say it is a royal sport. And it is the same with other things which occupy the great mass of men. They conceive that there is something really and substantially good in the object itself. A man persuades himself that if he obtained this employment, then he would enjoy repose. But he does not perceive the insatiability of his own desires; and while he believes that he is in search of rest, he is actually seeking after additional care.

Men have a secret instinct leading them to seek pleasure and occupation from external sources, which originates in the sense of their continual misery. But they have also another secret instinct, a remnant of the original grandeur of their nature, which intimates to them that happiness is to be found only in repose; and from these opposite instincts, there eminates a confused project, which is hidden from their view in the very depth of the soul, and which prompts them to seek repose by incessant action; and ever to expect that the fulness of enjoyment, which as yet they have not attained, will infallibly be realized, if, by overcoming certain difficulties which immediately oppose them, they might open the way to rest.

And thus the whole of life runs away. We seek repose by the struggle with opposing difficulties; and the instant we have overcome them, that rest becomes insupportable. For generally we are occupied either with the miseries which now we feel, or with those which threaten; and even when we see ourselves sufficiently secure from the approach of either, still fretfulness, though unwarranted by either present or expected affliction, fails not to spring up from the deep recesses of the heart, where its roots naturally grow, and to fill the soul with its poison.

And hence it is plain, that when Cineas said to Pyrrhus, who proposed to himself, after having conquered a large portion of the world, then to sit down and enjoy repose with his friends, that he had better hasten forward his own happiness now, by immediately enjoying repose, than seek it through so much fatigue; he advised a course which involved very serious difficulties, and which was scarcely more rational than the project of this hero's youthful ambition. Both plans assumed that man can be satisfied with himself, and with his present blessings, and not feel a void in his heart, which must be filled with imaginary hopes: and here they were both in error. Pyrrhus could not have been happy either before or after the conquest of the world; and most probably the life of indolent repose which his minister recommended, was less adapted to satisfy him, than the restless hurry of his intended wars and wanderings.

We are compelled then to admit, that man is so wretched, that he will vex himself, independently of any external cause of vexation, from the mere circumstances of his natural condition; and yet with all this he is so vain and full of levity, that in the midst of a thousand causes of real distress, the merest trifle serves to divert him. So that on serious reflection, we see that he is far more to be commiserated that he can find enjoyment in things so frivolous and so contemptible, than that he mourns over his real sorrows. His amusements are infinitely less rational than his lamentations.

2. Whence is it that this man, who lost so lately

an only son, and who, under the pressure of legal processes and disputes, was this morning so harassed, now thinks of these things no more? Alas! it is no wonder. He is wholly engrossed in watching the fate of a poor deer, that his dogs have been chasing for six hours. And nothing more than this is necessary for a man, though he is brim full of sorrows! If he can but be induced to apply himself to some source of recreation, he is happy for the time; but then it is with a false and delusive happiness, which comes not from the possession of any real and substantial good, but from a spirit of levity, that drowns the memory of his real griefs, and occupies him with mean and contemptible things, utterly unworthy of his attention, much more of his love. It is a morbid and frantic joy, which flows not from the health of the soul, but from its disorder. It is the laugh of folly and of delusion. It is wonderful also to think what it is which pleases men in their sports and recreations. It is true, that by occupying the mind, they seduce it from the consciousness of its real sorrows: and so far is a reality. But then they are only capable of occupying the mind at all, because it has created for itself in them, a merely imaginary object of desire, to which it is fondly and passionately devoted.

What think you is the object of those men who are playing at tennis with such intense interest of mind and effort of body? Merely to boast the next day among their friends, that they have played better than another. There is the spring of their devotedness. Others again, in the same way, toil in their closets to show the *Sçavans* that they have solved a question in algebra, which was never solved before. Others expose themselves, with at least equal folly, to the greatest dangers, to boast at length of some place that they have taken: and others there are, who wear out life in remarking on those things; not that they themselves may grow wiser, but purely to show that they see the folly of them. And these seem the silliest of all; because they are conscious of their folly; whilst we may hope of the others, that they would act differently if they knew better.

3. A man will pass his days without weariness, in daily play for a trifling stake, whom you would make directly wretched, by giving to him each morning the probable winnings of the day, on condition of his not playing. You will say, "But it is the amusement he wants, and not the gain." Then make him play for nothing, and you will see that for want of a risk, he will lose interest, and become weary. Evidently, then, it is not only amusement that he seeks. An amusement not calculated to excite the passions, is languid and fatiguing. He must get warmth, animation, stimulus, in the thought that he shall be happy in winning a trifle, that he would not consider worth a straw, if it were offered him without the risk of play. He must have an object of emotion adequate to excite desire, and anger, and hope, and fear.

So that the amusements which constitute mens' happiness here, are not only mean,—they are false and deceitful: that is to say, they have for their object a set of phantoms and illusions, which actually could not occupy the human mind, if it had not lost its taste and feeling for that which is really good—if it were not filled with low and mean propensities, with vanity, and levity, and pride, and a host of other vices. And these diversions only alleviate our present sorrows, by originating a misery more real and more humiliating. For it is they which mainly hinder us from thinking of ourselves, and make us lose our time without perceiving it. Without them, we should be unhappy, and this unhappiness would drive us to seek some more satisfactory way of peace. But amusement allures and deceives us, and leads us down imperceptibly in thoughtlessness to the grave.

Men finding that they had no remedy for death, misery, and ignorance, have imagined that the way to happiness was not to think of these things. This is all that they have been able to invent, to console themselves in the midst of so much evil. But it is wretched comfort; since it does not profess to cure the mischief, but merely to hide it for a short time. And it does so hide it, as to prevent all serious thought of an effectual cure. And thus a man finds, that by a strange derangement of his nature, *ennui*, which is the evil that he most strongly feels, is in a certain sense his greatest good; and that amusement which he regards as his best blessing, is, in fact, his most serious evil; because it operates more than any thing else to prevent him from seeking a remedy for his miseries; and both of them are a striking proof of the misery and corruption of man, and of his greatness also; since both that weariness which he feels in all things, and that restless search after various and incessant occupation, spring equally from the consciousness of a happiness which he has lost; which happiness, as he does not find it in himself, he seeks fruitlessly through the whole round of visible things; but never finds peace, because it is not in us, nor in the creature at all, but in God only.

Whilst our own nature makes us miserable in whatever state we are, our desires paint to us another condition as being happy, because they join to that in which we are, the pleasures of a condition in which we are not; and whenever we shall attain to those expected pleasures, we shall not be therefore happy, because other desires will then spring up conformed to some other condition, yet new and unattained.

Imagine a number of men in chains, and all condemned to die, and that while some are slaughtered daily in the sight of their companions, those who yet remain see their own sad destiny in that of the slain, and gazing on each other in hopeless sorrow, await their doom. This is a picture of the condition of human nature.

CHAPTER V.

THE WONDERFUL CONTRARIETIES WHICH ARE FOUND IN MAN WITH RESPECT TO TRUTH, HAPPINESS, AND MANY OTHER SUBJECTS.

There is nothing more extraordinary in the nature of man, than the contrarieties, which are discovered in it on almost every subject. Man is formed for the knowledge of truth; he ardently desires it; he seeks it; and yet, when he strives to grasp it, he so completely dazzles and confounds himself, that he gives occasion to doubt whether he has attained it or not.

This has given rise to the two sects of the Pyrrhonists and the Dogmatists, of whom the one would deny that men knew any thing of truth; the other professed to show them that they knew it accurately; but each advanced reasons so improbable, that they only increased that confusion and perplexity in which man must continue, so long as he obtains no other light than that of his own understanding.

The chief reasons of the Pyrrhonists are these, that we have no assurance of the truth of our principles (setting aside faith and revelation) except that we find them intuitively within us. But this intuitive impression is not a convincing proof of their truth; because, as without the aid of faith, we have no certainty whether man was made by a benevolent Deity, or a wicked demon, whether man is from eternity, or the offspring of chance, it must remain doubtful whether these principles are given to us—are true or false; or like our origin, uncertain. Further, that excepting by faith, a man has no assurance whether he sleeps or wakes; seeing that in his sleep he does not the less firmly believe that he is awake, than when he really is so. He sees spaces, figures, movements; he is sensible of the lapse of time; he measures it; he acts, in short, as if he were awake. So that as one half of life is admitted by us to be passed in sleep, in which, however it may appear otherwise, we have no perception of truth, and all our feelings are delusions; who knows but the other half of life, in which we think we are awake, is a sleep also, but in some respects different from the other, and from which we wake, when we, as we call it, sleep. As a man dreams often that he is dreaming, crowding one dreamy delusion on another.

I leave untouched the arguments of the Pyrrhonists against the impressions of habit, education, manners, and national customs, and the crowd of similar influences which carry along the majority of mankind; who build their opinions on no more solid foundation.

The only strong point of the Dogmatists is, that we cannot, consistently with honesty and sincerity, doubt our own intuitive principles. We know the truth, they say, not only by reasoning, but by feeling, and by a quick and luminous power of direct comprehension; and it is by this last faculty that we discern first principles. It is in vain for reasoning, which has no share in discovering these principles, to attempt subverting them. The Pyrrhonists who attempt this, must try in vain. However unable we may be by reasoning to prove the fact, yet we know that we do not dream. And this inability may prove the feebleness of our reason, but not as they pretend, the want of reality and substance in the subjects of our knowledge. For the knowledge of first principles, as the ideas of space, time, motion, number, matter, is as unequivocally certain, as any that reasoning imparts. And, after all, it is on the perceptions of common sense and feeling, that reason must, at last, sustain itself, and found its own argument. I perceive that space has three dimensions, and that number is infinite, and reason demonstrates from this, that there are not two square numbers, of which one is just double of the other. Principles are perceived, propositions are deduced: each part of the process is certain, though in different ways. And it is as ridiculous that reason should require of feeling and perception proofs of these first principles before she assents to them, as it would be that perception should require from reason an intuitive impression of all the propositions at which she arrives. This weakness, therefore, will only serve to abase that reason which would become the judge of all things, but not to invalidate the convictions of common sense, as if reason only could be our guide and teacher. Would to God, on the contrary, that we had no need of reason, but that we knew every thing intuitively by instinct and feeling. But this blessing is withheld from us by our nature; our knowledge by intuitive impression is very scanty; and every thing else must be attained by reasoning.

Here then is war openly proclaimed among men. Each one must take a side; must necessarily range himself with the Pyrrhonists or the Dogmatists; for he who would think to remain neuter, is a Pyrrhonist *par excellence*. This neutrality is the very essence of Pyrrhonism. He who is not against them, is completely for them. What then must a man do in this alternative? Shall he doubt of every thing? Shall he doubt that he is awake, or that he is pinched or burned? Shall he doubt that he doubts? Shall he doubt that he is? We cannot get so far as this; and I hold it to be a fact, that there never has been an absolute and perfect Pyrrhonist. Nature props up the weakness of reason, and prevents her from reaching this point of extravagance. But then on the other side, shall man affirm that he possesses the truth with certainty, who, if you press him ever so little, can bring no proof of the fact, and is forced to loose his hold?

Who shall clear up this perplexity? Common sense confutes the Pyrrhonists, and reason the Dogmatists. What then must become of thee, O man, who searchest out thy true condition, by the aid of natural reason? You cannot avoid adopting one of these opinions; but to maintain either, is impossible.

Such is man in regard to the truth. Consider him now with respect to that happiness, which in all his actions, he seeks with so much avidity; for all men, without exception, desire to be happy. However different the means which they adopt, they aim at the same result. The cause of one man engaging in war, and of another remaining at home, is this same desire of happiness, associated with different predilections. He will never stir a step but towards this desired object. It is the motive of all the actions of all men, even of those who destroy themselves.

And yet, after the lapse of so many years, no one has ever attained to this point at which we are all aiming, but by faith. All are unhappy: princes and their subjects, noble and ignoble, the old and the young, the strong and the weak, the learned and the ignorant, the sick and the healthy of all countries, all times, all ages, and all conditions.

Experience so lengthened, so continual, and so uniform, might well convince us of our inability to be happy by our own efforts. But then here we get no profit from example. It is never so precisely similar, but that there is some slight difference, on the strength of which, we calculate that our hope shall not be disappointed, in this as in former instances. And thus while the present never satisfies us, hope allures us onward, and leads us from misfortune to misfortune, and finally to death and everlasting ruin.

It is remarkable, that in the whole range of nature, there is nothing that has not been accounted fit to become the chief end and happiness of man. The stars, the elements, plants, animals, insects, diseases, wars, vices, crimes, &c. Man having fallen from his original and natural state, there is nothing however mean on which he does not fix his vagrant affections. Since he lost that which is really good, any thing can assume the semblance of it, even self-destruction, though it is so manifestly contrary at once both to reason and to nature.

Some have sought happiness in power; some in science or in curious research; and some in voluptuous pleasure. These three propensities have given rise to three sects; and they who are called philosophers, have merely followed one or other of them. Those who have come nearest to happiness have thought, that *the universal good* which all men desire, and in which all should share, cannot be any one particular thing, which one only can possess, and which if it be divided, ministers more sorrow to its possessor, on account of that which he has not, than pleasure in the enjoyment of that which he has. They conceived that *the true good* must be such that all may enjoy it at once, without imperfection and without envy; and that no one could lose it against his will. They have rightly understood the blessing, but they could not find it; and instead of a solid and practical good, they have embraced its visionary semblance, in an unreal and chimerical virtue.

Instinct tells us, that we must seek our happiness within ourselves, Our passions drive us forth to seek it in things external, even when those things are not actually present to minister excitement.—External objects are themselves also our tempters, and entice us even when we are not aware. The philosophers then will but vainly say, "Be occupied with yourselves, for there you will find your happiness." Few believe them; and the few who do, are more empty and foolish than any. For can any thing be more contemptible and silly, than what the Stoics call happiness? or more false than all their reasonings on the subject?

They affirm that man can do at all times what he has done once; and that since the love of fame prompts its possessor to do some things well, others may do the same. But those actions are the result of feverish excitement, which health cannot imitate.

2. The intestine war of reason against the passions, has given rise, among those who wish for peace, to the formation of two different sects. The one wished to renounce the passions and to be as gods; the other to renounce their reason, and become beasts. But neither has succeeded; and reason still remains, to point out the baseness and moral pravity of the passions, and to disturb the repose of those who yield to them; and the passions are still vigorously in action in the hearts of those who aim to renounce them.

3. This then is all that man can do in his own strength with regard to truth and happiness. We have a powerlessness for determining truth, which no dogmatism can overcome: we have a vague notion of truth, which no pyrrhonism can destroy.—We wish for truth, and find within only uncertainty. We seek for happiness, and find nothing but misery. We cannot but wish for truth and happiness; yet we are incapable of attaining either.—The desire is left to us, as much to punish us, as to show us whence we are fallen.

4. If man was not made for God, why is he never happy but in God? If man is made for God, why is he so contrary to God?

5. Man knows not in what rank of beings to place himself. He is manifestly astray, and perceives in himself the remnant indications of a happy state, from which he has fallen, and which he cannot recover. He is ever seeking it, with restless anxiety, without success, and in impenetrable darkness.—This is the source of all the contests of the philosophers. One class has undertaken to elevate man by displaying his greatness; the other to abase him by the exhibition of his wretchedness. And what is most extraordinary is, that each party makes use of the reasonings of the other to establish its own opinions. For the misery of man is inferrible from his greatness, and his greatness from his misery. And thus the one class has more effectually proved his misery, because they deduced it from his greatness; and the other established much more powerfully the fact of his greatness, because they proved it even from his misery. All that the one could say of his greatness, served but as an argument to the other, to prove his misery; inasmuch as the misery of having fallen, is aggravated in proportion as the point from which we fell is shown to be more elevated; and *vice versa*. Thus they have outgone each other successively, in an eternal circle; it being certain, that as men increased in illumination, they would multiply proofs, both of their greatness and their misery. In short, man knows that he is wretched. He is wretched, because he knows it. Yet in this he is evidently great, that he knows himself to be wretched.

What a chimera then is man. What a singular phenomenon! What a chaos! What a scene of contrariety! A judge of all things, yet a feeble worm: the shrine of truth, yet a mass of doubt and uncertainty: at once the glory and the scorn of the universe! If he boasts, I lower him; if he lowers himself, I raise him; either way I contradict him, till he learns that he is a monstrous incomprehensible mystery.

CHAPTER VI.

ON AVOWED INDIFFERENCE TO RELIGION.

It were to be wished, that the enemies of religion would at least learn what religion is, before they oppose it. If religion boasted of the unclouded vision of God, and of disclosing him without a covering or veil, then it were victory to say that nothing in the world discovers him with such evidence.—But since religion, on the contrary, teaches that men are in darkness, and far from God; that he is hidden from them, and that the very name which he gives himself in the Scriptures, is "a God that hideth himself;" and, in fact, since it labors to establish these two maxims, that God has placed in his church, certain characters of himself, by which he will make himself known to those who sincerely seek him; and yet that he has, at the same time, so far covered them, as to render himself imperceptible to those who do not seek him with their whole heart, what advantage do men gain, that, in the midst of their criminal negligence in the search of truth, they complain so frequently that nothing reveals and displays it to them? seeing that this very obscurity under which they labor, and which they thus bring against the Christian church, does but establish one of the two grand points which she maintains, without affecting the other; and instead of ruining, confirms her doctrines.

To contend with any effect, the opposers of religion should be able to urge that they have applied their utmost endeavors, and have used all the means of information, even those which the Christian church recommends, without obtaining satisfaction. If they could say this, it were indeed to attack one of her main pretensions. But I hope to show that no rational person can affirm this; nay, I venture to assert that none ever did. We know very well how men of this spirit are wont to act. They conceive that they have made a mighty effort towards the instruction of their minds, when they have spent a few hours in reading the Scriptures, and have put a few questions to a minister on the articles of the faith. And then they boast of having consulted both men and books without success. Really I cannot help telling such men, what I have often told them, that this negligence is insufferable. This is not a question about the petty interests of some stranger. Ourselves and our all are involved in it.

The immortality of the soul is a matter of such main importance, so profoundly interesting to us, that we must be utterly dead to every good feeling, if we could be indifferent about it. And all our actions and thoughts would take so different a course, according as we have or have not the hope of eternal blessings, that it is impossible for us to take one step discreetly, but as we keep this point ever in view, as our main and ultimate object.

It is, then, both our highest interest, and our first duty, to get light on this subject, on which our whole conduct depends. And here, therefore, in speaking of those who are skeptical on this point, I make a wide distinction between those who labor with all their power to obtain instruction, and those who live on in indolence, without caring to make any inquiry. I do heartily pity those who sincerely mourn over their skepticism, who look upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, and who spare no pains to escape from it, but who make their researches their chief and most serious employ. But as for those who pass their life without reflecting on its close; and who, merely because they find not in themselves a convincing testimony, refuse to seek it elsewhere, and to examine thoroughly, whether the opinion proposed be such as nothing but a credulous simplicity receives, or such as, though obscure in itself, is yet founded on a solid basis, I regard them very differently. The carelessness which they betray in a matter which involves their existence, their eternity, their all, awakes my indignation rather than my pity. It is astonishing. It is horrifying. It is monstrous. I speak not this from the pious zeal of a blind devotion. On the contrary, I affirm that self-love, that self-interest, that the simplest light of reason, should inspire these sentiments; and, in fact, for this we need but the perceptions of ordinary men.

It requires but little elevation of soul to discover, that here there is no substantial delight; that our pleasures are but vanity, that the ills of life are innumerable; and that, after all, death, which threatens us every moment, must, in a few years, perhaps in a few days, place us in the eternal condition of happiness, or misery, or nothingness. Between us and heaven, hell or annihilation, no barrier is interposed but life, which is of all things the most fragile; and as they who doubt the immortality of the soul, can have no hope of heaven, they can have no prospect but hell or nonentity.

Nothing can be more true than this, and nothing more terrible. Brave it how we will, there ends the goodliest life on earth.

It is in vain for men to turn aside from this coming eternity, as if a bold indifference could destroy its being. It subsists notwithstanding. It hastens on; and death, which must soon unveil it, will, in a short time, infallibly reduce them to the dreadful necessity of being annihilated for ever, or for ever wretched.

Here then is a doubt of the most alarming importance; to feel this doubt is already, in itself, a serious evil. But that doubt imposes on us the indispensible duty of inquiry.

He, then, who doubts, and yet neglects inquiry, is both uncandid and unhappy. But if, notwithstanding his doubts, he is calm and contented; if he freely avows his ignorance; nay, if he makes it his boast, and seems to make this very indifference the subject of his joy and triumph, no words can adequately describe his extravagant infatuation.

Where do men get these opinions? What delight is there in expecting misery without end? What ground is there for boasting in the experience of nothing but impenetrable darkness? Or what consolation in despairing for ever of a comforter?

Acquiescence in such ignorance is monstrous, and they who thus linger on through life, should be made sensible of its absurdity and stupidity, by showing them what passes in their own breasts, so as to confound them by a sight of their own folly. For men who thus choose to remain ignorant of what they are, and who seek no means of illumination, reason in this way:—

"I know not who has sent me into the world, nor what the world is, nor what I am myself. I am awfully ignorant of all things. I know not what my body is, what my senses are, or what my soul is. This very part of me which thinks what I now speak, which reflects upon all other things, and even upon itself, is equally a stranger to itself, and to all around it. I look through the vast and terrific expanse of the universe by which I am encompassed; and I find myself chained to one petty corner of the wide domain; without understanding why I am fixed in this spot, rather than in any other; or why this little hour of life was assigned me at this point, rather than at any other of all that eternity which was before me, or of all that which is to come. On every side I see nothing but infinities, which enfathom me in their abysses as a mere atom, or as a shadow which lingers but a single instant, and is never to return. All that I know is, that I must shortly die; and that of which I know the least, is this very death, from which I cannot fly.

"As I know not whence I came, so I know not whither I go. This only I know, that when I leave this world, I must either fall for ever into nothingness, or into the hands of an incensed God; but I know not to which of these two conditions I shall be eternally doomed.

"Such is my state; full of misery, of imbecility, of darkness. And from all this, I argue that it becomes me to pass all the days of my life, without considering what shall hereafter befall me; and that I have nothing to do, but to follow the bent of my inclinations, without reflection or disquiet, and if there be an eternity of misery, to do my utmost to secure it. Perhaps inquiry might throw some light upon my doubts; but I will not take the pains to make it, nor stir one foot to find the truth. On the contrary, while I show my contempt for those who annoy themselves by this inquiry, I wish to rush without fear or foresight upon the risk of this dread contingency. I will suffer myself to be led imperceptibly on to death, in utter uncertainty as to the issue of my future lot in eternity."

Verily, religion may glory in having for its enemies, men so irrational as these; their opposition is so little to be dreaded, that it serves, in fact, to illustrate the main truths which our religion teaches. For our religious system aims chiefly to establish these two principles—the corruption of human nature, and redemption by Jesus Christ. Now, if these opposers are of no use in confirming the truth of redemption, by the sanctity of their lives; yet they admirably prove the corruption of nature, by the maintenance of such unnatural opinions.

Nothing is so important to any man as his own condition; nothing so formidable as eternity.—They, therefore, who are indifferent to the loss of their being, and to the risk of endless misery, are in an unnatural state. They act quite differently from this in all other matters; they fear the smallest inconveniences; they anticipate them; they feel them when they arrive; and he who passes days and nights in indignation and despair, at the loss of an employment, or for some fancied blemish on his honor, is the very same man who knows that he must soon lose all by death, and yet continues satisfied, fearless, and unmoved. Such an insensibility to things of the most tremendous consequences, in a heart so keenly alive to the merest trifles, is an astonishing prodigy, an incomprehensible enchantment, a supernatural infatuation.

A man in a dungeon, who knows not if the sentence of death has gone forth against him, who has but one hour to ascertain the fact, and that one hour sufficient, if he knows that it is granted, to secure its revocation, acts contrary to nature and to common sense, if he employs that hour, not in the needful inquiry, but in sport and trifling. Now, this is the condition of the persons whom we are describing; only with this difference, that the evils with which they are every moment threatened, do infinitely surpass the mere loss of this life, and that transient punishment which the prisoner has to dread. Yet they run thoughtlessly onward to the precipice, having only cast a veil over their eyes to hinder them from discerning it; and then, in a dreadful security, they mock at those who warn them of their danger.

Thus, not only does the zeal of those who seek God, demonstrate the truth of religion, but even the blindness of those who seek him not, and who pass their days in this criminal neglect. Human nature must have experienced a dreadful revolution, before men could live contentedly in this state, much more before they could boast of it. For supposing that they were absolutely certain, that there was nothing to fear after death but annihilation, is not this a cause rather for despair than for gratulation? But seeing that we have not even this assurance, then is it not inconceivably silly to boast, because we are in doubt?

And yet, after all, it is too evident, that man is in his nature so debased, as to nourish in his heart a secret joy on this account. This brutal insensibility to the risk of hell or of annihilation, is thought so noble, that not only do those who really are skeptically inclined make their boast of it, but even those who are not, are proud to counterfeit a doubt. For experience proves, that the greater part of these men are of this latter kind, mere pretenders to infidelity, and hypocrites in atheism. They have been told that the spirit of high life consists in rising above these vulgar prejudices. They call this throwing off the yoke of bondage: and most men do this, not from conviction, but from the mere servile principle of imitation.

Yet if they have but a particle of common sense remaining, it will not be difficult to make them comprehend, how miserably they abuse themselves by seeking credit in such a course. For this is not the way to obtain respect, even with men of the world; for they judge accurately, and know that the only sure way to succeed in obtaining regard, is to approve ourselves honest, faithful, prudent, and capable of advancing the interest of our friends; because men naturally love none but those who can contribute to their welfare. But now what can we gain by hearing any man confess that he has thrown off the yoke; that he does not believe in a God, who watches over his conduct; that he considers himself as the absolute master of his own actions, and accountable for them only to himself. Will he imagine that we shall now repose in him a greater degree of confidence than before, and that henceforth we shall look to him for comfort, advice or assistance in the vicissitudes of life? Does he think that we are delighted to hear that he doubts whether our very soul be any thing more than a breath or a vapor, and that he can tell it us with an air of assurance and self-sufficiency? Is this, then, the topic for a jest? Should it not rather be told with tears, as the saddest of all sorrowful things?

If they thought seriously, they would see that this conduct is so contrary to sound sense, to virtuous principle, and to good taste, and so widely removed from the reality of that elevation to which they pretend, that nothing can more effectually expose them to the contempt and aversion of mankind, or more evidently mark them for weakness of intellect, and want of judgment. And indeed, should we require of them an account of their sentiments, and of their doubts on the subject of religion, their statements would be found so miserably weak and trifling, as to confirm, rather than shake our confidence. This was once very aptly remarked by one of their own number, in answer to an infidel argument: "Positively if you continue to dispute at this rate, you will actually make me a Christian." And he was right; for who would not tremble to find himself associated in his opinions and his lot, with men so truly despicable?

They also who do no more than pretend to hold these sentiments, are truly pitiable; for by the assumption of an insincere infidelity, they actually control their better natural tendencies, only to make themselves of all men the most inconsistent. If from their inmost heart they regret that they have not more light, why do they not confess it? Such a confession would be no disgrace; for there is really no shame, but in shamelessness. Nothing more completely betrays a weak mind, than insensibility to the fact of the misery of man, while living without God in the world. Nothing more strongly indicates extreme degradation of spirit, than not to wish for the truth of God's eternal promises. No man is so base as he that defies his God. Let them, therefore, leave those impieties to those who are vile and wretched enough to be in earnest. If they cannot be completely Christians, at least let them be honest men; and let them at length admit the fact, that there are but two classes of men who may be called truly rational:—those who serve God with all their heart, because they know him; and those who seek him with all their heart, because as yet they know him not.

If there are any who sincerely inquire after God, and who, being truly sensible of their misery, affectionately desire to emerge from it; for these we ought to labor, that we may lead them to the discovery of that light which they have not yet discovered.

But as for those who live without either knowing God or endeavoring to know him, they count themselves so little worthy of their own care, that they can hardly deserve the care of others: and it requires all the charity of the religion which they despise, not to despise them so far as to abandon them to their folly. But since our religion obliges us to consider them, while they remain in this life, as still capable of receiving God's enlightening grace, and to believe that in the course of a few days, they may possess a more realizing faith than ourselves; and that we, on the other side, may become as blind as they; we ought to do for them what we would wish them to do for us, if we were in their circumstances; we should entreat them to take pity on themselves, and at least to take some steps forward, and try if they may not yet find the light. Let them give to the reading of this work, a few of those hours which they would otherwise spend more unprofitably. Something they may gain: they can lose but little. But if any shall bring to this work a perfect sincerity, and an unfeigned desire of knowing truth, I would hope that they will find comfort in it, and be convinced by those proofs of our divine religion, which are here accumulated.

CHAPTER VII.

THAT THE BELIEF OF A GOD IS THE TRUE WISDOM.

LET us speak according to the light of nature. If there is a God, he is to us infinitely incomprehensible; because having neither parts nor limits, there is no affinity or resemblance between him and us. We are, then, incapable of comprehending his nature, or even knowing his existence. And under these circumstances, who will dare to undertake the solving of this question? Certainly not we, who have no point of assimilation with him.

2. I will not undertake here to prove by natural reason, either the existence of God, the doctrine of the Trinity, or the immortality of the soul, nor any other point of this kind; not only that I do not feel myself strong enough to bring forth from the resources of weak reason, proofs that would convince a hardened atheist; but that this knowledge, if gained without the faith of Jesus Christ, were equally barren and useless. Suppose a man to become convinced that the proportions of numbers are truths immaterial,* and eternal, and dependant on one first truth, on which they subsist, and which

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* Existing independent of matter.

is called God: I do not find that man advanced one step further towards his own salvation.

3. It is surprising that no canonical writer has made use of nature to prove the existence of God. They all tend to establish the belief of this truth; yet they have not said, There is no void, then there is a God; it follows, then, that they were more intelligent than the ablest of those who have come after them, who have all had recourse to this method.

If it is a proof of weakness to prove the existence of God from nature, then do not despise the Scripture; if it is a proof of wisdom to discern the contradictions of nature, then venerate this in the Scripture.

4. Unity added to infinity does not augment it, any more than another foot does a line of infinite length. What is finite is lost in that which is infinite, and shrinks to nothing. So does our mind in respect of the mind of God, and our righteousness when compared with his. The difference between unity and infinity is not so great as that between our righteousness and the righteousness of God.

5. We know that there is an infinite, but we know not its nature. For instance, we know that it is false that number is finite. Then it is true that there is an infinity in number; but what that infinity is, we know not. It cannot be equal or unequal, for the addition of unity to infinity does not change its nature; yet it is a number, and every number is equal or unequal; this is the case with all finite numbers. In the same way, we may know that there is a God, without knowing what he is; and we ought not to conclude that God is not, because we cannot perfectly comprehend his nature.

To convince you of the being of a God, I shall make no use of the faith by which we know him assuredly, nor of any other proofs with which we are satisfied, because you will not receive them. I will only treat with you upon your own principles, and I expect to show you, by the mode in which you reason daily, in matters of small importance, how you should reason in this; and what side you should take in the decision of this important question of the being of a God. You say that we cannot discover whether there be a God or not. This however is certain, either that God is, or that God is not. There is no medium point between these two alternatives. But which side shall we take? Reason, you say, cannot decide at all. There is an infinite chaos between us and the point in question. We play a game at an infinite distance, ignorant whether the coin we throw shall fall cross or pile. How then can we wager? By reasoning we cannot make sure that it is the one or the other. By reasoning we cannot deny that it is the one or the other.

Do not then charge with falsehood those who have taken a side, for you know not that they are wrong, and that they have chosen ill. "No, say you, I do not blame them for having made this choice, but for making any choice whatever. To take a risk on either alternative, is equally wrong: the wise course is not to choose at all." But you must wager; this is not a matter of choice. You are inevitably committed; and not to wager that God is, is to wager that he is not. Which side then do you take? Let us see in which you are the least interested. You have two things to lose, truth and right; and two things to play with, your reason and your will—your knowledge and your happiness. And your nature has two things to shun, error and misery. Take your side, then, without hesitation, that God is. Your reason is not more annoyed in choosing one, than the other, since you cannot but choose one. Here then is one point settled. But now of your happiness? Balance the gain and the loss there. Upon taking the risk that God is, if you win, you win every thing. If you lose, you lose nothing. Believe then if you can.

Well, I see I must wager; but I may risk too much. Let us see. Where there is equal risk of loss or gain, if you have but two lives to gain, and but one to lose, you might venture safely. If again there were ten lives to gain, and the chances equal; then it were actually imprudent not to risk your one life to gain the ten. But in this case, where you have with equal chance of gain or loss, an infinity of lives, infinitely happy, to gain; and where the stake which you play, is a thing so trifling and transient, to hesitate from a false preference to it, is absolute folly.

For it answers no purpose to allege the uncertainty of winning, and the certainty of the risk; or to say that the infinite distance between the certainty of that which we hazard, and the uncertainty of that which we may gain, raises the value of the finite good which we stake, to an equality with the infinite good which is uncertain. For this is not the case. He who plays must risk a certainty for an uncertainty; and though he risks a finite certainty for a finite uncertainty, it can be shown he does not act foolishly. It is false that there is an infinite distance between the certainty we hazard, and the uncertainty of winning. Though it is true that there is an infinite distance between the certainty of gaining and the certainty of losing. But the uncertainty of winning is in proportion to the certainty which is hazarded, according to the proportion of the chances of gain or loss. And hence it follows, that if the risks be equal on both sides, then the match to be played is equal against equal; and then the certainty of that which is hazarded, is equal to the uncertainty of winning; so far is it from being infinitely distant. And thus our proposition is of infinite force, since we have but that which is finite to hazard, and that which is infinite to gain, in a play where the chances of gain or loss are equal. This is demonstration, and if men can discern truth at all, they should perceive this.

I admit this: but is there no mode of getting at the principles of the game? Yes, by the Scriptures, and by the other innumerable proofs of religion. They, you will say, who hope for salvation, are happy in that hope. But is it not counterbalanced by the fear of hell? But who has most reason to fear that hell? he who is ignorant that there is a hell, and is certain of damnation if there is; or he who is convinced of its existence, and lives in the hope of escaping it? He who had but eight days to live, and should conceive that the wisest course for him is, to believe that all this is a matter of mere chance, must be totally demented. Now, if we were not enslaved by our passions, eight days, or a hundred years are precisely the same thing.

And what harm will arise from taking this side? you would become faithful, pure, humble, grateful, beneficent, sincere and true. I grant that you would not be given up to polluting pleasures, to false glory, or false joys. But then, have you not other pleasures? I affirm that you would be a gainer, even in this life; and that every step you go forward, you will see so much of the certainty of what you will gain, and so much of the utter insignificance of what you will risk, that you will in the end discover, that you ventured for a good, both infinite and certain, and that to get it, you have given nothing.

You say that you are so constituted, that you cannot believe; and you ask, what you should do.—Learn, at least, your inaptitude to believe, seeing that reason suggests belief, as your wisdom, and yet you remain unbelieving. Aim, then, to obtain conviction, not by any increase of proof of the existence of God, but by the discipline and control of your own passions. You wish to obtain faith, but you know not the way to it. You wish to be cured of infidelity, and you ask for the remedy. Learn it, then, from those who have been, what you are, and who now have no doubt. They know the way for which you are seeking, and they are healed of a disease for which you seek a cure. Follow their course, then, from its beginning. Imitate, at least, their outward actions, and if you cannot yet realize their internal feelings, quit, at all events, those vain pursuits in which you have been hitherto entirely engrossed.

Ah, say you, I could soon renounce these pleasures, if I had faith; and I answer, you would soon have faith, if you would renounce those pleasures. It is for you to begin. If I could, I would give you faith, but I cannot; and consequently, I cannot prove the sincerity of your assertion; but you can abandon your pleasures, and thus make experiment of the truth of mine.

You say, this argument delights me. If so, if this argument pleases you, and appears weighty, know also that it comes from a man, who, both before and afterwards, went on his knees before Him who is infinite, and without parts, and to whom he has himself entirely submitted, with prayer, that he would also subject you to himself for your good, and his glory; and that thus Omnipotence might bless his weakness.

6. We ought not to misconceive our own nature. We are body as well as spirit; and hence demonstration is not the only channel of persuasion. How few things are capable of demonstration! Such proof, too, only convinces the understanding: custom gives the most conclusive proof, for it influences the senses, and by them, the judgment is carried along without being aware of it. Who has proved the coming of the morrow, or the fact of our own death? And yet what is more universally believed? It is then custom which persuades us. Custom makes so many Turks and Pagans. Custom makes artisans and soldiers, &c. True, we must not begin here to search for truth, but we may have recourse to it when we have found out where the truth lies, in order to imbue ourselves more thoroughly with that belief, which otherwise would fade. For to have the series of proofs incessantly before the mind, is more than we are equal to. We must acquire a more easy method of belief; that of habit, which, without violence, without art, and without argument, inclines all our powers to this belief, so that the mind glides into it naturally. It is not enough to believe only by the strength of rational conviction, while the senses incline us to believe the contrary. Our two powers must go forth together; the understanding, led by those reasonings which it suffices to have examined thoroughly once; the affections, by habit, which keeps them perpetually from wandering.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARKS OF THE TRUE RELIGION.

True religion should be marked by the obligation to love God. This is essentially right; and yet no religion but the Christian has ever enjoined it.

True religion ought also to recognize the depraved appetite of man, and his utter inability to become virtuous by his own endeavors. It should have pointed out the proper remedies for this evil, of which prayer is the principal. Our religion has done all this; and no other has ever taught to ask of God the power to love and serve him.

2. Another feature of true religion, would be the knowledge of our nature. For the true knowledge of our nature, of its true happiness, of true virtue, and true religion, are things essentially united. It should also recognize both the greatness and the meanness of man; together with their respective causes. What religion, but the Christian, has ever exhibited knowledge such as this?

3. Other religions, as the pagan idolatries, are more popular; their main force lies in external forms: but then they are ill suited to sensible men; whilst a religion, purely intellectual, would be more adapted to men of sense, but would not do for the multitude. Christianity alone adapts itself to all. It wisely blends outward forms, and inward feelings. It raises the common people to abstract thought; and, at the same time, abases the pride of the most intellectual, to the performance of outward duties; and it is never complete, but in the union of these two results. For it is necessary that the people understand the spirit of the letter, and that the learned submit their spirit to the letter, in the compliance with external forms.

4. Even reason teaches us that we deserve to be hated: yet no religion, but the Christian, requires us to hate ourselves. No other religion, therefore, can be received by those who know themselves to be worthy of nothing but hatred.

No other religion, but the Christian, has admitted that man is the most excellent of all visible creatures, and, at the same time, the most miserable. Some religions which have rightly estimated man's real worth, have censured, as mean and ungrateful, the low opinion which men naturally entertain of their own condition. Others, well knowing the depth of his degradation, have exposed, as ridiculously vain, those notions of grandeur, which are natural to men.

No other religion, but ours has taught that man is born in sin: no sect of philosophers ever taught this; therefore no sect has ever spoken the truth.

5. God is evidently withdrawn from us, and every religion, therefore, which does not teach this, is false; and every religion which does not teach the reason of this, is wanting in the most important point of instruction. Our religion does both.

That religion which consists in the belief of man's fall from a state of glory and communication with God, into a state of sorrow, humiliation, and alienation from God, and of his subsequent restoration by a Messiah, has always been in the world. All things else have passed away, but this, for which all other things exist, remains. For God, in his wisdom, designing to form to himself a holy people, whom he would separate from all other nations, deliver from their enemies, and lead to a place of rest, did promise that he would do this, and that he would come himself into the world to do it; and did foretell by his prophets, the very time and manner of his coming. In the mean while, to confirm the hope of his elect through all ages, he continually exhibited this aid to them in types and figures, and never left them without some evident assurances of his power and willingness to save.—For immediately after the creation, Adam was made the witness to this truth, and the depository of the promise of a Saviour, to be born of the seed of the woman. And though men at a period so near to their creation, could not have altogether forgotten their origin, their fall, and the divine promise of a Redeemer; yet since the world in its very infancy was overrun with every kind of corruption and violence, God was pleased to raise up holy men, as Enoch, Lamech, and others, who, with faith and patience, waited for that Saviour who had been promised from the beginning of the world. At the last, God sent Noah, who was permitted to experience the malignant wickedness of man in its highest degree; and then God saved him, when he drowned the whole world, by a miracle, which testified, at once, the power of God to save the world, and his willingness to do it, and to raise up to the woman the seed which He had promised. This miracle, then, sufficed to confirm the hopes of mankind: and while the memory of it was still fresh in their minds, God renewed his promises to Abraham, who dwelt in the midst of idolaters, and opened to him the mystery of the Messiah that was to come. In the days of Isaac and Jacob, the idolatrous abomination was spread over the whole earth; yet these holy men lived in faith, and when Jacob, on his death-bed, blest his children, he exclaimed with an extatic joy, that interrupted his prophetic discourse, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord."

The Egyptians were a people infected with idolatry and magic; and even the people of God were drawn aside by their example. Yet Moses and others were permitted to see him who was to them invisible, and they adored him, and had respect unto the eternal blessings which he was preparing for them.

The Greeks and Romans have bowed down to fictitious deities. The poets have invented different systems of theology. Philosophers have split into a thousand different sects; yet were there always in one small spot, and that the land of Judea, some chosen men who foretold the coming of that Messiah, whom no one else regarded.

At length, in the fulness of time, that Messiah came; and ever since, in the midst of heresies and schisms, the revolution of empires, and the perpetual change to which all other things are subject, the same church which adores him, who has never been without his chosen worshippers, still subsists without interruption or decay. And, what must be owned to be unparalleled, wonderful, and altogether Divine, this religion, which has ever continued, has subsisted in the face of perpetual opposition. A thousand times has it been on the very verge of total ruin; and as often as it has been so reduced, God has relieved it, by some extraordinary interposition of his power. This is a most wonderful feature of its history, that it should have been so maintained, and that too, even without any unconscientious submission or compromise to the will of tyrannical men.

6. Civil states would infallibly perish, if their laws did not yield sometimes to the control of necessity. But religion has never submitted to this: yet one step or the other is necessary, either compliances or miracles. It is no wonder that the kingdoms of this world should try to save themselves by yielding to circumstances; but, in point of fact, this is not preservation. It is change. And yet with all these variations, still they utterly perish. There is not one state that has lasted for 1500 years. If, then, this religion has always continued somewhere in existence, and continued firm and inflexible, is it not divine?

7. There would be too much obscurity over this question, if the truth had not some unequivocal marks. This is a valuable one, that it has always been preserved in a visible church. The proof would be too bright, if there were but one opinion in the Christian church. This, then, has not been the case; but in order to discover that which is truth, we have only to ascertain that which has always existed, for that which really is the truth, must have been there always, but that which is false, cannot.*

Now, the belief in the Messiah has been ever maintained in the world. The tradition from Adam was yet recent in the days of Noah, and even of Moses. Subsequently the prophets bore testimony to Him; at the same time predicting other things, which, being from day to day fulfilled, in the eyes of the world, established the truth of their mission, and consequently, of their unfulfilled promises concerning the Messiah. They unanimously declared that the law which had been given, was but preparatory to that of the Messiah; that, till then, it must continue; but that the law of Messiah should endure for ever: so that, either the law of Moses, or that of the Messiah, which it prophetically prefigured, should always continue upon earth. And, in fact, there has been that perpetuity. Jesus Christ came agreeably to all the circumstances of their predictions. He wrought miracles; so did his apostles, by whom he converted the Gentile world. And the prophecies being thus fulfilled, the proof of the Messiah's mission is for ever established.

8. I see many opposing religions. Necessarily, these are all false but one. Each seeks to be received on its own authority, and threatens the incredulous. I do not believe them on that account, for any one can say this. Any one may call himself a prophet. But in the Christian religion, I see many accomplished prophecies, and many miracles attested beyond all reasonable doubt; I find this in no other religion in the world.

9. That religion only which is contrary to our nature, in its present estate, which resists our pleasurable inclinations, and which seems, at first, contrary to the general opinion of mankind, that only has perpetually subsisted.

10. The whole course of things should bear upon the establishment and the exaltation of religion; the opinions and feelings of men should be found conformable to what religion enjoins; and; in a word, religion should be so manifestly the great object and centre towards which all things tend, that whoever understands its principles, should be enabled to account by it for the nature of man in particular, and for the government of the world at large.

Now, it is upon this very ground that wicked and profane men blasphemously revile the Christian religion, because they misunderstand it. They imagine that it consists simply in the adoration of God as great, powerful, and eternal; which is, in fact, merely Deism, and is almost as far removed from Christianity as Atheism, which is directly opposed to it. And then from hence they would infer the falsehood of our religion; because, say they, were it true, God would have manifested himself by proofs so palpable, that no man could remain ignorant of him.

But let them conclude what they will in this way, against Deism; this is no conclusive objection against Christianity; for our religion distinctly states, that, since the fall, God does not manifest himself to us with all the evidence that is possible. It consists properly in the mystery of a Redeemer, who, by uniting in himself the Divine and human natures, has delivered men out of the corruption of sin, and reconciled them to God in his own Divine person.

It inculcates on men these two truths; that there is a God whom they are capable of knowing and enjoying; and that there is a corruption in their nature, which renders them unworthy of the blessing. These truths are equally important; and it is equally dangerous for man, to seek God without the knowledge of his own misery, and to know his own misery without the knowledge of a Redeemer as his remedy. To apprehend the one without the other, begets either that philosophic pride which some men have had, who knew God, but not their own misery; or that despair which we find in Atheists, who know their own misery, but not their Saviour.

And as the knowledge of these two truths is equally necessary to man, so it is of the mercy of God to afford the means of knowing both. Now, the Christian religion does this, and that is its avowed and specific object.

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* How completely this simple rule condemns all the Romish superstitions.

Look into the order of things in this world, and see if all things do not directly tend to the establishment of these two fundamental principles of our religion.

11. If a man does not know himself to be full of pride, ambition, lust, weakness, misery, and unrighteousness, he is sadly blind. But, if with the knowledge of the evil, he has no wish to be delivered from it, what shall we say of such folly? Ought we not then to esteem highly a religion which so thoroughly understands our defects; and ardently to hope for the truth of a religion which promises so desirable a remedy?

12. It is impossible to meet all the proofs of the Christian religion, combined in one synoptical review, without feeling that they have a force which no reasonable man can resist.

Consider its first establishment. That a religion so contrary to our nature, should have established itself so quietly, without any force or constraint; and yet so effectually, that no torments could prevent the martyrs from confessing it; and that this was done, not only without the assistance of any earthly potentate whatever, but in direct opposition to all the kings of earth combined against it.

Consider the holiness, the elevation, and the humility of a Christian spirit. Some of the pagan philosophers have been elevated above the rest of mankind by a better regulated mode of life, and by the influence of sentiments in a measure conformed to those of Christianity; but they have never recognized as a virtue that which Christians call humility; and they would even have believed it incompatible with the other virtues which they proposed to cherish. None but the Christian religion has known how to unite things which previously appeared so much at variance; and has taught mankind, that instead of humility being inconsistent with the other virtues, all other virtues without it are vices and defects.

Consider the boundless wonders of the Holy Scripture; the grandeur, and the super-human sublimity of its statements, and the admirable simplicity of its style, which has nothing affected, nothing labored or recondite, and which bears upon the face of it, the irresistible stamp of truth.

Consider especially the person of Jesus Christ. Whatever may be thought of him in other respects, it is impossible not to discern that he had a truly noble and highly elevated spirit, of which he gave proof, even in his infancy before the doctors of the law. And yet, instead of applying himself to the cultivation of his talents by study, and by the society of the learned, he passed thirty years of his life in manual labor, and in an entire separation from the world: and during the three years of his ministry, he called and delegated as his apostles, men without knowledge, without study, without repute; and he excited as his enemies, all those who were accounted the wisest and the most learned of his day. This was certainly an extraordinary line of conduct, for one whose purpose it was to establish a new religion.

Consider also those chosen apostles of Jesus Christ: men unlettered and without study; yet who found themselves all at once sufficiently learned to confound the most practised philosophers, and sufficiently firm to resist the kings and tyrants who opposed that gospel which they preached.

Consider that extraordinary series of prophets, who have followed each other during a period of two thousand years; and who, in so many different ways, have predicted, even to the most minute circumstances, the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ; the mission of his apostles, the preaching of the gospel, the conversion of the Gentiles, and many other matters which regarded the establishment of the Christian religion, and the abolition of Judaism.

Consider the wonderful fulfilment of these prophecies, which have their accomplishment so accurately in the person of Jesus Christ, that none but he who is determined wilfully to blind himself, can fail to admit the fact.

Consider the state of the Jewish people, both previously and subsequently to the coming of Christ; how flourishing before his coming; how full of misery since they rejected him! Even at this day, they are without any of the peculiar marks of their religion, without a temple, without sacrifices, scattered over the whole world, the contempt and the scoffing of all men.

Consider the perpetuity of the Christian religion, which has even subsisted from the beginning of the world, either in the Old Testament saints, who lived in the expectation of Christ before his coming, or in those who have received and believed on him since. No other religion has been perpetual, and this is the chief characteristic of the true religion.

Finally, consider the holiness of this religion. Consider its doctrine, which gives a satisfactory reason for all things; even for the contrarieties which are found in man. And consider all those singular, supernatural, and divine peculiarities which shine forth in it on every side, and then judge from all this evidence, if it is possible fairly to doubt that Christianity is the only true religion; and if any other religion ever possessed any thing which could bear a moment's comparison with it.

CHAPTER IX.

PROOFS OF THE TRUE RELIGION, DRAWN FROM THE CONTRARIETIES IN MAN, AND FROM THE DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN.

The greatness and the misery of man are both so manifest, that it is essential to the true religion, to recognize the existence in man, of a certain principle of extraordinary greatness, and also a principle of profound misery. For that religion which is true, must thoroughly know our nature in all its grandeur, and in all its misery, and must comprehend the source of both. It should give also a satisfactory explanation of those astonishing contrarieties which we find within us. If also there be one essence, the beginning and the end of all things, the true religion should teach us to worship and to love him exclusively. But since we find ourselves unable to worship him whom we know not, and to love any thing beyond ourselves, it is essential that the religion which requires of us these duties, should warn us of our weakness, and guide us to its cure.

Again, religion, to make man happy, should teach him that there is a God; that we ought to love him; that it is our happiness to be his, and our only real evil to be separated from him. It should show us that we are full of gross darkness, which hinders us from knowing and loving him; and that our duty, thus requiring us to love God, and our evil affections alienating us from him, we are manifestly in a sinful state. It ought to discover to us also the cause of this opposition to God, and to our real welfare. It should point out to us the remedy and the means of obtaining it. Examine, then, all the religious systems in the world on these several points, and see if any other than Christianity will satisfy you respecting them.

Shall it be the religion taught by those philosophers, who offer to us as the chief good, our own moral excellence? Is this, then, the supreme good?

Have these men discovered the remedy of our evils? Have they found a cure for the presumption of man, who thus make him equal with his God? And they who have levelled us with the brutes, and held up as the chief good the sensual delights of earth; have they found a cure for our corrupt affections? These say to us, "Lift up your eyes to God, behold him whom you resemble, and who has made you for his worship. You may make yourselves altogether like him; and, if you follow the dictates of wisdom, you will become his equals." Those say, "Look to the dust, vile reptiles, and consider the beasts with whom you are associated." What then is to be the lot of man? Is he to be equal with God, or with the beasts that perish? How awful the scope of this alternative.—What shall be our destiny? Where is the religion that shall instruct us, at once to correct both our pride and our concupiscence? Where is the religion that shall teach us, at the same time, our happiness and our duty; the weaknesses which cause us to err, the specific for their removal, and the way to obtain it? Hear what the wisdom of God declares on this subject, when it speaks to us in the Christian religion.

It is in vain, O men! that you seek in yourselves the remedy of your miseries. All the light you have can only show you that you cannot find within yourselves either truth or happiness. The philosophers have promised you both; but they could give you neither. They know not your real happiness, nor even your real state. How could they cure those ills, who did not even know them. Your chief mischiefs are, that pride which alienates you from God, and that concupiscence which fetters you to earth; and they have invariably fostered, at least, one or other of these evils. If they set God before you, it was but to excite your pride, by making you believe that your nature was similar to his. And they who saw the folly of such pretensions, have but led you to an equally dangerous precipice. They have taught you that your nature was on a level with the beasts, and that happiness was only to be found in those lusts which you have in common with them. This was not the way to convince you of your errors. Seek not then from men, either truth or consolation. I made you at the first, and I only can teach you what you are. You are not now in the state in which you were created by me. I made man holy, innocent, and perfect. I filled him with light and understanding. I made known to him my glory, and the wonders of my hand. Then it was that the eye of man beheld the majesty of God. He was not then in the darkness which now blinds him. He knew not then mortality or misery. But he did not long enjoy that glory, without declining to presumption. He wished to make himself the centre of his own happiness, and to live independently of my aid. He withdrew from beneath my authority. And when, by the desire to find happiness in himself, he aimed to put himself on a level with me; I abandoned him to his own guidance; and causing all the creatures that I had subjected to him, to revolt from him, I made them his enemies: so that now man himself has actually become similar to the beasts, and he is so far removed from me, that he scarcely retains even a confused notion of the Author of his being: so much have his original impressions been obliterated and obscured. His senses uncontrolled by reason, and often overruling it, hurry him onward to pleasure and to indulgence. All the creatures round him, now minister only sorrow or temptation. They have the dominion over him, either subduing him by their strength, or seducing him by their fascinations; a tyrannical control, which is, of all others, the most cruel and imperious.

Behold then the present state and condition of men. On the one hand they retain a powerful instinctive impression of the happiness of their primitive nature; on the other hand, they are plunged in the miseries of their own blindness and lust; and this is now become their second nature.

2. In the principles which I have here stated, you may discern the spring of those wonderful contrarieties which have confounded, while they have distracted and divided all mankind. Watch attentively all the emotions of greatness and glory, which the sense of so many miseries has not been able to extinguish, and see if they must not have their source in another nature.

3. See, then, proud man, what a paradox thou art to thyself. Let impotent reason be humbled; let frail nature be silent. Know that man infinitely surpasseth man; and learn from thy Maker, thy real condition.

For, in fact, had man never been corrupted, he would have ever enjoyed truth and happiness, with an assured delight. And had man never been any other than corrupted, he would never have had any idea of truth and blessedness. But wretched as we are, (more wretched than if we had never felt the consciousness of greatness) we do now retain a notion of felicity, though we cannot attain it. We have some faint impression of truth, while all we grasp is falsehood. We are alike incapable of total ignorance and of sure and definite knowledge. So manifest is it, that we were once in a state of perfection, from which we have unhappily fallen. What then do this sense of want, and this impotency to obtain, declare to us, but that man originally possessed a real bliss, of which no traces now remain, except that cheerless void within, which he vainly endeavors to fill from the things around him; by seeking from those which are absent, a joy which present things will not yield—a joy which neither the present nor the absent can bestow on him; because this illimitable chasm, this boundless void, can never be filled by any but an infinite and immutable object.

4. It is an astonishing thought that of all mysteries, that which seems to be farthest removed from our apprehension, I mean the transmission of original sin, is a fact without the knowledge of which we can never satisfactorily know ourselves. For, undoubtedly, nothing appears so revolting to our reason as to say that the transgression of the first man should impart guilt to those, who, from their extreme distance from the source of the evil, seem incapable of such a participation. This transmission seems to us not only impossible but unjust. For what can be more repugnant to the rules of our despicable justice, than to condemn eternally an infant, yet irresponsible, for an offence, in which he appears to have had so little share, that it was committed six thousand years before he came into existence. Certainly nothing wounds us more cruelly than this doctrine. And yet without this mystery, to us of all others the most incomprehensible, we are utterly incomprehensible to ourselves. The complicated knot of our condition, has its mysterious folds in this abyss; so that man is more incomprehensible without this mystery, than is this mystery itself to man.

The notion of original sin, is foolishness to men. But then we should not condemn the want of reasonableness in this doctrine, for in fact it is not assumed to be within the province of reason. At the same time, this very foolishness is wiser than all the wisdom of men: (*The foolishness of God, is wiser than men.* 1 Cor. i. 25.) For without this, what explanation can we give of man! His whole condition hangs upon this one imperceptible point. Yet how could he have discovered this by his reason; seeing it is a matter above his reason; and that reason, far from discovering the fact, revolts from it, when it is revealed.

5. These two states of original innocence and subsequent corruption, being once presented to our view, it is impossible not to recognize them, and admit their truth. Let us trace our own emotions, and observe ourselves; and let us see whether we do not detect within, the living characters of both these different natures. Could such contrarieties exist in the subject of one simple nature?

This two-fold tendency of man is so visible, that some have conceived him to possess two souls: one soul appearing to them incapable of such great and sudden changes, from an immeasurable presumption, to the most debasing and abject depravity.

Thus we see that the several contrarieties which seem most calculated to alienate men from the knowledge of any religion whatever, are the very things which should most effectually avail to guide them to the true.

For my own part, I avow, that as soon as the Christian religion discloses this one principle—that human nature is depraved and fallen from God, my eyes open at once to discover the characters of this truth, inscribed on every thing around me. All nature, both within and without us, most manifestly declares the withdrawing of God.

Without this divine communication, what could men do, but either feed their pride on the inward impression yet remaining of their former greatness; or abjectly sink under the consciousness of their present infirmity? For as they do not discern all the truth, they can never attain to perfect virtue. Some regarding their nature as hitherto uncorrupted; others, as irrecoverably lost; they could not escape one of the two great sources of all vice—either pride or recklessness. They must either abandon themselves to vice, through negligence; or emerge from it by the strength of their pride. If they were alive to the excellency of man, they would be ignorant of his corruption: and though, by this means, they would avoid the guilt of reckless indifference, they would split upon the rock of pride; and if they recognize the weakness of human nature, they would be strangers to its dignity: and thus they would shun the dangers of a proud presumption, only to plunge themselves into the vortex of despair.

From this very source sprung all the various sects of the Stoics and Epicureans; of the Dogmatists, and the Academics, &c. The Christian religion only has been able thoroughly to cure these opposite vices; not by using the wisdom of this world to make one expel the other; but by expelling them both, through the means of the simple truth of the gospel. For while it exalts its votaries to be partakers of the divine nature, it teaches that even in this exalted state, they carry with them the source of all corruption, which renders them, during their whole life, liable to error and misery, to death and sin. At the same time, it assures the most impious, that even they might yet experience the grace of the Redeemer. Thus administering salutary dread to those whom it justifies, and needful encouragement to those whom it condemns; it so wisely tempers hope and fear, by means of this two-fold capability of sin and of grace, which is common to all mankind, that it humbles man far below what unassisted reason could do, without driving him to despair; and it exalts man far beyond the loftiest height of natural pride, without making him presumptuous. And hereby it is shown of the Christian religion, that inasmuch as it only is free from defect or error, to it alone belongs the task of instructing and correcting mankind.

6. We have no conception of the glorious state of Adam, nor of the nature of his sin, nor of the transmission of it to ourselves. These things occurred under circumstances widely different from our own; and they exceed the present limits of our comprehension. The comprehension of them would be of no avail for our deliverance from evil. All that we need to know is, that through Adam we are become miserable, corrupt, and alienated from God; but that by Jesus Christ we are redeemed. And of this, even in this world we have ample proof.

7. Christianity has its wonders. It requires man to acknowledge himself vile and abominable; it requires him also to emulate the likeness of his Maker. Unless these things had been accurately balanced, such an exaltation would have rendered him extravagantly vain; such a debasement, lamentably abject.

Misery leads to despair; aggrandisement to presumption.

8. The mystery of the incarnation shows to man the depth of his degradation, in the greatness of the necessary remedy.

9. The Christian religion does not recognize in us such a state of abasement, as renders us incapable of good; nor such a purity as is perfectly safe from evil. No doctrine is so well adapted to human nature as this, which declares man's capability of receiving and of forfeiting grace; because of the danger to which, on either hand, he is ever exposed, of despair and of presumption.

10. Philosophers have never furnished men with sentiments suited to these two features of their condition. They either infused notions of unalloyed greatness, which is certainly not man's real state; or they encouraged the idea of man's total depravity, which is equally an error. We want an actual abasement of soul, not by the indulgence of our own base nature; but by a real penitence: not that we may abide there, but that we may attain thereby to exaltation. We want the stirrings of greatness; not those which originate in human merit, but those which spring from grace, and follow humiliation.

11. No man is really happy, rational, virtuous, amiable, but the true Christian. How free from pride is his consciousness of union with the Deity! How free from meanness, the humility which levels him with the worms of the earth!

Who, then, can withhold from this celestial light, his confidence and veneration? For is it not clearer than the day, that we discover in ourselves the indelible traces of our excellence? And is it not equally clear, that we experience every moment the sad realities of our deplorable condition? And does not, then, this internal chaos, this moral confusion, proclaim with a voice mighty and irresistible, the truth of those two states, to which revelation bears testimony?

12. That which hinders men from believing that they may be united to God, is the conviction of their depraved state. But if they are sincere in this conviction, let them follow out the fact to its bearings as I have; and let them acknowledge that the effect of this degradation is, to render us incapable of judging rightly, whether God can make us fit to enjoy him or not. For I would like to know where this avowedly weak and degraded creature acquired the power of guaging the Divine compassions, and limiting them according to his own fancy. Man knows so little of what God is, that he does not know what he is himself: and yet, while unable to judge of his own real state, he presumes to affirm, that God cannot fit him for communion with him. But I would ask, Is not the very thing which God requires of him this, that he should know and love him? And why, then, since he is naturally capable of knowing and loving,

should he doubt the power of God to make himself the object of this knowledge and love. For it is unquestionable that he knows, at least, that he is, and that he loves something. Then, if in the darkness in which he is, he yet discerns something, and if he finds amidst earthly things some object of love; why if God should impart some rays of his own essence, should he not be capable of knowing him and of loving him, as he is discovered in that mode in which he has been pleased to reveal himself.

There is, then, an unjustifiable presumption in these reasonings. Though they appear to be founded in humility, yet that humility is neither sincere nor reasonable; but, as it leads us to acknowledge, that as we do not thoroughly know what we are ourselves, we can only learn it from God.

CHAPTER X.

THE DUE SUBORDINATION AND USE OF REASON.

The highest attainment of reason, is to know that there is an infinity of knowledge beyond its limits. It must be sadly weak if it has not discovered this. We ought to know where we should doubt, where we should be confident, and where we should submit. He who knows not this, does not comprehend the true power of reasoning.—There are men who fail severally on each of these points. Some from ignorance of what is demonstration, assume every thing to be demonstrable; others, not knowing where it becomes them to submit silently, doubt of every thing; and others again, unconscious of the right field for the exercise of judgment, submit blindly to all.

2. If we subject every thing to reason, our religion would have nothing in it mysterious and supernatural. If we violate the principles of reason, our religion would be absurd and contemptible.

Reason, says St. Augustine, would never submit, if it were not in its nature to judge, that there are occasions when it ought to submit. It is right, then, that reason should yield when it is conscious that it ought, and that it should not yield when it judges deliberately, that it ought not. But we must guard here against self-deceit.

3. Piety differs from superstition. Superstition is the death of piety. The heretics reproach us with this superstitious submission of the understanding. We should deserve their reproach, if we required this surrender in things which do not require it rightly. Nothing is more consistent with reason, than the repression of reasoning in matters of faith. Nothing more contrary to reason, than the repression of reasoning in matters which are not of faith. To exclude reasoning altogether, or to take no other guide, are equally dangerous extremes.

4. Faith affirms many things, respecting which the senses are silent; but nothing that they deny. It is always superior, but never opposed to their testimony.

5. Some men say, If I had seen a miracle, I should have been converted. But they would not so speak if they really understood conversion.—They imagine that conversion consists in the recognition of a God; and that to adore him, is but to offer him certain addresses, much resembling those which the pagans made to their idols. True conversion is, to feel our nothingness before that Sovereign Being whom we have so often offended; and who might, at any moment, justly destroy us. It is to acknowledge, that without Him we can do nothing, and that we have deserved nothing but his wrath. It consists in the conviction, that between God and us, there is an invincible enmity; and that, without a Mediator, there can be no communion between us.

6. Do not wonder to see some unsophisticated people believe without reasoning. God gives them the love of his righteousness, and the abhorrence of themselves. He inclines their heart to believe. We should never believe with a living and influential faith, if God did not incline the heart; but we do so as soon as he inclines it. This David felt, when he said, *Incline my heart, O Lord, unto thy testimonies.*

7. If any believe truly, without having examined the evidence of religion, it is, that they have received within, a holy disposition, and that they find the averments of our religion conformed to it. They feel that God has made them. They wish but to love him, and to hate only themselves. They feel that they are without strength; that they are unable to go to God, and that unless he comes to them, they can have no communication with him. And then they learn from our religion, that they should love only God, and hate only themselves, but that being utterly corrupt, and alienated from God, God became man, that he might unite himself to us. Nothing more is wanting to convince men, who have this principle of piety in their hearts, and who know also both their duty and their weakness.

8. Those whom we see to be Christians, without the inspection of the prophecies and other evidences, are found equally good judges of the religion itself, as others who have this knowledge. They judge by the heart, as others do by the understanding. God himself has inclined their hearts to believe, and hence they are effectively persuaded.

I grant that a Christian who thus believes without examining evidence, would probably not have the means of convincing an infidel, who could put his own case strongly. But those who know well the evidence for Christianity, can prove, without difficulty, that this belief is truly inspired of God, though the man is not able to prove it himself.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHARACTER OF A MAN WHO IS WEARIED WITH SEEKING GOD BY REASON ONLY, AND WHO BEGINS TO READ THE SCRIPTURES.

When I look at the blindness and misery of man, and at those appalling contrarieties which are apparent in his nature; and when I survey the universe all silent, and man without instruction, left alone, and, as it were, a lost wanderer in this corner of creation, without knowing who placed him here, what he came to do, or what becomes of him at death, I am alarmed as a man is, who has been carried during his sleep to a desolate and gloomy island, and who has awaked, and discovered that he knows not where he is; and that he has no means of escape. I wonder how any one can avoid despair, at the consideration of this wretched state. I see others round me having the same nature: I ask them if they know more on this subject than I; and they answer, no. And I see that these wretched wanderers, like myself, having looked around them, and discovered certain pleasurable objects, have given themselves up to them without reserve. For myself, I cannot rest contented with such pleasures; I cannot find repose in this society of similar beings, wretched and powerless as I am myself. I see that they cannot help me to die. I must die alone. It becomes me then to act as if I were alone. Now, if I were alone here, I should not build mansions. I should not entangle myself with tumultuous cares. I should not court the favor of any, but I should strive to the utmost to discover what is truth. With this disposition, and considering what strong probability there is, that other things exist beside those which I see; I have inquired if that God of whom all the world speaks, has not given us some traces of himself. I look around, and see nothing but darkness on every side. All that nature presents to me, only suggests cause for doubt and distrust. If I saw nothing in nature that intimated a divinity, I would determine not to believe any thing concerning him. If I saw every where the traces of a deity, I would cherish at once the peaceful repose of faith; but seeing too much evidence to justify a denial, and too little to minister assurance, I am in a pitiable state, in which I have wished an hundred times, that if a God sustains nature, she might declare it unequivocally; and that if the intimations she gives are false, they may be entirely suppressed; that nature would speak conclusively, or not at all, so that I might know distinctly which course to take. Instead of this, in my present state, ignorant of what I am, and of what I ought to do: I know neither my condition nor my duty. My heart yearns to know what is the real good, in order to follow it. And, for this, I would count no sacrifice too dear.

I see many religious systems, in different parts and at different periods of the world. But I am not satisfied, either with the morality which they teach, nor the proofs on which they rest. On this ground, I must have equally refused the religion of Mahomet, of China, of the ancient Romans or the Egyptians, for this one reason, that any one of them, not having more marks of verity than another, and nothing which simply and positively determines the question, reason could never incline to one in preference to the rest.

But, whilst thus considering this varied and strange contrariety of religious customs and creeds at different periods, I find in one small portion of the world, a peculiar people, separated from all the other nations of the earth, and whose historical records are older, by several centuries, than those of the most ancient of other nations. I find this a great and numerous people; who adore one God, and who are governed by a law which they profess to have received from his hand. They maintain, that to them only, of all the world, has God revealed his mysteries: that all mankind are corrupt, and under the divine displeasure: that men are all given up to the guidance of their corrupt affections, and their own understandings; and that hence originate all the strange irregularities and continual changes among men, both in religion and manners, whilst *they* remained as to their rule of conduct unaltered; but that God will not leave even the other nations eternally in darkness; that a deliverer shall come forth for them; that they are in the world to announce him; that they were prepared expressly as the heralds of his advent, and to summon all nations to unite with them in the expectation of this Saviour.

The meeting with such a people surprises me, and on account of the many wonderful and singular events connected with them, they seem to me worthy of the greatest attention.

They are a nation of brethren; and whilst other nations are found of an infinite number of families, this people, though so extraordinarily populous, are all descended from one man; and being thus one flesh, and members one of another, they compose a mighty power, concentrated in one single family. This is an instance without parallel.

This is the most ancient people within the memory of man; a circumstance which makes them worthy of peculiar regard, and especially with reference to our present inquiry: for if God did in all previous time communicate with man, then it is to this, the most ancient people, that we must come to ascertain the tradition.

This people is not only considerable for its antiquity, but for its duration, which has ever continued from its origin till now: for whilst the nations of Greece, of Italy, of Lacedemon, Athens or Rome, and others that have arisen much later have long since passed away; this nation still subsists, and notwithstanding the efforts of many mighty kings, who, according to historic testimony, have tried a hundred times to destroy them; an event, also, which it is easy to suppose would have occurred in the natural course of events, in so many years; yet they have been always preserved; and their history, extending from the primitive times to the present, involves the period of all other histories within its own.

The law by which this people is governed, is at the same time the most ancient, the most perfect, and the only one which has been recognized without interruption in a state. Philo, the Jew, shows this in several places; and so does Josephus against Appion, where he observes that it is so ancient, that even the term of *law* was not known by the most ancient nations, till more than 1000 years afterwards; so that Homer, who speaks of so many nations, never uses it. And it is easy to form an idea of its perfection by simply reading it; where we see that it had provided for all things with so much wisdom, equity, and prudence, that the most ancient Greek and Roman legislators, having received a measure of its light, have borrowed from it their chief and best institutions. This appears from the twelve tables, and from the other proofs adduced by Josephus.

This law is also, at the same time, the most severe and rigorous of all; enjoining on this people, under pain of death, a thousand peculiar and painful observances, as the means of keeping them in their duty. So that it is very wonderful, that this law should have been preserved for so many ages, amidst a people so rebellious and impatient of the yoke; whilst all other nations have repeatedly changed their laws, though much more easy of observance.

2. This people also must be admired for their sincerity. They keep with affection and fidelity, the book in which Moses declares, that they have ever been ungrateful to their God, and that he knows they will be still more so, after his death; but that he calls heaven and earth to witness against them, that he had given them an ample warning; that at length God, becoming angry with them, would scatter them among all the nations of the earth; and that as they had angered him in worshipping those as Gods who were no Gods, he would anger them in calling a people who were not his people. Yet this book, which so copiously dishonors them, they preserve at the expence of their life. This is a sincerity which has no parallel in the world, and has not its radical principle in mere human nature.

Then, finally, I find no reason to doubt the truth of the book, which contains all these things; for there is a great difference between a book which an individual writes and introduces among a people, and a book which actually forms that people.

There can be no doubt that this book is as old as the nation. It is a book written by cotemporary authors. All history that is not cotemporary, is questionable, as the books of the Sybil, of Trismegistus, and many others that have obtained credit with the world, and in the course of time, have been proved to be false. But this is not the case with cotemporary historians.

3. How different this from other books! I do not wonder that the Greeks have their Iliad, or the Egyptians and Chinese their histories. We have only to observe how this occurs. These fabulous historians are not cotemporary with the matters

which they record. Homer writes a romance, which he sends forth as such; for scarcely any one doubts that Troy and Agamemnon no more existed, than the golden apple. His object was not to write a history, but a book of amusement. It was the only book of his day. The beauty of the composition preserved it. Every one learned it and spoke of it. It must be known. Every one knew it by heart. Then four hundred years afterwards, the witnesses of things have ceased to exist. No one knew by his own knowledge whether it was truth or fable. All they knew was, that they learned it from their ancestors. It may pass then for truth.

CHAPTER XII.

THE JEWS.

THE creation and the deluge having taken place, and God not purposing again to destroy or to create the world, nor again to vouchsafe such extraordinary evidences of himself, began to establish a people on the earth, formed expressly to continue till the coming of that people whom Messiah should form to himself by his Spirit.

2. God, willing to make it evident that he could form a people possessed of a sanctity invisible to the world, and filled with eternal glory, has exhibited a pattern in temporal things, of what he purposed to do in spiritual blessings; that men might learn from his excellent doings in the things which are seen, his ability to do his will in the things which are not seen.

With this view, in the person of Noah, he saved his people from the deluge; he caused them to be born of Abraham; he redeemed them from their enemies, and gave them rest.

The purpose of God was not to save a people from the flood, and to cause them to spring from Abraham, merely that he might plant them in a fruitful land; but that as nature is in a measure symbolical of grace, these visible wonders might indicate the unseen wonders which he purposed to perform.

3. Another reason of his choosing the Jewish people is, that as he purposed to deprive his own people of carnal and perishable possessions, he would show by this series of miracles, that their poverty was at least not imputable to his impotence.

This people had cherished these earthly conceits, that God loved their father Abraham personally, and all who descended from him: that on this account, he had multiplied their nation, and distinguished them from all others, and forbidden their intermingling with them; and that therefore he led them out of Egypt with such mighty signs; that he fed them with manna in the wilderness; that he brought them into a happy and fruitful land; that he gave them kings, and a beautiful temple for the sacrifice of victims, and for their purification by the shedding of blood; and that he purposed ultimately to send them a Messiah, to make them masters of the whole world.

The Jews being accustomed to great and splendid miracles, and having considered the events at the Red Sea, and in the land of Canaan, but as a sample of the great things to be done by Messiah, expected from him the accomplishment of wonders far more brilliant, and compared with which, the miracles of Moses should be but as a spark.

When the Jewish nation had grown old in these low and sensual views, Jesus Christ came at the time predicted, but not with the state which they had anticipated; and, consequently, they did not think that it could be he. After his death, St. Paul came to teach men that all the events of the Jewish history were figurative; that the kingdom of God was not carnal, but spiritual; that the enemies of men were not the Babylonians, but their own passions; that God delighteth not in temples made with hands, but in a pure and penitent heart; that the circumcision of the body was unavailing, but that he required the circumcision of the heart.

4. God, not willing to discover these things to a people unworthy of them, but willing, nevertheless, to announce them that they might be believed, did clearly predict the time of their fulfilment, and did sometimes even clearly express the truths themselves; but ordinarily he did so in figures, that those who preferred the things which prefigured, might rest in them; whilst they who really loved the things prefigured, might discover them. And hence it followed, that at the coming of Messiah, the people was divided. The spiritually-minded Jew received him; the carnal Jews rejected him; and have been ordained to remain, to this day, as his witnesses.

5. The carnal Jews understood not either the dignity or the degradation of Messiah, as predicted by their prophets. They knew him not in his greatness; as when it is said of him, that Messiah, the son of David, shall be David's Lord; that he was before Abraham, and had seen Abraham. They did not believe him to be so great, as to have been from everlasting. Neither did they know him in his humiliation and death. "Messiah," they said, "abideth ever; and this man says that he must die." They did not believe him to be either mortal or eternal. They expected nothing beyond an earthly carnal greatness.

They so loved the material figure, and so exclusively devoted themselves to it, that they knew not the reality, even when it came both at the time and in the manner foretold.

6. Skeptical men try to find their excuse in the unbelief of the Jews. "If the truth was so clear," it is said, "why did they not believe?" But their rejection of Christ is one of the foundations of our confidence. We had been much less inclined to believe, if they had all received him. We should thus have had a much ampler pretext for incredulity and distrust. It is a wonderful confirmation of the truth, to see the Jews ardently attached to the things predicted, yet bitterly hostile to their fulfilment; and to see that this very aversion was itself foretold.

7. To establish the Messiah's claim to confidence, it required that there should be prophecies going before him, and that these should be in the hands of men altogether unsuspected, and of diligence, fidelity and zeal, extraordinary in their degree, and known to all men.

To attain this object, God chose this sensual nation, to whose care he committed the prophecies which foretell the Messiah as a deliverer, and a dispenser of those earthly blessings which this people loved. They felt, therefore, an extraordinary regard for their prophets, and exhibited to the whole world those books in which Messiah was foretold; assuring all nations that he would come, and that he would come in the mode predicted in those books, which they laid open to the inspection of the world. But being themselves deceived by the mean and ignominious advent of Messiah, they became his greatest enemies. So that we have the people which would be, of all mankind, the least suspected of favoring the Christian scheme, directly aiding it: and by their zeal for the law and the prophets, preserving with incorruptible scrupulosity, the record of their own condemnation, and the evidences of our religion.

8. Those who rejected and crucified Jesus Christ, as an offence to them, are they who possess the books that bear witness of him, and that testify that he would be rejected as an offence to them. Thus by

their rejection of him, they marked him as Messiah; and he has received testimony both from the righteous Jew who believed, and from the unrighteous who rejected him: both those facts being foretold in their Scriptures.

For the same reason, the prophecies have a hidden sense—a spiritual meaning, to which the people were adverse, concealed under the carnal meaning which they loved. Had the spiritual meaning been evident, they had not the capacity to love it: and as they would not have approved it, they would have had little zeal for the preservation of their Scriptures and their ceremonies. And even if they had loved these spiritual promises, and had preserved them uncorrupted to the days of Messiah, their witness, as the witness of friends, would have wanted its present importance. On this account, it seems good that the spiritual sense was concealed. But on the other hand, if this sense had been so hidden, as not to be seen at all, it could not have served as a testimony to the Messiah. What, then, has God done? In the majority of passages, the spiritual was veiled under the temporal sense, whilst in a few, it was clearly discovered. Moreover, the time and the state of the world, at the period of fulfilment, were so clearly foretold, that the sun itself is not more evident. The spiritual meaning also is in some places so plainly developed, that not to discover it, there needed absolutely such a blindness, as the flesh brings upon the spirit that is entirely enslaved by it.

This then is the way which God has taken. This spiritual meaning is in most places concealed; and in some, though rarely, it is disclosed. But then this is done in such a way, that the passages where the meaning is concealed, are equivocal, and equally admit both senses; whilst the places where the spiritual import is displayed are unequivocal, and will only bear the spiritual interpretation. So that this method could not properly lead to error, and that none but a people as carnal as they, could have misunderstood it.

For when good things are promised in abundance, what forbad them to understand the true riches, except that cupidity which at once eagerly restricted the sense to earthly blessings? But they who had no treasure but in God, referred them exclusively to God. For there are two principles which divide the human will, covetousness and charity. It is not that covetousness cannot co-exist with faith, or charity with earthly possessions: but covetousness makes its use of God, and enjoys the world; whilst charity uses the world, but finds its joy in God.

It is the ultimate end which we have in view, that gives names to things. Whatever prevents our obtaining this end, is called an enemy. Thus creatures, though in themselves good, are the enemies of the just, when they withdraw them from God; and God is accounted the enemy of those whose passions he counteracts.

Hence the word *enemy* in the Scripture, varies in its application with the end sought; the righteous understand by it their own passions, and carnal men, the Babylonians; so that these terms were only obscure to the wicked. And this Isaiah means when he says, *Seal the law among my disciples.*—And when he prophesies that Christ should be *a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, but blessed are they who shall not be offended in him.* Hosea says the same thing very plainly: *Who is wise, and he shall understand these things; prudent, and he shall know them. For the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them; but transgressors shall fall therein.*

And yet this Testament which is so composed, that in enlightening some, it blinds others, did stamp the truth upon those whom it blinded, so plainly that others might read it. For the visible external blessings which they received from God, were so great and God-like, as to render it abundantly evident, that he could give them invisible blessings, and a Messiah, according to his word.

9. The time of Christ's first advent was accurately foretold; the time of the second is not; because the first was to be private, but the second was to be splendid, and so evident that even his enemies should acknowledge him. But since it became him to come in obscurity, and to be revealed only to those who sincerely search the Scriptures, God had so ordered things, that all contributed to make him known. The Jews bore witness to him, by receiving him, for they were the depository of the prophecies; and they confirmed the truth by rejecting him, for by this they fulfilled the prophecies.

10. The Jews had in their favor, both miracles and prophecies which they saw fulfilled; the doctrine also of their law required them to worship and to serve but one God. Their religion had been of perpetual duration. Thus it had every mark of being the true religion; and so it was. But we must distinguish between the doctrine of the Jews, and the doctrine of the Jewish law; for the doctrine actually held by the Jews, was not true; though associated with miracles, prophecies, and the perpetuity of their system; because it wanted the fourth essential characteristic—the exclusive love and service of God.

The Jewish religion, then, must be differently estimated, according as it appears in the traditions of their saints, and the traditions of the people. Its moral rule and its promised happiness, as stated in the traditions of the people, are quite ridiculous; but in the authentic traditions of their holy men, they are admirable. The basis of their religion is excellent. It is the most ancient, and the most authentic book in the world; and whilst Mahomet, to preserve his Scriptures from ruin, has forbidden them to be read; Moses, to establish his, ordered every one to read them.

11. The Jewish religion is altogether divine in its authority, its continuance, its perpetuity, in its morals, its practice, its doctrine, and its effects. It was framed as a type of the reality of the Messiah; and the truth of the Messiah was recognized by the religion of the Jews, which prefigured him. Among the Jews, the truth dwelt only typically. In heaven it exists unveiled. In the church, it is veiled, but made known by its symbolising with the figure. The type was framed according to the pattern of the truth, and the truth was disclosed by the type.

12. He who should estimate the Jewish religion by externals, would be in error. It may be seen in the Holy Scriptures; and in the traditions of their prophets, who have amply shown that they did not understand the law literally. Thus, our religion, seen in the gospels, the epistles, and in its traditions, is divine; but it is sadly distorted among the many who misuse it.

13. The Jews were divided into two classes. The dispositions of the one were only heathen; those of the other Christian.

Messiah, according to the carnal Jews, should have been a great temporal prince. According to the carnal Christians, he is come to release us from the obligation to love God, and to give us sacraments effective without our concurrence. The one is not the Jewish religion; the other is not the Christian.

True Jews and true Christians have equally recognized a Messiah, who inspires them with the love of God, and causes them by that love to overcome their enemies.

14. The veil that is upon the Scripture to the Jews, is there also to the false and faithless Christian, and to all who do not abhor themselves. But how well disposed are we to understand the record, and to know Jesus Christ, when we do cordially hate ourselves!

15. The carnal Jews occupy a middle place between Christians and heathens. The heathens know not God, and love this world only. The Jews know the true God, yet love this world only.—Christians know the true God, and love not the world. The Jew and the heathen love the same object. The Jew and the Christian know the same God.

16. Evidently the Jews are a people formed expressly to be witnesses to the Messiah. They possess the Scriptures, and love them, but do not comprehend them. And all this has been expressly foretold; for it is written, that the oracles of God are committed to them, but as a book that is sealed.

Whilst the prophets were continued for the preservation of the law, the people neglected it. But when the line of prophets failed, the zeal of the people arose in their stead. This is a wonderful providence.

17. When the creation of the world began to be a remote event, God raised up a cotemporary historian, and commissioned a whole nation to preserve his work; that this history might be the most authentic in the world; and that all men might learn a fact so necessary to be known, and which could be known in no other way.

18. Moses evidently was a man of talent. If then he had purposed to deceive, he would have adopted a course not likely to lead to detection. He has done just the reverse; for if he had put forth falsehoods, there was not a Jew that would not have discovered the imposture.

Why, for example, has he described the lives of the first men so long, and their generations so few? He might have veiled his fraud in a multitude of generations, but he could not in so few. It is not the number of years, but the frequent succession of generations, which gives obscurity to history.

Truth suffers no change, but by a change of men. And yet Moses places two events as memorable as possible—the creation and the flood—so near, that owing to the paucity of generations, they were almost tangible things. So that at the period when he wrote, the memory of these events must have been quite recent in the minds of all the Jews.

Shem, who had seen Lamech, who had seen Adam, lived at the least to see Abraham; and Abraham saw Jacob, who lived to see those who saw Moses. Then the deluge and the creation are facts. This is conclusive, to those who comprehend the nature of such testimony.

The length of the patriarchial life, instead of operating to the loss of historic facts, served to preserve them. For the reason why we are not well versed in the history of our ancestors, is commonly that we have seldom lived with them; or that they died before we reached maturity. But when men lived so long, children lived a long while with their parents, and necessarily conversed much with them. Now, of what could they speak, but of the history of their ancestors? For this was all the history that they had to tell: and as to sciences, they had none, nor any of those arts which occupy so large a portion of human intercourse. We see also, that in those days, men took especial care to preserve their genealogies.

19. The more I examine the Jews, the more of truth I find in their case, and the more plainly I discover this Scriptural mark, that they are without prophets, and without a king; and, that as our enemies, they are the best witnesses to the truth of those prophecies, in which both their continuance and their blindness is foretold. I see in their judicial expulsion, that this religion is divine in its authority, in its continuance, in its perpetuity, in its morals, in its practice, in its effects. And hence I stretch forth my hands to my deliverer, who, having been predicted for 4000 years, came at last to suffer and to die for me, at the time, and under all the circumstances that have been predicted; and, by his grace, I now wait for death in peace, hoping to be eternally with him. And I ever live rejoicing, either in the blessings which he is pleased to bestow, or in the sorrows which he sends for my profit, and which I learn from his own example to endure.

By that fact, I refute all other religions. By that, I give an answer to all objections. It is just that a pure and holy God should not reveal himself, but to those whose hearts have been purified.

I find it satisfactory to my mind, that ever since the memory of man, here is a people that has subsisted longer than any other people; that this people have constantly announced to man, that they are in a state of universal corruption, but that a deliverer will come; and it is not one man that has said this, but an infinite number: a whole people prophesying through a period of 4000 years.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF FIGURES.

Some figures are clear and demonstrative; others are less simple and natural, and tell only upon those who have been previously persuaded by other means. These last resemble the prophetic figures borrowed by some men from the Apocalypse, and, explained according to their own views. But between them and the true, there is this difference, they have no figures that are unquestionably established, by which to support their interpretation. It is very unjust, therefore, to pretend that theirs are as well sustained as ours, when they have no figures of established interpretation to refer to, as we have. The two cases are not parallel. Men should not parallelize and confound two things, because in one respect they appear similar, seeing that in another, they are so different.

2. One of the main reasons why the prophets have veiled the spiritual blessings, which they promised, under the type of temporal blessings, is that they had to deal with a carnal people, and to commit to their care a spiritual deposit.

Jesus Christ was typically represented by Joseph, the beloved of his father, sent by his father to seek for his brethren; innocent, yet sold by his brethren, for twenty pieces of silver; and, by that means, constituted their Lord, their Saviour; the Saviour of strangers; the Saviour of the world; which he could not have been, but for the purpose to destroy him, and the sale, and the abandonment, of which his brethren were guilty.

Joseph was innocent, and imprisoned with two criminals. Jesus was crucified between two robbers. Joseph foretold to men, in the same circumstances, the saving of the one, and the death of the other. Jesus saved one, and left the other to his fate, though both were guilty of the same crime. Joseph, however, could only foretell. Jesus fulfilled also. Joseph also requested him who was to be saved, to remember him when he was come to prosperity; and he whom Jesus Christ saved, prayed that he would remember him when he came to his kingdom.

3. Grace is the type of glory. It is not itself the ultimate end. Grace was typified by the law, and is itself typical of glory; but so as to be, at the same time, a means of obtaining that glory.

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The synagogue is not altogether destroyed, be-se it was a type of the church; but because it only a type, it has fallen into bondage. The was continued till the reality came, that the rch might be always visible, either in the shadow he substance.

To prove, at once, the authority of both Tes-ents, we need only inquire, if the prophecies of one, are accomplished in the other.

o examine the prophecies, we should under-d them; for, if they have but one meaning, certainly the Messiah is not come; but if they e a double sense, then as certainly he is come esus Christ.

he question then is, Have they a twofold mean-? Are they types, or literal realities? that is, we to inquire for something more than at first ears, or must we, invariably, rest satisfied with literal sense which they directly suggest?

the law and the sacrifices were the ultimate ity, they must be pleasing to God; they could displease him. If they are typical, they must please and displease him.* Now, throughout Scripture, they appear to do both. Then they only be typical.

To discern clearly that the Old Testament is rative, and that by temporal blessings, the pro-s mean something further, we need only notice, *st*, That it would be beneath the Deity, to call only to the enjoyment of temporal happiness. *ndly*, That the language of the prophets most inctly expresses the promise of temporal good, lst they, at the same time declare, that their dis-ses are really obscure; that the ostensible ning is not the real one, and that it would not nderstood till the latter days. (Jeremiah xxiii.

Then evidently they speak of other sacrifices, another Redeemer.

esides, their discourses are contradictory and idal, if by the words *law* and *sacrifice*, they un-stood only the law and sacrifices of Moses. re would be a manifest and gross contradiction heir writings, and sometimes even in the same pter; whence, it follows, that they must mean ething else.

It is said that the law shall be changed; that sacrifice shall be changed; that they shall be out a king, without a prince, without a sacri-; that a new covenant shall be established; that e shall be a new law; that the precepts which had received were not good; that their sacri- were an abomination; that God had not re-ed them.

n the other hand, it is said, that the law shall ure for ever; that this covenant is an everlasting enant; that this sacrifice shall be perpetual; that sceptre should never leave them, seeing that it ld not depart till the arrival of the Everlasting g. Do these passages prove the then present em to be the substance? No! Do they prove it e figurative? No! They only show that it is er a substance, or a figure; but as the former ages conclude against the reality, they show the law is a figure.

ll these passages, taken together, cannot be pre-ted of the substance; all may be affirmed of shadow. Then they do not relate to the sub-ce, but to the shadow.

To ascertain whether the law and its sacrifices he substance, or a figure, we should examine if views and thoughts of the prophets terminated hese things, so that they contemplated only this inal covenant; or whether they did not look for ething beyond, of which these were a pictural representation; for in a portrait we see the thing presented typically. With this view, we have only to examine what they say.

When they speak of the covenant as everlasting, do they mean to speak of that covenant, of which they affirm, that it shall be changed? and so of the sacrifices, &c.

9. The prophets say distinctly, that Israel shall always be loved of God, and that the law shall be eternal. They say also, that their meaning in this is not comprehended, and that it is, in fact, hidden.

A cypher, for secret correspondence, has frequently two meanings. If, then, we intercept an important letter, in which we find a plain meaning, and in which it is said, at the same time, that the sense is hidden, and obscured, and that it is so veiled purposely, that seeing we might not see, and perceiving, we might not understand; what would we think, but that it was written in a cypher of two-fold signification, and much more so, if we found in the literal sense some manifest contradictions? How thankful should we be then to those who would give us the key to the cypher, and teach us to discern the hidden meaning, especially when the principles on which they proceed are quite natural, and approved principles! Jesus Christ and his apostles have done precisely this. They have broken the seal: they have rent the veil: they have disclosed the meaning: they have taught us that man's enemies are his passions; that the Redeemer was a spiritual Redeemer; that he would have two advents—the one, in humiliation to abase the proud, the other, in glory to elevate the humble; that Jesus Christ was both God and man.

10. Jesus Christ taught men, that they were lovers of themselves; that they were enslaved, blinded, sick, miserable, and sinful; that they needed him to deliver, enlighten, sanctify, and heal them; and, that to obtain this, they must deny themselves, and take up the cross, and follow him through suffering and death.

The letter killeth: the sense lies hidden in the cypher. A suffering Saviour; a God in humiliation; the circumcision of the heart; a true fast; a true sacrifice; a true temple; two laws; a twofold table of the law; two temples; two captivities;—there is the key to the cypher, which Jesus Christ has given to us.

Christ has at length taught us, that these things were but figures, and has explained the true freedom, the true Israelite, the true circumcision, the true bread from heaven, &c.

11. Each one finds in these promises, that which lies nearest to his heart, spiritual or temporal blessings, God or the creature; but with this difference, they who desire the creature, find it promised, but with many apparent contradictions—with the prohibition to love it, and with the command to love and worship God only; whilst they who seek God in the promises, find him without any contradiction and with the command to love him exclusively.

12. The origin of the contrarieties in Scripture, is found in a Deity humbled to the death of the cross; a Messiah, by means of death, triumphant over death; two natures in Jesus Christ; two advents; and two states of the nature of man.

As we cannot ascertain a man's character, but by reconciling its contrarieties, and as it is not sufficient to infer from a train of congruous qualities, without taking the opposite qualities into the account, so to determine the meaning of an author, we must show the harmony of the apparently contradictory passages.

So that to understand the Scripture, there must be a sense in which the seemingly contradictory passages agree. It is not enough to find a sense which is borne out by many analogous passages

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That is according to the circumstances of different s.

we must find one which reconciles those that seem to differ. Every author has a meaning with which all his seemingly incongruous passages harmonize, or he has no meaning at all. We cannot say that the Scriptures or the prophets have no meaning. They had too much good sense for that. Then we must look out for a meaning, which reconciles all their incongruities.

Now the Jewish interpretation is not that true meaning; but, in Jesus Christ, all the apparent contradictions completely harmonize.

The Jews would not know how to reconcile the termination of the kingdom and principality predicted by Hosea, with the prophecy of Jacob.

If we take the law, the sacrifices, and the kingdom for the ultimate reality, it were impossible to reconcile all the assertions of the same author, the same book, or the same chapter. This sufficiently indicates the meaning of the writer.

13. It was not allowed to sacrifice out of Jerusalem, which was the place that the Lord had chosen, nor even to eat the tenths elsewhere.

Hosea predicted that they should be without a king, without a prince, without a sacrifice, and without a teraphim. This is now accomplished, for they cannot legally sacrifice out of Jerusalem.

14. When the word of God, which is necessarily true, is false literally, it is true spiritually. *Sit thou on my right hand.* Literally this is false; it is spiritually true. The passage speaks of God after the manner of men, and means no more than that God has the same intention, as men have when they cause another to sit at their right hand. It indicates the purpose of God, not the mode of fulfilling it.

So when it is said, God has received the odor of your incense, and will recompense you with a good and fruitful land; it is only affirmed, that the same intention, which a man has, who, pleased with your incense, promises a fruitful land, God will have for you, because you have had the same intention with respect to him, that a man has to him to whom he gives perfume.

15. The end of the commandment is charity. Whatever in it appears to fall short of this end is figurative; for since there is but one end, all that does not bear upon it in express terms, must do so figuratively.

God diversifies the mode of inculcating this one precept, to satisfy that weakness in us, which seeks variety, by giving a variety which leads us ever towards the one thing needful. For one thing only is necessary, and we love variety; God has met both difficulties, by giving a variety which leads to that one thing needful.

16. The Rabbins only regard as figurative, the breasts of the spouse, and such things as do not literally express the sole object of temporal good which they have in view.

17. There are men who see plainly that the only enemy of man is his concupiscence, which leads him away from God; and that the only good is not a fertile land, but God. As for those who believe that man's supreme joy is in the flesh, and his bane in that which robs him of sensual delight, let them take their fill and die; but for those who seek God with all their heart, who have no sorrow but absence from him, and no desire but to enjoy him, no enemies but those who hinder their approach to him, and who mourn, that by such enemies, they are surrounded and oppressed; let them be comforted. For them there is a deliverer; for them there is a God. A Messiah has been promised to deliver man from his enemies. A Messiah is come, but it is to deliver him from his iniquities.

18. When David foretells that the Messiah shall deliver his people from their enemies, a carnal mind might understand him to mean the Egyptians; and in that case, I could not show that the prophecy was accomplished. But it is very possible also, to understand that he meant our iniquities. For in truth, the Egyptians are not men's real enemies, but their iniquities are. The term *enemy* then is equivocal.

But if, in common with Isaiah and others, he says also, that Messiah shall deliver his people from their *iniquities*, then the ambiguity is removed, and the equivocal sense of the word "enemy," is reduced to the simple sense of iniquities. If he had really meant sins, he might properly convey the idea by the term *enemies;* but if *enemies* were his simple meaning, iniquities would not express it.

Now, Moses, David, and Isaiah, all use the same terms. Who then is prepared to say that they have not the same meaning, and that the meaning of David, who, beyond a doubt, intends iniquities, when he speaks of enemies, is not the same with that of Moses, when he speaks of enemies?

Daniel in chapter ix. prays for the deliverance of his people from the bondage of their enemies; but he evidently meant their sins; and in proof of this, we find it said, that Gabriel came to assure him, that his prayer was heard, and that but seventy weeks were determined to finish the transgression, and to make an end of *sins;*—and that then the Redeemer—the Holy of Holies, should bring in an everlasting righteousness—a righteousness, not merely legal, but eternal.

When once this mystery of a twofold meaning is disclosed to us, it is impossible not to perceive it. Read the Old Testament with this notion, and see if the sacrifices were the true sacrifices; if descent from Abraham was the true cause of the love of God; if the land of promise were the true place of rest: certainly not. Then they were types. Look then in the same way at all the ordained ceremonies, and all the commandments which speak not directly of love; you will find them all typical.

CHAPTER XIV.

JESUS CHRIST.

The infinite distance between body and mind, figuratively represents the infinitely more infinite distance between mere intellect, and pure love; for that love is supernatural.

The pomp of external show has no attraction to men engaged deeply in intellectual research. The greatness of intellectual men is imperceptible to the rich, to kings and conquerors, who are but carnally great. The grandeur of that wisdom, which comes from God, is invisible both to merely sensual, and merely intellectual men. Here then are three different orders of distinction.

Great minds have their peculiar empire, their renown, their dignity, their conquests. They need not the sensual splendors of this world, between which, and the things that they seek, there is little similarity. It is the mind, and not the eye which appreciates their excellence; but then this satisfies them.

The saints also have their empire, their renown, their greatness, and their victories, and need not either sensual or intellectual splendor, to make them great. Such things are not of their order, and neither increase or diminish the greatness which they seek. God and his angels discern them, whilst, to the bodily eye, or the philosophic mind, they are alike invisible; but to them, God is every thing.

Archimedes is venerated independently of the distinction of his birth. He won no battles; but he has given some wonderful inventions to the world. How great, how illustrious, is he to the scientific mind!

Jesus Christ, without wealth, without the adventitious distinctness of scientific discovery, comes in his order—that of holiness. He publishes no inventions, he wears no crown; but he was humble, patient, holy in the sight of God, terrible to wicked spirits, and free from sin. But in what mighty splendor, and with what prodigious magnificence has he come forth before the eyes of the heart—the optics of true wisdom.

Although Archimedes was of princely birth, it would have been idle to have brought this forward in his book of geometry.

It had been useless also for our Lord Jesus Christ to come on earth as a monarch, in order to add dignity to the reign of holiness.* But how becoming is the peculiar lustre of his own order.

It is folly indeed to be offended at the low condition of Jesus Christ, as if that meanness were of the same order with the glory that he came to manifest. Contemplate that grandeur in his life, in his passion, in his obscurity, in his death, in the choice of his disciples, in their forsaking him, in his unseen resurrection, and all the other circumstances of his case; you will find him so truly great, that there is little cause to complain of meanness. It has no existence.

But there are men who can only admire the distinctions of external pomp, to the exclusion of all mental excellence. And there are others who reverence only intellectual greatness; as if in the true wisdom there were not a far loftier worth.

All organized bodies, the heavens, the earth, the stars, taken together, are not equal in value to the meanest mind; for mind knows these things; it knows itself: but matter knows nothing. And all bodies, and all minds united, are not worth one emotion of love. It is of an order of excellence infinitely higher.

We cannot elicit from universal matter a single thought. It is impossible. Thought is of a higher order of creation. Again, all bodies, and all spirits combined, could not give birth to a single emotion of real love. This also is impossible. Love is of another and still higher order of being. It is supernatural.

2. Jesus Christ lived in such obscurity, (we use the word in the worldly sense) that historians who record none but important events, scarcely discerned him.

3. What man ever had more renown than Jesus Christ? The whole Jewish people foretold his coming. The Gentiles when he came adored him. Both Jews and Gentiles look to him as their centre. And yet what man ever enjoyed so little of such a fame. Out of thirty-three years, he passed thirty unseen; and the remaining three, he was accounted an impostor. The priests and rulers of his nation rejected him. His friends and relations despised him: and at length, betrayed by one of his disciples, denied by another, and abandoned by all, he died an ignominious death.

In how much then, of this splendor, did he participate? No man was ever so illustrious; no man was ever so degraded: but all this lustre was for our sakes, that we might know him; none for his own.

4. Jesus Christ speaks of the most sublime subjects with such simplicity, that he seems not to have thought on them; and yet with such accuracy, that what he thought is distinctly brought out. This union of artlessness with perspicuity, is perfectly beautiful.

Who taught the evangelists the qualities of a truly heroic mind, that they should paint it to such perfection in Jesus Christ? Why have they told of his weakness during his agony? Could they not describe a resolute death? Undoubtedly. St. Luke himself paints St. Stephen's death with more of fortitude than that of Christ. They have shown him to be capable of fear, before the hour of death was come; but afterwards perfectly calm. When they tell of his being in affliction, that sorrow proceeded from himself; but when *men* afflicted him, he was unmoved.

The church has at times had to prove to those who denied it, that Jesus Christ was man, as well as that he was God; and appearances were as much against the one truth as against the other.

Jesus Christ is a God to whom we can approach without pride; and before whom we abase ourselves without despair.

5. The conversion of the heathen was reserved for the grace of the Messiah. Either the Jews did not try it, or they were unsuccessful. All that Solomon and the prophets said on this subject, was vain. Their wise men, also, as Plato and Socrates, could not lead them to worship the one true God.

The gospel speaks only of the virginity of Mary, up to the period of the Saviour's birth. Every thing has reference to Jesus Christ.

The two Testaments contemplate Jesus Christ; the one as its expectation; the other as its exemplar: both as their centre.

The prophets predict, but were not predicted. The saints were predicted, but do not predict. Jesus Christ predicts, and is predicted.

Jesus Christ for all men; Moses for one people.

The Jews are blessed in Abraham; *I will bless them that bless thee.* Gen. xii. 3. But all nations are blessed in his seed. Gen. xviii. 18. He is *a light to lighten the Gentiles.* Luke ii. 32.

He has not done so to any nation, (Psalm cxlvii. 20.) said David, when speaking of the law. But in speaking of Jesus Christ, we may say, He hath done so to all nations.

Jesus Christ is an universal blessing. The church limits her sacramental services to the apparently faithful. Christ gave himself a ransom for all.

Let us then open our arms to our Redeemer, who, having been promised for 4000 years, is come at length to suffer and to die for us, at the period, and under all the circumstances predicted. And while, through his grace, we await a peaceful death, in the hope of being united to him for ever, let us receive with joy either the prosperities which it pleases him to give, or the trials that he sends for our profit, and which, from his own example, we learn to endure.

CHAPTER XV.

PROPHETICAL PROOFS OF JESUS CHRIST.

The most powerful evidence in favor of Jesus Christ, is the prophecies; and to them also God appears to have had the most special regard; for the occurrence of those events which fulfil them, is a miracle which has subsisted from the beginning of the church to the end. God raised up a succession of prophets, during a period of 1600 years, and during four subsequent centuries, he scattered these prophecies, with the Jews who possessed them, throughout all parts of the world. Such, then, was the preparation for the birth of Christ; for as his gospel was to be believed by all the world, it required not only that there should be prophecies to render it credible, but that these prophecies should be diffused throughout the world, in order that all the world might believe.

If one individual only had written a volume of predictions respecting Jesus Christ, and the time and manner of his coming, and then Jesus Christ had come, in accordance to these predictions, the proof would be infinitely powerful. But we have more than this. In this case there is a series of men for 4000 years, who constantly and without discrepancy foretell successively the same advent. He is announced by a whole people, who subsist for 4000 years, to yield a successive cumulative testimony to their certain expectation of his coming; and from which neither threat nor persecution could turn them. This is much ampler proof.

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* That is, holiness exhibited alone and independent of all adventitious distinctions.

2. The appointed period was predicted by the state of the Jews, by the state of the heathen, by the state of the temple, and by the precise number of years.

The prophets having given several signs which should happen at the coming of Messiah, it follows that all these signs should occur at the same time; and hence it followed, that the fourth monarchy should be come, at the expiration of the seventy weeks of Daniel; that the sceptre should then depart from Judah; and that then Messiah should come. At that very crisis, Jesus Christ came, and declared himself the Messiah.

It is predicted, that during the fourth monarchy, before the destruction of the second temple, before the dominion of the Jews had ceased, and in the seventieth week of Daniel, the heathen should be instructed and led to the knowledge of that God, whom the Jews worshipped, and that they who loved him, should be delivered from their enemies, and filled with his love and his fear.

And it did happen, that during the fourth monarchy, and before the destruction of the second temple, multitudes of the heathen worshipped God, and lived a heavenly life; women devoted to God their virginity, and their whole life; men renounced a life of pleasure; and that which Plato could not accomplish with a few chosen and well disciplined individuals, was now effected by a secret influence, operating through a few words, on hundreds of thousands of illiterate men.

And what is all this? It is that which has been foretold long before. *I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.* All men were lying in wretchedness and unbelief. Now the whole earth kindles into love. Princes laid aside their splendor: the wealthy parted with their abundance: girls submitted to martyrdom: children forsook their homes to live in the deserts. Whence is this energy? It is that Messiah is come. This is the effect and the proof of his arrival.

For 2000 years the God of the Jews was unknown to the countless multitudes of the heathen; but, at the time predicted, the heathen rushed in crowds to worship this only God. The temples are thrown down; and kings themselves bend before the cross. Whence comes this? The Spirit of God has been poured out upon the earth.

It was foretold that Messiah should come to establish a new covenant, which should cause them to forget their departure from Egypt. Jer. xxiii, 7. That he should write his law, not on an exterior tablet, but on their hearts, Isaiah li. 7.; and put his fear, which, till then, had been only superficial, in their hearts also. Jer. xxxi. 33. That the Jews should reject Christ, and that they should be rejected of God, because the chosen vine brought forth wild grapes only. Isaiah v. That the chosen people should be faithless, ungrateful, and incredulous —*an unbelieving and gainsaying people.* Isaiah lxv. 2. That God should smite them with blindness, and that they should stumble like blind men at noon-day. Deut. xxviii. That the church should be small at its commencement, and increase gradually. Ezek. xlvii.

It was foretold that then idolatry should be overthrown; that Messiah should overturn all the idols, and bring men to the worship of the true God.—Ezek. xxx. 13.

That the temples and the images should be caused to cease, and in every place a pure offering should be offered, and not the blood of beasts. Mal. i. 11.

That he should teach men the perfect way. Isa. ii. 3. Micah iv. 2. That he should be the king, both of Jews and Gentiles. Psalm ii. 6—8. Psalm lxxi. And never has there come either before Jesus Christ, or since, any man who has taught any thing like this.

And at length, after so many individuals have predicted this advent, Jesus Christ appeared and said, I am he, and the time is fulfilled. He came to teach men that they had no enemies but themselves; that their sinful inclinations separate them from God; that he came to deliver them, to give them grace, and to gather all men into one holy church; to unite in this church both Jews and Gentiles; and to destroy the idols of the one, and the superstitions of the other.

"What the prophets have foretold, my apostles," said he, "will shortly accomplish. The Jews shall be rejected; Jerusalem will soon be destroyed; the Gentiles shall come to the knowledge of God; and when you shall have slain the heir of the vineyard, my apostles shall turn from you to them."

Afterwards we find the apostles saying to the Jews: a curse is coming upon you; and to the Gentiles, you shall know the Lord.

To this dispensation all men were adverse, owing to the natural antipathy of their sinfulness. This king of both Jews and Gentiles, was oppressed by both, who conspired to kill him. All that was mighty in the world, the learned, the wise, the powerful, all confederated against this nascent religion. Some wrote, some censured, and others shed blood. But notwithstanding all opposition, in a short time, we see Jesus Christ reigning over both—destroying the Jewish worship in Jerusalem, which was its centre, and erecting there his first church; and destroying the worship of idols, at Rome, where idolatry centred, and establishing it. it his principal church.

The apostles and the primitive Christians, a simple and powerless people, resisted all the powers of the earth; overcame monarchs, philosophers, and sages, and destroyed an established idolatry. And all this was wrought by the alone energy of that word which had foretold it.

The Jews, by slaying Christ, that they might not acknowledge him as Messiah, have completed the proof of his Messiahship. Their perseverance in denying him, makes them irrefragable witnesses in his behalf. And both by their killing him, and persisting to reject him, they have fulfilled the prophecy.

Who does not recognize Jesus Christ in a great variety of particulars predicted of the Messiah? For it is said,

That he should have a forerunner. Mal. iii. 1. That he should be born as an infant. Isaiah ix. 6. That he should be born in Bethlehem. Micah v. 2. That he should spring from the family of Judah and of David: that he should appear chiefly in Jerusalem. Mal. iii. 1. Hag. ii. 10. That he should hide these things from the wise and prudent, and reveal them to the poor and to babes. That he should open the eyes of the blind, should heal the sick, Isaiah xxxv.; and lead those who languished in darkness, into light. Isaiah xlii. 8, 9.

That he should teach a perfect way, and be the instructor of the Gentiles. Isaiah lv. 4.

That he should be the victim offered for the sins of the world. Isaiah liii.

That he should be the precious foundation stone. Isaiah xxviii. 26.

That he should be a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence. Isaiah viii. 14.

That the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall fall on it. Isaiah viii. 15.

That the builders shall reject this stone, and that God shall make it the head stone of the corner. Psalm cxviii. 22. And that this stone shall become a great mountain, and fill the earth. Dan. ii. 35.

That he should be rejected, Psalm cxviii. 22.; disowned, Isaiah liii. 2.; betrayed, Psalm xl. 9.; sold, Zach. xi. 12.; stricken, Isaiah l. 6.; mocked and afflicted in many different ways, Psalm lxix. That they should give him gall to drink, Psalm lxix. 21.; that they should pierce his hands and his feet, Psalm xxii. 16.; that they should spit upon him, Isaiah l. 6.; and kill him, Dan. ix.; and cast lots for his vesture, Psalm xxii. 18. That he should rise again the third day, Psalm xvi. Hosea vi. 2. That he should ascend to heaven, Psalm xlvii. 5. lxviii. 18.; and sit down at the right hand of God. Psalm cx. 1. That the kings of the earth should take counsel against him. Psalm ii. That sitting at the right hand of God, he should make his foes his footstool. Psalm cx. 1. That all kings shall fall down before him—all nations shall worship him. Psalm lxxii. That the Jews should subsist perpetually as a people. Jer. xxxi. 36. That they should wander about, Amos ix. 9.; without a prince, without a sacrifice, without an altar, Hosea iii. 4.; and without prophets, Psalm lxxiv. 9.; looking for redemption, but looking in vain. Isaiah lix. 9. Jer. viii. 15.

3. The Messiah was to form to himself a numerous people, elect and holy; to lead them, to nourish them, to bring them into a place of rest and holiness; to make them holy to the Lord, to make them the temple of God; to reconcile them to God; to save them from the wrath of God; to rescue them from the slavery of sin, which evidently reigns over men; to give a law to them, and to write it in their hearts; to offer himself to God for them; to sacrifice himself for them; to be both the spotless victim, and the offering priest; he was to offer himself, both his body and his blood to God. Jesus Christ has done all this.

It was foretold that a deliverer should come, who should bruise the serpent's head, who should deliver his people from all their iniquities. Psalm cxxx. 8; that he should establish a new covenant, which should be everlasting; and a new priesthood after the order of Melchisedec, to abide for ever; that the Messiah should be glorious, powerful, and mighty, and yet so abject, as to be disowned; that he should not be esteemed for what he really was; that he should be rejected, that he should be slain; that his people who denied him, should be his people no longer; that the idolatrous Gentiles should believe, and fly to him for refuge; that he should abandon Zion, to reign in the centre of idolatry; that the Jewish nation, notwithstanding, should still subsist; and that this person so predicted, should spring out of Judah, at the time when the kingdom ceased.

4. Now consider, that from the beginning of the world, the expectation, or the actual worship of Messiah, has continued without interval; that he was promised to the first man, immediately after his fall; that other men appeared subsequently, who declared that God had revealed to them also, that a Redeemer should be born, who would save his people; that Abraham then came, who affirmed the fact of a revelation made to him, that the Redeemer should descend from him, by a son of his, who was yet unborn; that Jacob said, that out of his twelve sons, Judah should be the direct ancestor of the Messiah; that Moses and the prophets, at length pointed out the time and manner of his coming; that they declared the then present law, to be only a provisional appointment till the coming of Messiah; that, till then only it should endure, but that the other should last for ever; but so that either the old law, or that of Messiah, of which the first was a typical pledge, should be ever on the earth; that such has been the fact; and that at length Jesus Christ did come, in circumstances entirely conformed to all these minute predictions. Surely this is wonderful!

But it will be said, If all this was so clearly foretold to the Jews, why did they not believe, or why are they not utterly destroyed for having resisted so clear a testimony? I answer, that both these facts are in the prediction; both, that they would not believe this ample testimony, and that they should not be exterminated. And nothing could more effectually subserve the glory of Messiah; for it was not sufficient to have the testimony of prophecy on his behalf; but those prophecies must be preserved in circumstances actually free from the slightest taint of suspicion.

5. The prophetic writings have, blended with the predictions concerning Messiah, some others that were local and peculiar, in order that the prophecies, concerning Messiah, might not be without some other evidence; and that the local predictions might have their use in the system.

We have no king but Cæsar, said the Jews. Then Jesus was the Messiah. For their avowed king was an alien, and they recognized no other.

A doubt hangs on the beginning of the seventy weeks of Daniel, on account of the wording of the prophecy itself; and also on the termination of that period, owing to the differences among chronologists. But the utmost limits of the difference is not more than 200 years.

The prophecies which tell of Messiah's poverty, describe him also as lord of all nations.

The prophecies which announce the time of his advent, only speak of him as the king of the Gentiles, and as a sufferer; not as a judge coming in the clouds of heaven; and those which describe him as judging the nations on the throne of his glory, say nothing of the precise period of his coming.

When they speak of Messiah's advent in glory, it is evidently his coming to judge the world, not to redeem it. Isaiah lxvi. 15, 16.

CHAPTER XVI.

OTHER PROOFS OF JESUS CHRIST.

If we do not give credit to the apostles, we must hold either that they are deceived or deceivers. But either alternative has its difficulties. In the first case, it is scarcely possible to be cheated into a belief, that a dead man had risen again; and in the other, the supposition that they were themselves impostors, is very absurd. Let us follow out the case. Let us suppose these twelve men assembling after the death of Christ, and conspiring together to maintain that he had risen from the dead. We know, that by this doctrine, they attacked all the powers of this world. The heart of man also is strangely disposed to levity and to change, and easily influenced by promises and gifts. Now, if in these circumstances of risk, but one of them had been shaken by those allurements, or what is more likely, by imprisonment, torture, or the pain of death, they were all lost.

While Jesus Christ was with them, he could sustain them; but afterwards, if he did not appear to them, who did encourage them to action?

2. The style of the gospel is admirable in many respects; and, amongst others, that there is not a single invective indulged by the historians against Judas or Pilate, or any of the enemies or murderers of Jesus Christ.

Had this delicacy on the part of the evangelical historians been only assumed, together with all the other features of their amiable character; and had they only assumed it, that it might be observed—then, even though they had not dared in some way or other to point the attention to it themselves, they could not have failed to procure some friend to notice it to their advantage. But as they were quite unaffected and disinterested, they never provided any one to make such a comment. In fact, I know not that the remark was ever made till now; and this is a strong proof of the simplicity of their conduct.

3. Jesus Christ wrought miracles; so did his apostles. So also did the primitive saints; because, as the prophecies were not fulfilled, and were in fact only fulfilling in them, there was as yet no testimony to the truth but miracles. It was foretold that Messiah should convert the nations. How could this prophecy be fulfilled, but by the conversion of nations; and how were the first nations to be converted to Messiah, not seeing this conclusive result of the prophetic testimony in support of his mission? Till his death and resurrection, then, and even till some nations had been converted, the whole evidence was not complete; and hence miracles were necessary during the whole of that time. Now, however, they are no longer needed. Prophecy fulfilled is a standing miracle.

4. The state of the Jews strikingly proves the truth of our religion. It is wonderful to see this people, subsisting for so many centuries, and to see them always wretched: it being essential to the evidence in support of Jesus Christ, that they should subsist as witnesses to him; and that they should be miserable, because they slew him. And though their misery presses against their existence, they exist still in spite of their misery.

But were they not almost in the same state at the time of the captivity? No. The continuance of the sceptre was not interrupted by the captivity in Babylon; because their return was promised and predicted. When Nebuchadnezzar led them captive, lest it should be supposed that the sceptre had departed from Judah, it was previously declared to them, that they should be there for a short time only, and that they should be re-established. They had still the consolation of their prophets, and their kings were not taken away. But the second destruction of their polity, is without any promise of restoration, without prophets, without kings, without comfort, and without hope; for the sceptre is removed for ever.

That was scarcely a captivity which was alleviated by the promise of deliverance in seventy years; but now they are captive without hope.

God had promised them, that even though he scattered them to the ends of the earth, yet if they were faithful to his law, he would bring them back again. They are faithful to the law, and yet remain in oppression. It follows, then, that Messiah must be come, and that the law which contained these promises, has been superseded by the establishment of a new law.

5. Had the Jews been all converted to the faith of Christ, we should have had none but suspected witnesses, and had they been extirpated, we should have had no witnesses at all.

The Jews rejected Christ, yet not all of them. Those who were holy, received him; those who were carnal did not: and so far is this from militating against his glory, that it gives to it the finishing touch. The reason of their rejection, and the only one which is found in their writings, in the Talmud, and in the Rabbins, is that Jesus Christ did not subdue the nations by force of arms. "Jesus Christ," they say, "has been slain; he has fallen; he has not subdued the heathen by his might; he has not given us their spoils; he has given no wealth." Is that all they can say? It is for this that I love him. A Messiah such as they describe, I have no wish for.

6. How delightful it is to see with the eye of faith, Darius, Cyrus, Alexander, the Romans, Pompey, and Herod, laboring unwittingly for the glory of the gospel.

7. The Mahometan religion has for its foundation the Koran and Mahomet. But has this man, who was said to be the last prophet expected in the world, been at all the subject of prediction? And what mark has he to accredit him, more than any other man who chooses to set up for a prophet? What miracles does he himself affirm that he performed? What mystery has he taught, even by his own account? What morality did he teach, and what blessedness did he promise?

Mahomet is unsupported by any authority. His reasons then had need to be powerful indeed, since they rest solely on their own strength.

8. If two men utter things which appear of a common-place and popular kind, but the discourse of one has a twofold sense understood by his disciples, whilst the discourses of the other have but one meaning; then any one, not in the secret, hearing the two persons saying similar things, would judge in a similar way of both. But if, in conclusion, the one utters heavenly things whilst the other still brings forward only common-place and mean notions, and even fooleries, he would then conceive that the one spoke with a mystic meaning, and the other did not; the one having sufficiently proved himself to be incapable of absurdity, but capable of having a mystic sense; the other, that he can be absurd, but not a setter forth of mysteries.

9. It is not by the obscurities in the writings of Mahomet, and which they may pretend have a mystic sense, that I would wish him to be judged, but by his plain statements, as his account of paradise and such like. Even in these things he is ridiculous. Now, it is not so with the Holy Scriptures. They also have their obsourities; but then there are many clear and lucid statements, and many prophecies in direct terms which have been accomplished. The cases then are not parallel. We must not put on an equal footing, books which only resemble each other in the existence of obscurities, and not in those brilliancies, which substantiate their own divine origin, and justly claim a due reverence also for the obscurities, by which they are accompanied.

The Koran itself, says that Matthew was a good man. Then Mahomet was a false prophet, either in calling good men wicked, or in rejecting as untrue, what they affirm of Jesus Christ.

10. Any man may do what Mahomet did; for he wrought no miracles, he fulfilled no previous prophecy. No man can do what Jesus Christ did.

Mahomet established his system by killing others; Jesus Christ by exposing his disciples to death; Mahomet by forbidding to read; Jesus by enjoining it. In fact, so opposite were their plans, that, if according to human calculation, Mahomet took the way to succeed—Jesus Christ certainly took the way of failure. And instead of arguing, that because Mahomet succeeded, therefore Jesus Christ might; it follows rather, that since Mahomet succeeded, Christianity must have failed, if it had not been supported by an energy purely divine.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PURPOSE OF GOD TO CONCEAL HIMSELF FROM SOME, AND TO REVEAL HIMSELF TO OTHERS.

It was the purpose of God to redeem mankind, and to extend salvation to those who will seek it. But men render themselves so unworthy of it, that he is equitable in refusing to some, because of the hardness of their hearts, that which he bestows on others, by a mercy to which they have no claim. Had he chosen to overcome the obstinacy of the most hardened, he could have done so, by revealing himself to them so distinctly, that they could no longer doubt the truth of his existence. And he will so appear at the last day, with such an awful storm, and such a destruction of the frame of nature, that the most blind must see him.

He did not, however, choose thus to appear at the advent of grace; because, as so many men rendered themselves unworthy of his clemency, he determined that they should remain strangers to the blessing, which they did not desire. It would not then have been just to appear in a mode manifestly divine, and such as absolutely to convince all men; nor would it have been just on the other hand, to come in a mode so hidden, that he could not have been recognized by those who sought him in sincerity. It was his will to make himself perfectly cognizable to all such; and hence, willing to be revealed to those who seek him with their whole heart, and hidden from those who, as cordially fly from him, he has so regulated the means of knowing him, as to give indications of himself, which are plain to those who seek him, and shrouded to those who seek him not.*

2. There is light enough for those whose main wish is to see; and darkness enough to confound those of an opposite disposition.

There is brightness enough to enlighten the elect, and sufficient obscurity to keep them humble.

There is mystery enough to blind the reprobate; but light enough to condemn them, and to make them inexcusable.

If this world subsisted only to teach men the existence of God, his divinity would have shined forth in every part of it with resistless splendor. But since the world only exists by Jesus Christ, and for him, and to teach men their fall and their redemption, the whole abounds with proofs of these two truths. The appearance of things indicates neither the total abandonment, nor the plenary presence of the Divinity, but the presence of *a God that hideth himself.* Every thing wears this character.

If God had never appeared at all, such a total concealment might have been ambiguous, and might have been referred equally to the non-existence of Deity, as to the unworthiness of men to know him. But his occasional manifestations remove the ambiguity. If he has appeared once, then he *is* always. And we are shut up to the conclusion, that there is a God, and that men are unworthy of his manifested presence.

3. The purpose of God was more to rectify the will, than the understanding of man. Now, an unclouded brightness would have satisfied the understanding, and left the will unreformed. Had there been no obscurity, man would not have been sensible of his corruption. Had there been no light, man would have despaired of a remedy. It is then not only equitable, but profitable for us, that God should be partly hidden, and partly revealed; since it is equally dangerous for man to know God, without the consciousness of his misery; or to know his misery, without knowing his God.

4. All things around man teach him his real state; but he should read them rightly. For it is not true either that God is wholly revealed, or wholly hidden. But both these assertions are true together, that he hides himself from those who tempt him, and that he discovers himself to those who seek him. Because men are, at the same time, unworthy of God, and yet capable of receiving him; unworthy in consequence of their corruption; capable by their original nature.

5. Every thing on earth proclaims the misery of man, or the mercy of God; the powerlessness of man without God, or his might when God is with him.

The whole universe teaches man, either that he is corrupt, or that he is redeemed. All things teach him his greatness or his misery. In the heathen he sees the withdrawment of God; in the Jews, his presence and protection.

6. All things work together for good to the elect; even the obscurities of Scripture; for they reverence them on account of those portions which are manifestly divine. All things are evil to the reprobate, even the plainest truths of Scripture, because they blaspheme them on account of those obscurities, which they cannot comprehend.

7. If Jesus Christ had only come to sanctify and save, the whole of Scripture, and all other things, would have tended to that object, and it would have been easy indeed to convince the infidel. But since, as Isaiah says, chap. viii. 14. he became both as *a sanctuary* (for salvation) *and a rock of offence,* we cannot expect to overcome the obstinacy of infidelity. But this does not militate against us, since we ourselves affirm, that God's dealings with us were not meant to carry conviction to those stubborn, self-satisfied spirits, who do not sincerely seek for truth.

Jesus is come, *that those who see not, may see; and that those who see, may become blind.* He came to heal the diseased, and to let *the whole* perish: to *call sinners to repentance* and justification, and to leave *the righteous,* those who think themselves righteous, in their sins: to *fill the hungry with good things, and to send the rich empty away.*

What say the prophets of Jesus Christ? That he should be manifestly God? No. But that he is the true God veiled; that he shall be unrecognized; that men shall not think that this is he; that he shall be *a stone of stumbling,* on which *many shall fall.*

It is that Messiah might be known by the good, and unknown by the wicked, that he is foretold as he is. If the mode of his coming had been fully unfolded, there would have been no obscurity even to the wicked. If the period had been foretold obscurely, there would have been darkness on the minds of the good, for their moral state would not convey to them the idea of Hebrew notation; for instance, that ם should signify 600 years. The time therefore was foretold plainly—the mode mystically.

Thus, the wicked erroneously supposing, that the blessings promised were temporal, were misled, although the time was so distinctly foretold; while the righteous avoided the error, because the comprehension of such blessings is with the heart, which always calls that good, that it really loves; but the knowledge of the time was not a matter for the comprehension of the heart. And thus the clear pointing out of the time, together with an obscure description of the blessing, could only mislead the wicked.

8. Why was it necessary with respect to Messiah, that it should be stated of him, that in him the sceptre was to remain perpetually in Judah; and

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* The pillar of cloud and of fire, is a beautiful illustration of this idea.

yet, that at his coming, the sceptre should be taken from Judah?

As a provision, *That seeing, they might not see; and that hearing, they might not understand*, nothing could be more effectual.

Instead of lamenting that God is hidden, we should thank him that he has been so far revealed; we should thank him that he has not revealed himself to the prudent and the proud of this world, who were unworthy to know a holy God.

9. The genealogy of Jesus Christ in the Old Testament, is blended with so many others apparently useless, as to be scarcely discernible. If Moses had only registered the ancestry of Jesus Christ, the fact would have been too plainly exhibited. But even to an accurate observer, it may be distinctly traced through Thamar, Ruth, Bathsheba, &c.

Even the apparently weak points in the chain of evidence, have their peculiar force to a well constituted mind. Witness the two genealogies by Matthew and Luke, which prove that there has not been collusion.

10. Let them not reproach us any longer, with the want of clearness in our evidence. We own the fact as part of our system. But let them recognize the truth of our religion, even in its obscurities, in the little light that we have; and in the indifference respecting the discovery of it, which is so generally manifested.

Had there been but one religion, God would have been too manifest. The case were the same, if *our* religion only had its martyrs.

Jesus Christ so far left the wicked to their wilful blindness, in that he did not say he was not of Nazareth, nor that he was not the son of Joseph.

As Jesus Christ dwelt unrecognized among men, so the truth dwells undistinguished among the crowds of vulgar opinions.

If the mercy of God is so great, that it makes us wise unto salvation, even while he hideth himself, what illumination may we not expect when he is fully revealed!

We can know nothing of the work of God, if we do not admit as a first principle, that he blinds some, while he enlightens others.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THAT THE RELIGION OF REAL CHRISTIANS, AND REAL JEWS, IS ONE AND THE SAME.

THE Jewish religion *seemed* to consist essentially in descent from Abraham, in circumcision, in sacrifices, and ceremonies, in the ark, and the temple at Jerusalem, and in the law, and the covenant of Moses.

I affirm that it did not consist in all, or any of these things, but simply in the love of God; and that God disallowed all the rest.

That God did not choose the people who sprung from Abraham according to the flesh.

That the Jews were to be punished by the Almighty, as strangers would be, if they offended. *If thou forget the Lord thy God, and walk after other gods, and serve them, and worship them; I testify against you this day, that ye shall surely perish; as the nations which the Lord destroyeth before your face, so shall ye perish.*

That strangers would be accepted, even as the Jews, if they loved God.

That the true Jews ascribed their safety to God, and not to Abraham. *Doubtless thou art our father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not: thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer.* Isa. lxiii. 16.

Moses also had said, *God accepteth not persons, nor taketh rewards.*

I affirm that the Jewish religion enjoins also the circumcision of the heart. *Circumcise, therefore, the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiff-necked. For the Lord your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, a terrible*, &c. Deut. x. 16, 17.

That God promised to do this for them at some future day. *And the Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.* Deut. xxx. 6.

That the uncircumcised in heart shall be judged and punished. *God will punish them which are circumcised with the uncircumcised; for all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in heart.*

2. I affirm that circumcision was a sign, instituted to distinguish the Jewish people from all other nations. And therefore it was that, while they wandered in the wilderness, they were not circumcised, because they could then not intermingle with strangers; and that since the coming of Jesus Christ, it is no longer necessary.

The love of God is every where enjoined. *I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live; that thou mayest love the Lord thy God, and that thou mayest obey his voice, and that thou mayest cleave unto him; for he is thy life.* Deut. xxx. 19, 20.

It is said also, that the Jews, from the want of this love, shall be rejected for their crimes, and the Gentiles chosen in their stead. *I will hide my face from them, for they are a very froward nation, and unbelieving. They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God—and I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people. I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.* Deut. xxxii. 20, 21.

That temporal blessings are fallacious, but that the true good is to be united to God. That their feasts were displeasing to God. That the sacrifices of the Jews displeased God; and not only those of the wicked Jews, but that he had no pleasure in the sacrifices of the righteous, for, in Psalm 50th, previously to his special address to the wicked, beginning, *But to the wicked God saith*, &c. verse 16th, it is stated that God will not accept the sacrifices of beasts, nor their blood. 1 Sam. xv. 22.

That the offerings of the Gentiles shall be accepted of God. Mal. i. 11. And that the offerings of the Jews were not acceptable to him. Jer. vi. 20.

That God would make a new covenant by Messiah, and that the old one should be abolished. Jer. xxxi. 31.

That the former things shall be forgotten. Isa. xliii. 18.

That the ark shall be no more remembered. Jer. iii. 16.

That the temple shall be rejected. Jer. vii. 12.—14.

That the sacrifices should be done away, and a purer sacrifice established. Mal. i. 10, 11.

That the order of the Aaronic priesthood should be rejected, and that of Melchisedec introduced by the Messiah, and that this should be an everlasting priesthood.

That Jerusalem shall be rejected. Isaiah v. That a new name shall be given. That it shall be a better and an eternal name. Isaiah lvi. 5.

That the Jews shall continue without prophet, priest, king, prince, sacrifice or altar; and that they should subsist, notwithstanding, as a distinct people.

CHAPTER XIX.

WE CANNOT KNOW GOD SAVINGLY, BUT BY JESUS CHRIST.

It is usual for the greater part of those who try to convince the ungodly of the being of a God, to begin with the works of nature; and they seldom succeed. Not that I question the substantiality of that class of proofs, for they are consecrated by the Scripture; and they consist with sound reason: but frequently they are not well adapted to the disposition of mind of those to whom they are so applied.

For it should be observed, that this line of argument is not applied to those who have a living faith in the heart, and who see clearly that every thing which exists is the work of the God whom they adore. To such, all nature speaks for its author. To them the heavens declare the glory of God. But for those in whom this light is extinct, and in whom we wish it to revive; those men who are without faith and charity, and who find nothing but clouds and darkness throughout nature; for such it seems scarcely the right way to reclaim them, that we should ply them on a subject so great and important, with proofs drawn from the course of the moon and the planets, or with any of those common-place arguments, against which they have invariably revolted. The hardness of their hearts has rendered them deaf to this voice of nature, ringing constantly upon their ear; and experience proves, that far from carrying them by these means, nothing is more likely to disgust them, and to destroy the hope of their discovering the truth, than professing to convince them simply by such reasonings, and telling them that they will find truth altogether unveiled.

Certainly this is not the way in which the Scriptures speak of God, which are far better prepared to speak of him than we are. They tell us, we allow, that the beauty of creation declares its author; but, they do not say that it does so to the whole world. On the contrary, they affirm, that the creature does not make God known by its own light, but by that light which God, at the same time, pours into the minds of those whom he thus instructs. *That which may be known of God, is manifest in them; for God hath showed it to them.* Rom. i. 19. The Scripture teaches us in general, that *God is a God that hideth himself;* and, that since the corruption of human nature, he has left men in a state of blindness from which they cannot escape, but through Jesus Christ, without whom, all communion with God is impracticable. *No man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* Matt. ii. 27.

The Scripture teaches the same truth also, where, in so many different passages, it affirms, that they who *seek* God shall find him. But we do not speak thus of a clear and self-evident light. It needs no *seeking*. It compels observation by its own brilliancy.

2. Metaphysical arguments, in proof of Deity, are so remote from the common habits of reasoning, and so intricate and involved, that they produce little impression; and even though they may influence a few, it is only at the time when they are actually considering the demonstration, and an hour afterward, they fear they have deceived themselves. *Quod curiositate cognoverant superbia amiserunt.*

Besides, this sort of proof can only lead to a speculative knowledge of God; and to know him only in this way, is not to know him at all.

The God whom Christians worship, is not merely the divine author of geometric truths, and of the order of the elements. This is the belief of the heathen. He is not merely a God who watches providentially over the lives and fortunes of men, to bestow a succession of happy years on his worshippers. This is the belief of the Jew. But the God of Abraham and of Jacob, the God of the Christian, is a God of love and of consolation. He is a God who fills the soul and the heart which he possesses. He is a God who makes them feel within, their own misery; whose infinite grace unites itself with their inmost soul; fills it with humility, and joy, and confidence, and love; and makes it impossible for them to seek any other end than himself.

The God of the Christians is a God who causes the soul to feel that he is its only good, that he is its only rest; and that it can have no joy but in his love; and who teaches it, at the same time, to abhor every obstacle to the full ardor of that affection. That self-love and sensual affection which impede it, are insufferable to it. God discloses to the soul this abyss of selfishness, and that he himself is the only remedy.

That is to know God as a Christian. But to know God thus, a man must know also his misery and unworthiness, and the need he has of a mediator, by whom he may draw near to God, and be again united to him. These two branches of knowledge must not be separated, for when separate, they are not only useless, but injurious. The knowledge of our ruin, without the knowledge of Jesus Christ, is despair. But the knowledge of Jesus Christ delivers us both from pride and despair, because in him we discern, at once, our God, our own guilt, and the only way of recovery.

We may know God without knowing our wretchedness, or our wretchedness without knowing God; or both, without knowing the way of deliverance from those miseries by which we are overwhelmed. But we cannot know Jesus Christ, without knowing at once, our God, our ruin, and our remedy, because Jesus Christ is not merely God; but God our Saviour from misery.

Hence, therefore, they who seek God without the Saviour, will discover no satisfactory or truly beneficial light. For either they never discover that there is a God; or, if they do, it is to little purpose; because they devise to themselves some mode of approaching without mediation, that God, whom, without the aid of a mediator, they have discovered; and thus they fall either into atheism or deism, two evils equally abhorrent to the Christian system.

We should aim then, exclusively, to know Jesus Christ, since, by him only, we can expect ever to obtain a beneficial knowledge of God.

He is the true God of mankind; that is, of miserable sinners. He is the centre of all, and to him every thing points: and he who knows him not, knows nothing of the economy of this world, or of himself. For not only can we not know God, but by Jesus Christ, but we cannot know ourselves except by him.

Without Jesus Christ, man must remain in sin and misery. In Jesus Christ, man is delivered from sin and misery. In him is treasured up all our happiness, our virtue, our very life, and light, and hope; and out of him there is nothing for us but sin, misery, darkness, and despair; without him, we see nothing but obscurity and confusion in the nature of both God and man.

CHAPTER XX.

THOUGHTS ON MIRACLES.

We must judge of doctrine by miracles, and of miracles by doctrine. The doctrine attests the miracles, and the miracles attest the doctrine. Both sides of the assertion are true, and yet there is no discrepancy between them.

2. There are miracles which are indubitable evidences of truth, and there are some which are not. We should have a mark to distinguish those which are, or they would be useless. But they are not useless; they are of the nature of a foundation. The test then which is given to us, should be such as not to destroy that proof which true miracles give to the truth, and which is the chief end of miracles.

If no miracles had ever been adduced in support of falsehood, they would have been a certain criterion. If there were no rule for discrimination, miracles would have been useless; there would have been no just ground to credit them.

Moses has given us one test, which is, when the miracle leads to idolatry. *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake to thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you.* Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3. Jesus Christ also has given us one in Mark ix. 39. *There is no man who shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me.* Whence it follows, that whoever declares himself openly against Jesus Christ, cannot do a miracle in his name. So that, if he works miracles, it is not in the name of Jesus Christ, and he should not be listened to. We see, then, the limits marked out to our faith in miracles, to which we must add no others. In the Old Testament, when they turn away from God. In the New, when they turn men from Jesus Christ.

So that if we see a miracle, we must at once receive it, or discover some plain reason to the contrary. We must examine if he who does it, denies God or Jesus Christ.

3. Every religion is false, which does not in its belief worship one God as the author of all things; and in its morals, love one God as the end of all things. Every religion now which does not recognize Jesus Christ is notoriously false, and miracles can avail it nothing.

The Jews had a doctrine from God, as we have from Jesus Christ, and confirmed similarly by miracles. They were forbidden to believe in any worker of miracles, who should teach a contrary doctrine; and, moreover, they were required to have recourse to their priests, and to adhere to them strictly. So that, apparently, all the reasons which we have for rejecting workers of miracles, they had with respect to Jesus Christ and his apostles.

Yet, it is certain, that they were very highly blameable for refusing to believe them on the testimony of their miracles: for Jesus Christ said, that they would not have been blameable if they had not seen his miracles. John xv. 22—24.

It follows, then, that he regarded his miracles as an infallible proof of his doctrine, and that the Jews were bound by them to believe him. And, in fact, it was these miracles especially which made their unbelief criminal. For the proofs that they might have adduced from Scripture, *during the life of Christ*, were not alone conclusive. They might see there that Moses had said, Another prophet should come; but that would not have proved Jesus Christ to be that prophet, which was the whole matter in question. Such passages of Scripture, however, would have shown them that Jesus Christ might be that prophet; and this, taken together with his miracles, should have determined their belief that he really was so.

4. Prophecy alone was not a sufficient testimony to Jesus Christ, during his life; and hence the Jews would not have been criminal in not believing him before his death, if his miracles had not decided the point. Miracles, then, are sufficient when we detect no contrariety in doctrine, and they should be received.

Jesus Christ had proved himself to be the Messiah, by confirming his doctrine more by his own miracles, than by an appeal to the Scriptures and the prophets.

It was by his miracles that Nicodemus knew his doctrine to be from God *We know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do the things that thou doest, except God be with him.* John iii. 2. He did not judge of the miracles by the doctrine, but of the doctrine by the miracles.

So that even though the doctrine was suspected, as that of Jesus Christ might be by Nicodemus, because it seemed to threaten with destruction the traditions of the Pharisees, yet if there were clear and evident miracles on its side, the evidence for the miracle ought to carry it against any apparent difficulty in respect to the doctrine. This rule has its foundation in the indubitable principle, that God cannot lead into error.

There is something reciprocally due between God and man. God says in Isaiah i. 18. *Come now and let us reason together.* And in another place, *What could I have done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it?* v. 4.

Men owe it to God, to receive the religion which he sends; God owes it to men not to lead them into error. Now, they would be led into error, if any workers of miracles set forth a false doctrine, which did not manifestly appear false to the apprehensions of common sense, and if a greater worker of miracles had not already enjoined upon them not to believe it. So that, if the church were divided, and the Arians, for instance, who affirm that they are founded upon the Scripture, equally with the orthodox, had wrought miracles, and the orthodox had not, men would have been led into error. For, as a man who professes to make known the secret things of God, is not worthy of credit on his own private authority, so a man, who, in proof of the communication that he has from God, raises the dead, predicts future events, removes mountains, and heals diseases, is worthy of credit: and we are impious to refuse it, so long as he is not contradicted by some other teacher who works still greater wonders.

But is not God said to prove us? And may he not prove us by miracles which seem to uphold error?

There is a great difference between proving us, and leading us into error. God proves us; but he never leads into error. To prove, is to present the occasion which does not impose a necessity to act. To lead into error, is to place man under the necessity of assuming and approving a falsehood. This God cannot do; and yet he would do this, if in an obscure question, he permitted miracles to be wrought on the side of falsehood.

We are warranted then to conclude, that it is impossible for a man who conceals his false doctrine, with a view to make it appear like truth, and who affirms himself so be conformed to the will of God and the rule of his church, to work miracles, in order gradually and insensibly to insinuate a false and subtle error. This cannot be; still less can it be, that God who knoweth the heart, should work miracles in favor of such a deceiver.

5. There is a great difference between not being for Jesus Christ, and avowing the infidelity; and not being for Jesus Christ, but pretending to be so. In the first case, perhaps, miracles might be permitted, but not in the other; for it is quite clear of the

one class, that they are opposed to the truth, but it is not so of the other; and thus, such miracles may be rightly estimated.

Miracles, then, have been the test in doubtful points, between the Jew and the heathen, the Jew and the Christian.

We have seen this in all the combats of truth against error. In those of Abel against Cain; of Moses against the magicians of Egypt; of Elijah against the prophets of Baal; of Jesus Christ against the Pharisees; of St. Paul against Elymas; of the apostles against the exorcists; and the primitive Christians against infidels. The truth always surpassed in a contest of miracles; and never in a contest for the true God, and for the truth of religion, has a miracle been wrought in support of error, but a greater miracle has been wrought in support of truth.

By this rule it is clear, that the Jews were under obligation to believe in Christ. He was suspected by them, but his miracles were infinitely more strong than the suspicions against him. They ought therefore to have believed him.

In the days of Jesus Christ, some believed in him, but others would not, because the prophecies said, that Messiah should be born in Bethlehem; instead of which, they conceived that Jesus Christ was born in Nazareth. But they should have examined more narrowly, whether he might not yet have been born in Bethlehem; for his miracles being such, as to carry conviction, the alleged contradictions of his doctrine to Scripture, and this obscurity, did not operate to excuse, but merely to blind them.

Jesus Christ healed him that was born blind, and did many other miracles on the Sabbath-day, by means of which, the Pharisees were blinded, who affirmed that it was right to try the miracles by the doctrine.

The same rule which renders imperative the belief in Christ, equally forbids the belief of antichrist.

Jesus Christ did not speak either against God, or against Moses. The antichrist and the false prophets foretold in the Old and New Testaments, will speak openly against God, and against Jesus Christ. But to a concealed enemy, God will not give the power of openly working miracles.

Moses foretold Jesus Christ, and commanded to follow him. Jesus Christ foretold the antichrist, and forbade to follow him.

The miracles of Jesus Christ were not predicted by antichrist, but the miracles of antichrist were predicted by Jesus Christ. And thus, if Jesus Christ were not the Messiah, he would have led into error; but he could not be reasonably led into error by the miracles of antichrist. Therefore the miracles of antichrist, do not affect the miracles of Jesus Christ. In fact, when Jesus Christ predicted the miracles of antichrist, did he think to injure the faith of his own?

There is no reason to believe in antichrist, that there is not for believing in Christ; but there are reasons for believing in Christ, which there are not for believing in antichrist.

6. Miracles assisted in the foundation, and will assist in the preservation of the church to the days of antichrist, and even to the end.

Wherefore, God, to preserve this testimony in his church, has either confounded all false miracles, or foretold them in his word; and, in both ways, has elevated his cause, and us who believe in it, above those false wonders which appear to us supernatural.

It will be the same in future time. Either God will not permit, or he will confound false miracles, or he will work greater; for miracles have such weight, that however evident the truth of God may be, yet it is necessary that he should warn us against them, when they are wrought against him; without this, they might disturb us.

And thus, however much the passage in the 15th of Deuteronomy, which forbids to believe, and to hear those who work miracles, and who thereby seduce from the service of God; and that in St. Mark xiii. 22. which says, *There shall rise up false Christs and false prophets, who shall do many signs and wonders, and seduce, if it were possible, the very elect*, and some similar ones, may appear to make against the authority of miracles; nothing more directly proves their force.

The true reason why real miracles are not believed, is the want of love to God. *Ye believe not*, said Christ, *because ye are not of my sheep*. The same reason holds, why men believe false miracles. *Because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusion, that they shall believe a lie*. 2 Thes. ii. 10.

When I have considered how it is that men repose such faith in impostors, who profess to have certain remedies for disease, as to put their lives in their hands, it has appeared to me, that the true reason is, that there are some *real* remedies; for it could not be, that there should be so many fallacious ones, and that they should obtain so much credit, if there were none that were true. Had there never been a real remedy, and all our diseases had been incurable, it is impossible that any men could have supposed themselves able to cure; or that so many others should have reposed confidence in their boasted powers. As, for instance, if any man professed to be able to prevent us from ever dying, no one would believe this, because there is not a single instance of success. But since many effectual remedies have been attested by the wisest of men, the disposition to believe has been thus created; because, as the fact cannot generally be denied, that there are successful cures which are undoubted, the people who are unable to discriminate between the false and the true, believe all. In the same way, the belief of so many imaginary influences of the moon, originates in the fact, that some do exist, as the flux and reflux of the waters of the ocean.*

In the same way, it appears to me that there could never have been so many false miracles, false revelations and predictions, if there had not been some that were true; nor so many false religions, if there had not been a true one. For had there been nothing of the kind, it is almost impossible that men could have invented these things, and still more so, that others should have believed them. But since there have been some very remarkable things which were true, and that they have been believed by the greatest among men, such an effect has been produced, that almost all the world has acquired a tendency to believe those that are untrue. And thus, instead of concluding that because there are many false miracles, there are none true, we must, on the contrary conclude, that there are some true miracles, because there are so many false; and that there are false ones, only from this cause, that there are some true; and that, in the same way, there are false religions, only because one religion is true. The real cause of this is, that the human mind, being prejudiced towards that side of the question, by some things that are true, acquires a predisposition to receive even what is counterfeit.

CHAPTER XXI.

MISCELLANEOUS THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

Pyrrhonism has been useful to religion, for after all, men, before the coming of Christ, did not know where they were, nor whether they were great or insignificant. And those who affirmed the one or the other, knew nothing really, and conjectured without reason, and at a venture. And whichever they denied, they were still compelled to admit the principle of faith.

2. Who would blame Christians for their inability to give a reason for their belief, when they profess to hold a religion, that they cannot altogether explain. On the contrary, they declare when they propose it to the Gentiles, that it is foolishness; and should you then complain that they do not go into the proof of it? If they prove it, they contradict their own words. It is in the failure of proof, that they maintain their consistency. Yes, but while that excuses those who present the Christian religion as such, and cancels the blame of producing it without a full and rational explanation, it does not excuse those, who, upon the offer of it made to them, refuse to believe.

3. Do you conceive it impossible that God is infinite, and without parts? Yes. I will show you then a thing which is infinite and indivisible. It is a point moving every where with infinite velocity. Let this effect of nature, which, at first, seemed impossible to you, teach you that there may be others which you do not know. Do not infer from these your days of apprenticeship, the conclusion that there is nothing more to be known, but rather that there is infinitely more.

4. The way of God, who does all things well, is to plant religion in the understanding by reasoning, and in the heart by his grace. But to seek to introduce it, either to the head or the heart by violence, and by threatening, is not to infuse religion, but terror. Begin by pitying the incredulous. They are sufficiently unfortunate. We should not rail at them, but when it may profit them; but it injures them.

The whole of our faith is to be found in Jesus Christ and Adam. The whole of morals, in the ideas of corruption and grace.

5. The heart has its reasonings, which reason does not apprehend. We feel this in a thousand instances. It loves universal being naturally, and self naturally, just as it takes a fancy; and it hardens itself against either as it will. You have chosen one, and renounced the other. Was this a matter of reason with you?

6. The world exists for the exercise of mercy and judgment upon men; not as beings now issuing pure from the hands of God, but as the enemies of God, to whom he gives, as a matter of grace, sufficient light for their return, if they will seek and follow it: but sufficient to warrant their punishment if they refuse.

7. After all, it must be acknowledged, that the Christian religion has something very wonderful in it. It is, says one, because you were born to it. Far from it. I resist it for that very reason; lest I should be biassed by a prepossession. But though I were born to it, I believe that I should have felt the same.

8. There are two ways of inculcating the truths of our religion, one by the force of reason, the other by the authority of Him who declares them. Men do not use the latter, but the former. They do not say, We must believe this, for the Scriptures which teach it are divine; but we must believe for this and the other reason, our own weak arguments; for reason itself is easily perverted.

Those who appear most hostile to the glory of religion, are not altogether useless to others. We would conclude, in the first place, that there is something supernatural in their hostility, for a blindness so great is not natural. But if their own folly makes them such enemies to their own welfare, it may serve as a warning to others, by the dread of an example so melancholy, and a folly so much to be pitied.

9. Without Jesus Christ, the world could not continue to exist. It must either be destroyed, or become a hell.

Does he who knows human nature, know it only to be miserable? And will he only who knows it, be the only miserable?

It was not necessary that man should see nothing at all. It was not necessary that he should see sufficient to believe that he had hold of truth; but it was necessary that he should see sufficient to know that he has lost it. To ascertain what he has lost, he must both see and not see; and this is precisely the state of human nature.

It was necessary that the true religion should teach us both our greatness and our misery, and lead us both to the esteem and contempt, the love and the hatred, of self.

10. Religion is a matter of such importance, that it is quite just, that they who will not be at the pains to seek it, if it is obscure, should not discover it. What can they complain of, if it is such, that it may be found for seeking?

Pride counterbalances and cancels all our miseries. How monstrous this is, and how manifestly man is astray! He is fallen from his high estate, and he seeks it again restlessly.

After we had become corrupt, it was right that we who are in that state should know it; both those who delight in it, and those who do not. But it is not necessary that all should see the way of redemption.

When you say that Christ did not die for all, you give occasion to a voice of the human heart, which constantly applies to itself the exception. Thus you give rise to despair, instead of cherishing hope.

11. The wicked who abandon themselves blindly to their lusts, without the knowledge of God, and without troubling themselves to seek him, verify in themselves this fundamental principle of the faith which they oppose, that human nature is corrupt. And the Jews who oppose so stubbornly the Christian religion, confirm also this other fundamental truth of the religion which they oppose—that Jesus Christ is the true Messiah, and that he is come to redeem men, and to deliver them from corruption and misery—as much by their state at the present day, which is found predicted in their prophetic writings, as by those same prophecies which they hold, and which they scrupulously preserve, as containing the marks by which they are to recognize Messiah. And thus, the proofs of human corruption, and of the redemption of Jesus Christ, which are the two leading truths of the system, are drawn from the profane who boast their utter indifference to this religion, and from the Jews, who are its avowed and irreconcilable enemies.

12. The dignity of man in his state of innocence, consisted in the dominion of the creatures, and in using them; but now, it consists in avoiding and subduing them.

13. Many persons go so much the more dangerously astray, because they assume a truth as the foundation of their error. Their fault is not the following a falsehood; but the following of one truth, to the exclusion of another.

There are many truths, both in faith and morals, which seem repugnant and contrary to each other, and which are yet linked together in a most beautiful order.

The source of all heresies, is the exclusion of some one or other of these truths; and the source of all the objections, which heretics bring forward, is the ignorance of some of these truths. And it usually happens, that being unable to conceive the relation between two apparently opposing truths, and believing that the adoption of one, involves the rejection of the other; they do actually embrace the one, and renounce the other.

The Nestorians maintained, that there were two persons in Jesus Christ, because there were two natures; and the Eutychians, on the contrary, that there was but one nature, because there was but one person. The orthodox unite the two truths, of two natures, and one person.

The shortest way to prevent heresy, is to teach the whole truth; and the surest way of refuting heresy, is to meet it by an unreserved declaration of truth.

Grace will be ever in the world, and nature also. There will always be Pelagians, and always men of the catholic faith; because our first birth makes the one, and the second birth the other.

It will be one of the severest pangs of the damned, to find that they are condemned, even by their own reason, by which they pretended to condemn the Christian religion.

14. It is a common feature of the lives of ordinary men, and of saints, that they are all seeking happiness; they differ only in respect to the point where they place it. Each counts him an enemy, who prevents his attaining the desired object.

We should determine what is good or evil by the will of God, who can neither be unjust or blind, and not by our own will, which is always full of wickedness and error.

15. Jesus Christ has given in the gospel, this criterion of those who have faith, that they speak a new language; and, in fact, the renewing of the thoughts and wishes, alters the conversation also. For these new things, which cannot be displeasing to God, in the same way as the old man could not please him, differ widely from earthly novelties.—The things of the world, however novel, soon grow old in the using; while this new spiritual nature becomes newer and fresher as it goes forward. *Our outward man perishes*, says St. Paul, *but the inner man is renewed day by day*. And it will never be completely renewed, but in eternity, where they sing without ceasing, the new song of which David speaks in his Psalms; (Psalm xxxiii. 3.) the song which flows spontaneously from the pure spirit of love.

16. When St. Peter and the apostles (Acts xv.) deliberated on the abolishing of circumcision, where the point in question involved an apparent contradiction of the law of God; they did not consult the prophets, but held by the simple fact of the gift of the Holy Ghost to those who were uncircumcised. They judged it a more certain way of settling the question, that God approved those whom he had filled with his Spirit, than that it did not become them to observe the law. They knew that the end of the law was but the gift of the Spirit; and that since they had received it without circumcision, the ceremony was not essentially necessary.

17. Two laws are better fitted to govern the whole Christian republic, than all political codes whatever. These are, the love of God, and the love of our neighbor.

Our religion is adapted to minds of every order. The multitude looks only at its present state and establishment; and our religion is such, that its establishment is a sufficient evidence of its truth. Others trace it up to the apostles. The best informed follow it up to the creation of the world. The angels see better and farther still; they trace it up to God himself.

Those to whom God has given religion as the feeling of the heart, are happy indeed, and thoroughly satisfied of its truth. But for those who have not this experience, we can only reason with them, and wait till God himself shall stamp this impression on the heart, without which faith cannot be saving.

God, to reserve to himself the sole right of teaching us, and to render this difficult problem of our being more completely incomprehensible to us, has concealed the clue to it, so high, or rather so low, that we cannot reach it; so that it is not by the energies of reason, but by the simple submission of reason, that we shall at length really know ourselves.

18. The wicked, who profess to follow the dictates of reason, had need be wonderfully strong in their reasoning. What do they say then? Do we not see, say they, that brutes live and die like men, and Turks like Christians. Have not the Turks their ceremonies, prophets, doctors, saints, and religionists as we have? Well, and is this contrary to Scripture? Do not the Scriptures affirm all this? If you have little care to know the truth, you know enough now to allow you still to slumber. But you wish with all your heart to know the truth, it is not enough. You must examine minutely. This might be enough for some mere question of vain philosophy. But here, where every thing is at stake, it is not. And yet, many a man, after a flimsy reflection like this, returns to trifles.

It is dreadful to feel every thing we possess, and every thing we learn to value, gliding continually away, without a serious wish, on our parts, to inquire, if there is nothing else that is permanent.

A different mode of life in this world, should surely follow these different suppositions, either that we may abide here for ever, or that it being sure that we cannot be here long, it is doubtful whether we shall be here another hour. This last supposition is our actual case.

19. You are bound by your circumstances to make your best exertions for the discovery of the truth. For if you die without the worship of Him, who is the true principle of all things, you are lost. But, you say, if he had wished me to worship him, he would have given me some indications of his will. And so he has; but you neglect them. The least you can do, is to seek them; and it will well repay you.

The Atheists ought to be able to say their things with absolute certainty. Now, it seems to me, that a man must be insane, who could affirm it as absolutely certain, that the human soul is mortal. I can quite understand a man's not seeing it necessary to fathom the Copernican system; but the knowledge, whether the soul be mortal or immortal, is essential to every step in life.

20. Prophecies, miracles, and all the other proofs of our religion, are not of that sort, that we can say they are geometrically convincing. But, at present, it is sufficient if you grant me, that it is not contrary to sound reason to believe them. They have their brightness and their obscurity, calculated to illuminate some, and to darken others. But the brightness is such, that it outshines, or, at the least, equals the clearest presumption to the contrary; so much so, that sound reason never can determine not to accept the evidence, and probably it is only the corruption and depravity of the heart that do. There is in the evidence, also, sufficient plainness to condemn those who refuse to believe, though not enough to compel belief; and hence it is evident, that in those who follow the light, it is grace, and not reason, which causes them to pursue; and in those who turn away, it is their corruption, and not their reason, that makes them fly from it.

Who can hesitate to admire a religion, which is evidently so thoroughly informed on matters, the truth of which we recognize increasingly, in proportion to the increase of our light.

A man who discovers proofs of the Christian religion, is like a heritor finding the titles to his property. Will he say that they are invalid, or neglect to examine them?

21. Two sorts of persons know God; those whose hearts are humbled, and who, whatever be the measure of their intellect, whether common or elevated, love reproach and self-abasement; and those who have sufficient determination to seek out, and maintain the truth, whatever opposition they meet with.

Those wise men among the heathen, who affirmed the unity of God, were persecuted; the Jews were hated; and Christians even more so.

22. The resurrection of the dead, and the conception by the Virgin Mary, appear to me to present no greater obstacle to belief, than the creation of the world. Is it more difficult to re-produce a man, than to create man at first? And if we had not become familiar with the notion of natural generation, would it have been more strange to us, that a child should spring from a woman only, than from a man and a woman?

23. There is a vast difference between peace and assurance of conscience. Nothing short of a sincere search after truth, should give peace; but nothing short of an actual possession of truth itself can give assurance.

There are two articles of faith, equally unquestionable; the one, that man in his primitive state, or in a state of grace, is elevated above all the natural world, is assimilated to God, and made a partaker of the divine nature; the other, that in this state of corruption and of sin, he is fallen from that elevation, and become like the brute creation.—These two propositions are equally true. The Scripture affirms both of these unequivocally. In Prov. viii. 31. *My delight is with the sons of men.* In Joel ii. 28. *I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.* In Psalms lxxxii. 6. *I have said, ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High.* Then again, it is said, in Isaiah xl. 6 *All flesh is grass,* &c. In Psalms xlix. 12. *Man is like unto the beasts that perish.* And in Eccles. iii. 18, 19. *I said in my heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts, even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other, yea, they have all one breath, so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast: for all is vanity.*

24. The instances of the heroic death of the Spartans and others, affect us very little; for in what way do they bear upon our case? But the death of the martyrs comes home to our bosoms, for they are our very members; we have one common interest with them; their resolution may go to form our own. There is nothing of this in the instances of heathen heroism; we have no point of union with them. In the same way as I am not made wealthy by the enriching of a stranger, but I am by the wealth of a parent or a husband.

25. We can never break off an attachment without pain. As St. Augustine says, A man does not feel the chain, when he voluntarily follows him who leads him by it; but when he begins to resist, and to go the other way, then he suffers—the chain tightens, and suffers violence. Such a chain is our body, which breaks only by death. Our Lord has said, from the coming of John the Baptist, (i. e.* from his entrance into the heart of each believer,) *The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.* Before the heart is touched, we have only the dead weight of our corruption, dragging us down to the earth. But when God draws us from above, there arises between these opposing influences, that fearful struggle in which God alone can overcome. But, as St. Leon says, We can do every thing through him, without whom we can do nothing. We must resolve, then, to sustain this warfare all our life long, for here there cannot be peace. Jesus Christ is *not come to bring peace on earth, but a sword.* But yet we must admit, that as the wisdom of men is foolishness with God, so even this warfare which seems so trying to men, is actually peace with God; it is the very experience of that peace, which Jesus Christ has accomplished. It cannot, however, be perfected in us, till the body is dissolved. And this it is which gives rise to the wish for death, even while we cheerfully endure a lengthened life for the love of him, who underwent both life and death for us; *and who,* as St. Paul says, *is able to do for us far more abundantly than we can ask or think.*

26. We should try never to be afflicted at any thing, but to consider every event as happening for the best. I believe this to be a duty, and that we sin in not performing it. For, in fact, the reason why sin is sin, is merely its contrariety to the will of God; and thus, the essence of sin consisting in opposition to that which we know to be the will of God, it appears to me evident, that when He discovers to us his will by the events of his Providence, it is a sin not to approve it.

27. When truth is abandoned and persecuted, then is the time apparently, when our services in its defence are most pleasing in the sight of God. We may judge of grace by the analogies of nature; and hence, we are allowed to conclude, that as an expatriated prince feels a peculiarly kind esteem for the few of his subjects who continue faithful amidst a general revolt; so will God regard, with a peculiar favor, those who defend the purity of religion in a day of rebuke and blasphemy. But there is this difference between the kings of the earth, and the King of kings, that princes do not make their subjects faithful, they find them so; whilst God finds all men faithless, who are without his grace, and makes them faithful when they are so. So that, whilst on the one hand, kings must confess their obligation to those who remain dutiful and obedient; on the other, those who remain steadfast in the service of God, owe it as a matter of infinite obligation to him only.

28. Neither the discipline of the body, nor the distresses of the mind, are really meritorious. It is only the gracious emotions of the heart, that sustain the body and the mind in suffering, and attach a value to such sorrows. For, in fact, these two things, pains and pleasures, are needful for sanctification. St. Paul has said, that we must, through much tribulation, enter the kingdom of God. This should comfort those who experience trial, because having learned that the way to the heaven which they seek, is full of trouble, it should rejoice them to recognize such proofs that they are in the right road. But those very pains are not without their pleasures, and the overcoming of them is always accompanied with pleasure. For, as those who forsake God, to return to the world, do so only because they find more delight in the pleasures of earth, than in those which flow from union with God, and that such charms carry them triumphantly away, and causing them to repent their former choice, make them, at last, as Tertullian says, the devil's penitents; so no one ever quits the pleasures of the world, to embrace the cross of Christ, if he has not found more delight in reproach, and poverty, and destitution, and the scorn of men, than in all the pleasures of sin. And thus, as Tertullian says, we must not suppose the Christian's life to be

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*This is an accommodation of the text, but it is ingenious.

a life of sorrow. He abandons not the pleasures of earth, but for others far more noble. St. Paul says, *Pray without ceasing; in every thing give thanks; rejoice evermore.* It is the joy of having found God, which is the real principle of our regret at having offended him, and of our whole change of life. He who has found the *treasure hid in a field*, has, according to Jesus Christ, *such joy thereof, that he sells all that he hath to buy it.* Matth. xiii. 44. The men of the world have their sorrow; but they have not that joy, which, as Jesus Christ says, *the world can neither give, nor take away.* The blessed in heaven have this joy, without any alloy of grief. Christians here have this joy, mingled with regret, at having sought after questionable pleasures, and with the fear of losing it, through the influence of those indulgences, which still minister unceasing temptation. We should endeavor then continually to cherish this fear, which husbands and regulates our joy; and according as we find ourselves leaning too much to the one, we should incline towards the other, that we may be kept from falling.

Remember your blessings in the day of your sorsow, and in the day of prosperity remember your afflictions, till that day, when the promise of Jesus, that our joy in him shall be full, is accomplished. Let us not give way to melancholy. Let us not conceive that piety consists in unmitigated bitterness of soul. True piety, which is only perfected in heaven, is so full of consolations, that they are showered on its beginning, its progress, and its crown. It is a light so brilliant, that it reflects illumination on all which belongs to it. If some sorrow mingles with it, especially at the commencement, this originates in us, not in the way that we take. It is not the result of piety newly infused into us, but of the impiety which yet remains. Take away sin, and unmingled joy is left. If we mourn then, let us not lay the blame upon our religion, but upon ourselves; and let us seek only in our amendment for relief.

29. The past should present to us no difficulties, since we have but one duty towards it—regret for our errors; the future should still less trouble us; because it is not in the least degree under our control, and we may never reach it. The present is the only moment which is really ours, and we ought to occupy it for God. To this our thoughts should chiefly be directed. Yet man, in general, is so restless, that he scarcely ever thinks of the life present and the actual instant of his existence now, but only of that in which he will live hereafter. His propensity is always to live prospectively, but never to live now. Yet our Lord did not wish our forethought to go beyond the day in which we now live. These are the limits which he requires us to keep, both for our future safety, and our present peace.

30. We sometimes learn more from the sight of evil, than from an example of good; and it is well to accustom ourselves to profit by the evil which is so common, while that which is good is so rare.

31. In the 13th chapter of Mark, Jesus Christ speaks largely to his apostles of his second coming; and as the experience of the church in general, is the experience of every Christian in particular, it is certain that this chapter predicts, not only the entire destruction of the world, to make way for a new heavens and a new earth, but also the state of each individual, in whom, at his conversion, the old man is destroyed. The prediction which it contains of the ruin of the reprobated temple, which represents the ruin of the old and reprobate man in each of us; and of which it is said, that not one stone shall be left upon another, indicates that not one affection of the old man shall be suffered to remain; and those fearful, civil, and domestic wars which are there foretold, are a too accurate picture of the inward conflict that they feel who give themselves up to God.

33. The elect are unconscious of their virtues; the reprobate of their crimes. Both will say at the last day, *Lord, when saw we thee an hungered.* Matth. xxv.

Jesus Christ did not desire the testimony of devils, nor of those who were not called; but of God, and of John the Baptist.

34. The faults of Montaigne are very great. He abounds with improper and impure expressions. His thoughts on wilful murder, and on death, are dreadful. He inspires an indifference about salvation, without fear or repentance. As his book was not written to inculcate religion, he need not have pressed it; but a man is bound not to write against it. Whatever may be said to excuse the licence of his opinions on many subjects, it is impossible in any way to palliate his heathen notions about death. For a man must have utterly renounced all religion, who does not, at all events, wish to die like a Christian: now throughout his whole book, he thinks only of dying basely and contemptibly.

36. With those who have an aversion to religion, we should begin by showing them, that it is not contrary to reason; then that it is venerable and worthy of their respect; next, we should put it before them in an amiable light, and lead them to wish that it were true; and lastly, show them by positive proof that it is true; point out its antiquity and purity, its dignity and elevation; and finally, its loveliness, as promising to us the true good.

One word from David or from Moses, such as, *God will circumcise your hearts*, serves to determine men's views. Let all the rest of a man's discourse be doubtful, and let it be uncertain whether he is a philosopher or a Christian; one sentence like this gives a color to all the rest. Up to that point there may be doubt; but not afterwards.

Though we should be in error in believing the Christian religion true, we should lose but little by it. But how sad to have been in error, in believing it false.

37. Those circumstances in life which, according to the world, are the easiest to live in, are the most difficult according to the will of God. On the contrary, nothing is so difficult in the estimation of the world as the religious life; whilst, according to God's rule, there is nothing more easy. Nothing is easier than to perform important duties, and manage great wealth, according to the morality of the world. Nothing is more difficult than to live to God in such a situation, without acquiring an interest, and a conformity of taste for such pursuits.

38. The Old Testament contained a typical presentation of future happiness, and the New Testament teaches the way to obtain it. The typical scene was full of joy; but the way to the reality is penitence. And yet, even then, the Paschal Lamb was eaten with bitter herbs; a perpetual lesson, that bitterness and sorrow are the road to joy.

39. The apparently casual utterance of the word Galilee by the Jewish crowd, when they accused Jesus before Pilate, gave occasion to Pilate to send him to Herod, by which event, the mystery was fulfilled, that he should be judged both by the Jews and the Gentiles. A mere accident, as far as we see, led to the fulfilment of the pre-determined mystery.

41. It is pleasant to be in a vessel beaten by the storm, when we have the assurance of safety. This is precisely the character of the persecutions of the church.

The history of the church, should be called a history of truth.

42. The two great sources of our sins are pride and indolence; and God has been pleased to make

known, in himself, two corresponding means of cure, his mercy and his justice. The proper effect of his justice is to abase our pride; and that of his mercy, is to overcome our indolence, by stimulating us to good works according to that text, Romans ii. 4. *The goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance;* and that of the Ninevites, Jonah iii. 9. *Who can tell if God will return and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger that we perish not.* And thus, so far is the mercy of God from encouraging licentiousness, that, on the contrary, nothing is so directly opposed to it. And instead of saying, "If there had not been mercy in God, we must have made a most strenuous effort to obey his laws;" we ought, on the contrary, to say, "Because He is a God of mercy, we must do our utmost to obey him."

43. All that is in the world is the *lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life.* Wo for that land of curse, along which these three streams pour forth their waves of kindling flame. Happy they, who, though they lie upon the bosom of these streams, are neither engulfed nor hurried down by them, but remain immoveably secure; not however standing boldly erect, but occupying a safe, though humble seat, from which they rise not till the light shall dawn; but who, resting there in peace, spread forth their hands to Him who can and will deliver them, and plant their feet firmly within the gates of the holy city, where they need fear the assaults of human pride no more;—and who yet weep, not to see the perishing goods of this world rolling down that fearful tide, but at the remembrance of that land, a better land, the heavenly Jerusalem, for which they sigh incessantly, through the period of a lengthened exile.

44. A miracle, they say, would determine our belief. Men speak thus, while they see no further. But those reasons, which, when seen at a distance, seem to limit our range, do not limit us when we have attained to them. We begin a fresh prospect from that very point. Nothing bounds the rapid march of mind. There is scarcely, it is said, a rule without an exception; nor a truth so general, but that there are some cases in which its application is questionable. It is sufficient that it is not absolutely universal, to give us a pretext for assuming that the case in point is the exception, and to say, "That is not always true; then there are cases when it is not true:" then it only remains to show, that this is one of such cases, and it were inexpert indeed not to manage that some way.

45. Charity is not a metaphorical precept. To say that Jesus Christ, who came to supersede types, by realities, is only come to teach a metaphorical charity, and to annul the real virtue which existed before, is abominable.

46. How many stars have our glasses discovered, which were formerly invisible to our philosophers! They boldly attacked the Scripture, because they found it frequently speaking of the great number of the stars. They said, "There are but one thousand and twenty-two in all; we have counted them."

47. Man is so constituted, that by merely telling him he is a fool, he will, at length, believe it; and, if he tells himself so, he will make himself believe it. For man holds an inward communication with himself, which ought to be well regulated, since even here, *Evil communications corrupt good manners.* We ought to keep silence as much as possible, and commune with ourselves of God, and thus we shall soon convince ourselves of what we really are.

49. Our own will, even in the possession of all that it can desire, would not be satisfied. But the instant we renounce it, we are content. With it, we cannot but be dissatisfied; without it, we cannot but be happy.

The true and only virtue, consists in self-abhorrence; because corruption has made us hateful; and in seeking a being truly worthy of love, that we may love him. But as we cannot love that which is beyond us, we must love a being who is within us, but not identified with us. Now, none but the Omnipresent Being can be such. *The kingdom of God is within us.* The universal Good dwells in us, yet is He distinct from us.

It is unwise in any one to become fondly attached to us, though it be, on their part, a matter of voluntary choice and of delight. We cannot but deceive those in whom we have created such an affection—for we cannot be to any one their ultimate object, or give them plenary enjoyment. Are we not ourselves ready to perish? And so the object of their regard must die. As we should be criminal in making any one believe a falsehood, though we persuaded him to it kindly, and he believed it with pleasure, and gave us pleasure by believing; so are we guilty, if we make others love us, and try to allure their affections to ourselves. Whatever advantage might accrue to us by a falsehood, we ought to inform those who are about to believe it, that it is not true. And so also should we warn our fellows against an attachment to ourselves, when their whole life should be spent in seeking after God, or in studying to please him.

50. It is superstition to repose our confidence in forms and ceremonies; but not to submit to them is pride.

51. All other sects and religions have had natural reason for their guide. Christians only have been compelled to look beyond themselves for a rule of guidance, and to study that which Jesus Christ delivered to the primitive saints, for transmission to his people. There are some who fret under this control. They wish, like other people, to follow their own inclinations. It is vain for us to say to them, *Stand ye in the way, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein.* They answer like the Jews, *We will not walk therein; but we will certainly do according to the thoughts of our own heart, like the nations round about us.*

52. There are three means of faith, reasoning, custom, and inspiration. The Christian religion, which alone has reason to support it, admits not as its true converts, those who believe without inspiration. Not that it excludes the influences of reasoning and custom: on the contrary, it is right that the mind be open to rational proof, and acquire strength of faith by habit. Still our religion requires, that we humble ourselves to ask those spiritual influences which alone can produce a true and saving faith. As St. Paul says, *Not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ be of none effect.*

53. We never do evil so thoroughly and cordially, as when we are led to it by a false principle of conscience.

54. The Jews who were called to subdue nations and their kings, have been the slaves of sin; and Christians whose calling was to serve, and be subject, are "the children that are free."

55. Is it courage in a dying man, to go in his weakness, and in his agony, and face the omnipotent and eternal God?

56. I readily believe that history, the witnesses of which have died a violent death in its support.

57. A proper fear of God originates in faith; a wrong fear, in doubt:—a right fear tends towards hope, because it springs from faith, and we do hope in the God whom we really believe:—an improper fear leads to despair, because we dread him in whom we have not faith. This fears to lose God, and that to find him.

58. Solomon and Job knew best, and exhibited most accurately the misery of man; the one being

the happiest, the other the most wretched of men: the one knowing experimentally the vanity of this world's pleasure; the other, the reality of its afflictions.

59. The heathen spoke ill of Israel; and so also did the prophet—and so far from the Israelites having a right to say, "You speak as the heathen," it appears that one of his strongest arguments was drawn from th. fact, that the heathen spake like him.

60. God does not propose that we should submit to believe him contrary to our reason, or that he should make us the subjects of a mere tyrannical authority. At the same time, he does not profess to give us reasons for every thing he does. And to reconcile these contrarieties, he is pleased to exhibit to us clear and convincing proofs of what he is, and to establish his authority with us, by miracles and proofs which we cannot honestly reject; so that subsequently, we may believe without hesitation, the mysteries which he teaches, when we perceive that we have no other ground for rejecting them, but that we are not able of ourselves, to ascertain whether they are so as they appear or not.

61. Mankind is divided into three classes of persons; those who have found out God, and are serving him; those who are occupied in seeking after God, and have not yet found him; and those who have not only not found God, but are not seeking him. The first are wise and happy; the last are foolish and unhappy; the middle class are wise, and yet unhappy.

62. Men frequently mistake their imagination for their heart, and believe that they are converted as soon as they begin to think of turning to God.

Reason acts so tardily, and on the ground of so many different views and principles, which she requires to have always before her, that she is continually becoming drowsy and inert, or going actively astray for want of seeing the whole case at once. It is just the reverse with feeling; it acts at once, and is ever ready for action. It were well then, after our reason has ascertained what is truth, to endeavor to feel it, and to associate our faith with the affections of the heart; for without this it will ever be wavering and uncertain.

The heart has its reasons, of which reason knows nothing. We find this in a thousand instances. It is the heart which feels God, and not the reasoning powers. And this is faith made perfect:—God ~~realised by~~ feeling in the heart.

63. It is an essential feature of the character of God, that his justice is infinite, as well as his mercy. Yet certainly his justice and severity towards the impenitent, is less surprising than his mercy towards the elect.

64. Man is evidently made for thinking. Thought is all his dignity, and all his worth. To think rightly, is the whole of his duty; and the true order of thought, is to begin with himself, with his author, and his end. Yet on what do men in general think? Never on these things: but how to obtain pleasure, wealth, or fame; how to become kings, without considering what it is to be a king, or even to be a man.

Human thought is in its nature wonderful. To make it contemptible, it must have some strange defects; and yet it has such, that nothing appears more ridiculous. How exalted in its nature? How degraded in its misuse.

65. If there is a God, we ought to love him—not his creatures. The reasonings of the wicked in the Book of Wisdom, are founded on their persuasion, that there is no God. They say, Grant this, and our delight shall be in the creature. But, had they known that there is a God, they would have drawn a different conclusion; and that is the conclusion of the wise. "There is a God; seek not for happiness in creatures." Then every thing which allures us towards the love of the creature, is evil, because it so far hinders us from serving God, if we know him; or from seeking him, if we do not.—Now, we are full of concupiscence. Then we are full of evil. We must learn, then, to abhor ourselves, and all that would attach us to any other than God only.

66. When we would think of God, how many things we find which turn us away from him, and tempt us to think otherwise. All this is evil; yet it is innate.

67. That we are worthy of the love of others, is false. To wish for their love is unjust. Had we been born in a right state of mind, and with a due knowledge of ourselves and others, we should not have felt this wish. Yet we are born with it. We are then born unjust. Each one regards himself. That is contrary to all order. Each should regard the general good. This selfish bias is the source of all error, in war, in government, and in economy, &c.

If the members of each national and civil community should seek the good of the whole body, these communities themselves, should seek the good of that whole body of which they are members.

He who does not hate in himself that self-love, and that propensity which leads him to exalt himself above all others, must be blind indeed; for nothing is more directly contrary to truth and justice. For it is false that we deserve this exaltation; and to attain it, is both unjust and impossible; for every one seeks it. This disposition with which we are born, is manifestly unjust—an evil from which we cannot, but from which we ought, to free ourselves.

Yet, no other religion but the Christian has condemned this as a sin, or shown that we are born with it; and that we ought to resist it, or suggested a means of cure.

68. There is in man an internal war between his reason and his passions. He might have enjoyed some little repose, had he been gifted with reason, without the passions, or with passions independently of reason. But, possessed as he is of both, he cannot but be in a state of conflict, for he cannot make peace with the one, without being at war with the other.

If it is an unnatural blindness to live without inquiry as to what we really are; it is surely a far more fearful state, to live in sin, while we acknowledge God. The greater part of men, are the subjects of one or other of these states of blindness.

69. It is certain that the soul is either mortal or immortal. The decision of this question must make a total difference in the principles of morals. Yet philosophers have arranged their moral system entirely independent of this. What an extraordinary blindness!

However bright they make the comedy of life appear before, the last act is always stained with blood. The earth is laid upon our head, and there it lies for ever.

70. When God had created the heavens and the earth, which could feel no happiness in their own existence, it pleased him to create also a race of beings who should feel this, and they should constitute a compound body of thinking members. All men are members of this body; and in order to their happiness, it was requisite that their individual and private will be conformed to the general will, by which the whole body is regulated. Yet it often happens, that one man thinks himself an independent whole; and that, losing sight of the body with which he is associated, he believes that he depends only on himself, and wishes to be his own centre,

and his own circumference. But he finds himself in this state, like a member amputated from the body, and that having in himself no principle of life, he only wanders and becomes more confused in the uncertainty of his own existence. But when, at length, a man begins rightly to know himself, he is, as it were, returned to his senses; then he feels that he is not the body; he understands then that he is only a member of the universal body, and that to be a member, is to have no life, being, or motion, but by the spirit of the body, and for the body—that a member separated from the body to which he belongs, has only a remnant and expiring existence; and that he ought not to love himself, but for the sake of the body, or rather that he should love only the whole body, because in loving that, he loves himself, seeing that in it, for it, and by it, only has he any existence whatever.

For the regulation of that love which we should feel towards ourselves, we should imagine ourselves a body composed of thinking members, for we are members one of another; and thus, consider how far each member should love itself.

The body loves the hand, and if the hand had a will of its own, it should love itself precisely in that degree, that the body loves it. Any measure of love that exceeds this, is unjust.

If the feet and the hands had a separate will, they would never be in their place, but in submitting it to the will of the whole body; to do otherwise, is insubordination and error. But in seeking exclusively the good of the whole body, they cannot but consult their individual interest.

The members of our body are not aware of the advantage of their union, of their admirable sympathy, and of the care that nature takes to infuse into them vitality, and make them grow and endure. If they could know this, and availed themselves of their knowledge, to retain in themselves the nourishment which they received, without distributing it to the other members, they would not only be unjust, but actually miserable—they would be hating, and not loving themselves: their happiness, as well as their duty, consisting in submission to the guidance of that all pervading soul, which loves them better than they can love themselves.

He who is joined to the Lord is one spirit. I love myself, because I am a member of Jesus Christ. I love Jesus Christ, because he is the head of the body of which I am a member. All are in one; each one is in the other.

Concupiscence and compulsion are the sources of all our actions, purely human. Concupiscence gives rise to voluntary, and compulsion to involuntary actions.

71. The Platonists, and even Epictetus and his followers maintained, that God only was worthy of love and admiration; yet they sought for themselves the love and admiration of men. They had no idea of their own corruption. If they feel themselves naturally led to love and adore him, and to seek in them their chief joy, they are welcome to account themselves good. But if they feel a natural aversion to this, if they have no manifest bias, but to wish to establish themselves in the good opinion of men; and that all their perfection comes to this, to lead men, without compulsion, to find happiness in loving them; then I say, that such perfection is horrible. What, have they known God, and have not desired exclusively that his creatures should love him? Have they wished that the affections of men should stop at themselves? Have they wished to be to men, the object of their deliberate preference for happiness?

72. It is true, that there is difficulty in the practice of piety. But this difficulty does not rise from the piety that is now begun within us, but from the impiety that yet remains. If our sensuality were not opposed to penitence, and our corruption to the divine purity, there would be nothing painful in it. We only suffer just in proportion as the evil which is natural to us, resists the supernatural agency of grace. We feel our heart rending under these opposing influences. But it were sadly unjust to attribute this violence to God, who draws us to himself, rather than to the world, which holds us back. Our case is like that of an infant, whom its mother drags from the arms of robbers; and who, even in the agony of larceration, must love the fond and legitimate violence of her who struggles for its liberty, and can only detest the fierce and tyrannical might of those who detain it so unjustly. The most cruel war that God can wage against men in this life is, to leave them without that war which he has himself proclaimed. *I am come*, said Christ, *to bring war;* and to provide for this war, he says, *I am come to bring fire and sword.* Matt. x. 34. Luke xii. 49. Before this, the world lived in a false and delusive peace.

73. God looks at the interior. The church judges only by the exterior. God absolves as soon as he sees penitence in the heart. The church only when she sees it in our works. God makes a church, which is pure within, and which confounds, by its internal and spiritual sanctity, the impious superficial pretences of the self-sufficient and the Pharisee. And the church forms a company of men, whose outward manners are so pure, as to condemn the habits of the heathen. If there are within her border, hypocrites so well concealed, that she detects not their malignity, she permits their continuance, for though they are not received by God, whom they cannot deceive, they are received by men, whom they can. In such cases, however, the church is not outwardly dishonored, for their conduct has the semblance of holiness.

74. The law has not destroyed natural principle; it instructs nature. Grace has not abrogated the law; it enables us to fulfil it.

We make an idol even of truth itself; for truth, apart from charity, is not God. It is but his image, an idol that we ought neither to love nor worship; still less should we love and adore its contrary, which is falsehood.

75. All public amusements are full of danger to the Christian life; but amongst all those which the world has invented, none is more to be feared than sentimental comedy. It is a representation of the passions so natural and delicate, that it awakens them, and gives them fresh spring in the heart—especially the passion of love, and still more so, when it is exhibited as eminently chaste and virtuous. For the more innocent it is made to appear to innocent minds, the more are they laid open to its influence. The violence of it gratifies our self-love, which speedily desires to give rise to the same effects, which we have seen represented. In the mean while, also, conscience justifies itself by the honorable nature of those feelings which have been portrayed, so far as to calm the fears of a pure mind, and to suggest the idea that it can surely be no violation of purity to love with an affection so apparently rational. And thus, we leave the theatre with a heart teeming with the delights and the tendernesses of love; and with the understanding so persuaded of its innocence, that we are fully prepared to receive its first impressions, or rather to seek the opportunity of giving birth to them in the heart of another, that we may receive the same pleasures, and the same adulation which we saw so well depicted on the stage.

76. Licentious opinions are so far naturally pleasing to men, that it is strange that any should be displeased with them. But this is only when they

have exceeded all moderate bounds. Besides, there are many people who perceive the truth, though they cannot act up to it. And there are few who do not know that the purity of religion is opposed to such lax opinions, and that it is folly to affirm, that an eternal reward awaits a life of licentiousness.

77. I feared that I might have written erroneously, when I saw myself condemned; but the example of so many pious witnesses made me think differently. It is no longer allowable to write truth.

The Inquisition is entirely corrupt or ignorant. It is better to obey God than man. I fear nothing. I hope for nothing. The Port Royal feared. It was bad policy to separate the two, for when they feared the least, they made themselves feared the most.

Silence is the bitterest persecution. But the saints have never held their peace. It is true that there should be a call to speak; but we are not to learn this from the decrees of the council, but from the necessity of speaking.

If my letters are condemned at Rome, that which I condemned in them, is condemned in heaven.

The Inquisition, and the society of Jesuits, are the two scourges of the truth.

78. I was asked, *first*, if I repented of having written the Provincial Letters? I answered, That far from repenting, if I had it to do again, I would write them yet more strongly.

I was asked in the *second* place, why I named the authors from whom I extracted those abominable passages which I have cited? I answered, If I were in a town where there were a dozen fountains, and I knew for certain that one of them was poisoned, I should be under obligation to tell the world not to draw from that fountain; and, as it might be supposed, that this was a mere fancy on my part, I should be obliged to name him who had poisoned it, rather than expose a whole city to the risk of death.

I was asked, *thirdly*, why I adopted an agreeable, jocose, and entertaining style? I answered, If I had written dogmatically, none but the learned would have read my book; and they had no need of it, knowing how the matter stood, at least as well as I did. I conceived it therefore my duty to write, so that my letters might be read by women, and people in general, that they might know the danger of all those maxims and propositions which were then spread abroad, and admitted with so little hesitation.

Finally, I was asked If I had myself read all the books which I quoted? I answered, No. To do this, I had need have passed the greater part of my life in reading very bad books. But I have twice read Escobar throughout; and for the others, I got several of my friends to read them; but I have never used a single passage without having read it myself in the book quoted, without having examined the case in which it is brought forward, and without having read the preceding and subsequent context, that I might not run the risk of citing that for an answer, which was, in fact, an objection, which would have been very unjust and blameable.

79. The Arithmetical machine produces results which come nearer to thought, than any thing that brutes can do; but it does nothing that would, in the least, lead one to suppose that it has a will like them.

80. Some authors, speaking of their works, say, "My book, my commentary, my history." They betray their own vulgarity, who have just got a house over their heads, and have always, "My house," at their tongue's end. It were better to say, "Our book, our history, our commentary," &c. for generally there is more in it belonging to others than to themselves.

81. Christian piety annihilates the egotism of the heart; worldly politeness veils and represses it.

82. If my heart were as poor as my understanding, I should be happy, for I am thoroughly persuaded, that such poverty is a great means of salvation.

83. One thing I have observed, that let a man be ever so poor, he has always something to leave on his death bed.

84. I love poverty, because Jesus Christ loved it. I love wealth, because it gives the means of assisting the wretched. I wish to deal faithfully with all men. I render no evil to those who have done evil to me; but I wish them a condition similar to my own, in which they would not receive from the greater portion of men either good or evil. I aim to be always true, and just, and open towards all men. I have much tenderness of heart towards those whom God has more strictly united to me. Whether I am in secret, or in the sight of men, I have set before me in all my actions, the God who will judge them, and to whom I have consecrated them. These are my feelings; and I bless my Redeemer every day of my life, who has planted them in me; and who, from a man full of weakness, misery, lust, pride, and ambition, has formed one victorious over these evils by the power of that grace, to which I owe every thing, seeing that in myself there is nothing but misery and horror.

85. Disease is the natural state of Christians; for by its influence, we become what we should be at all times; we endure evil; we are deprived of all our goods, and of all the pleasures of sense; we are freed from the excitement of those passions which annoy us all through life; we live without ambition and without avarice, in the constant expectation of death. And is it not thus, that Christians should spend their days? And is it not real happiness to find ourselves placed by necessity in that state in which we ought to be, and that we have nothing to do, but humbly and peaceably submit to our lot. With this view, I ask for nothing else but to pray God that he would bestow this grace upon me.

86. It is strange that men have wished to dive into the principles of things, and to attain to universal knowledge; for surely it were impossible to cherish such a purpose, without a capacity, or the presumption of a capacity, as boundless as nature itself.

87. Nature has many perfections to show that it is an image of the Deity. It has defects, to show that it is but an image.

88. Men are so completely fools by necessity, that he is but a fool in a higher strain of folly, who does not confess his foolishness.

89. Do away the doctrine of probability, and you please the world no longer. Give them the doctrine of probability, and you cannot but please them.

90. If that which is contingent were made certain, the zeal of the saints, for the practice of good works, would be useless.

91. It must be grace indeed that makes a man a saint. And who, even in his most doubtful mood, does not know what constitutes a saint, and what a natural man?

96. The smallest motion is of importance in nature. The whole substance of the sea moves when we throw in a pebble. So in the life of grace, the most trifling action has a bearing in its consequences upon the whole. Every thing then is important.

97. Naturally men hate each other. Much use has been made of human corruption, to make it subserve the public good. But then, all this is but

deception; a false semblance of charity; really it is only hatred after all. This vile resource of human nature, this *figmentum malum* is only covered. It is not removed.

98. They, who say that man is too insignificant to be admitted to communion with God, had need be more than ordinarily great to know it assuredly.

99. It is unworthy of God to join himself to man in his miserable degradation; but it is not so to bring him forth from that misery.

100. Who ever heard such absurdities? sinners purified without penitence; just men made perfect without the grace of Christ; God without a controlling power over the human will; predestination without mystery; and a Redeemer without the certainty of salvation.

103. That Christianity is not the only religion, is no real objection to its being true. On the contrary, this is one of the means of proof that it is true.

104. In a state established as a republic, like Venice, it were a great sin to try to force a king upon them, and to rob the people of that liberty which God had given them. But in a state where monarchical power has been admitted, we cannot violate the respect due to the king, without a degree of sacrilege; for as the power that God has conferred on him, is not only a representation, but a participation of the power of God, we may not oppose it without resisting manifestly the ordinance of God. Moreover, as civil war, which is the consequence of such resistance, is one of the greatest evils that we can commit in violation of the love of our neighbor, we can never sufficiently magnify the greatness of the crime. The primitive Christians did not teach us revolt, but patience, when kings trampled upon their rights.

I am as far removed from the probability of this sin, as from assassination and robbery on the highway. There is nothing more contrary to my natural disposition, and to which I am less tempted.

105. Eloquence is the art of saying things in such a manner, that in the *first* place, those to whom we speak, may hear them without pain, and with pleasure; and, in the *second*, that they may feel interested in them, and be led by their own self-love, to a more willing reflection on them. It consists in the endeavor to establish a correspondence between the understanding and heart of those to whom we speak, on the one hand, and the thoughts and expressions of which, we make use on the other; an idea which supposes, at the outset, that we have well studied the human heart, to know all its recesses, and rightly to arrange the proportions of a discourse, calculated to meet it. We ought to put ourselves in the place of those to whom we speak, and try upon our own heart, the turn of thought which we give to a discourse, and thus ascertain if the one is adapted to the other, and if we can in this way acquire the conviction, that the hearer will be compelled to surrender to it. Our strength should be, in being simple and natural, neither inflating that which is little, nor lowering that which is really grand. It is not enough that the statement be beautiful. It should suit the subject, having nothing exuberant, nothing defective.

Eloquence is a pictural representation of thought; and hence those who, after having painted it, make additions to it, give us a fancy picture, but not a portrait.

106. The Holy Scripture is not a science of the understanding, but of the heart. It is intelligible only to those who have an honest and good heart. The veil that is upon the Scriptures, in the case of the Jews, is there also in the case of Christians. Charity is not only the end of the Holy Scriptures, but the entrance to them.

107. If we are to do nothing, but where we have the advantage of certainty, then we should do nothing in religion; for religion is not a matter of certainty. But how many things we do uncertainly, as sea voyages, battles, &c. I say then, that we should do nothing at all, for nothing is certain. There is more of certainty in religion, than in the hope that we shall see the morrow; for it is not certain that we shall see the morrow. But it is certainly possible, that we may not see to-morrow.[*] And this cannot be affirmed of religion. It is not certain that religion is; but who will dare to say, that it is certainly possible that it is not? Now when we labor for to-morrow, and upon an uncertainty, reason justifies us.

108. The inventions of men progressively improve from age to age. The goodness and the wickedness of men in general remain the same.

109. A man must acquire a habit of more philosophic speculation and thought on what he sees, and form his judgment of things by that, while he speaks generally to others in more popular language.

111.[†] Casual circumstances give rise to thoughts, and take them away again; there is no art of creating or preserving them.

112. You think that the church should not judge of the inward man, because this belongs only to God; nor of the outward man, because God judges of the heart; and thus, destroying all power of discriminating human character, you retain within the church the most dissolute of men, and men who so manifestly disgrace it, that even the synagogues of the Jews, and the sects of philosophers would have ejected them as worthless, and consigned them to abhorrence.

113. Whoever will, may now be made a priest, as in the days of Jeroboam.

114. The multitude which is not brought to act as unity, is confusion. That unity which has not its origin in the multitude, is tyranny.

115. Men consult only the ear, for want of the heart.

116. We should be able to say in every dialogue or discourse, to those who are offended at it, "Of what can you complain?"

117. Children are alarmed at the face which they have themselves disguised; but how is it, that he who is so weak as an infant, is so bold in maturer years? Alas, his weakness has only changed its subject!

118. It is alike incomprehensible that God is, and that he is not; that the soul is in the body, and that we have no soul; that the world is, or is not created; that there is, or is not such a thing as original sin.

119. The statements of atheists ought to be perfectly clear of doubt. Now it is not perfectly clear, that the soul is material.

120. Unbelievers are the most credulous! They believe the miracles of Vespasian, that they may not believe the miracles of Moses.

ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF DESCARTES.

We may say generally, the world is made by figure and motion, for that is true; but to say what figure and motion, and to specify the composition of the machine, is perfectly ridiculous; for it is useless, questionable, and laborious. But, if it be all true, the whole of the philosophy is not worth an hour's thought.

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[*] That is, we know of possible events by which this might be the case.

[†] The thought 110, is not found in the MSS. but only in the edition of Condorcet, an authority certainly not to be followed.

CHAPTER XXII.

THOUGHTS ON DEATH, EXTRACTED FROM A LETTER OF M. PASCAL, ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER.

When we are in affliction, owing to the death of some friend whom we loved, or some other misfortune that has happened to us, we ought not to seek for consolation in ourselves, nor in our fellow-creatures, nor in any created thing; we should seek it in God only. And the reason is, that creatures are not the primary cause of those occurrences which we call evils. But that the providence of God being the true and sole cause of them, the arbiter and the sovereign, we ought, undoubtedly, to have recourse directly to their source, and ascend even to their origin, to obtain satisfactory alleviation. For, if we follow this precept, and consider this afflicting bereavement, not as the result of chance, nor as a fatal necessity of our nature; not as the sport of those elements and atoms of which man is formed, (for God has not abandoned his elect to the risk of caprice or chance,) but as the indispensable, inevitable, just, and holy result of a decree of the providence of God, to be executed in the fulness of time; and, in fact, that all which happens has been eternally present and pre-ordained in God; if, I say, by the teachings of grace we consider this casualty, not in itself, and independently of God, but viewed independently of self, and as in the will of God, and in the justice of his decree, and the order of his Providence; which is, in fact, the true cause, without which it could not have happened, by which alone it has happened, and happened in the precise manner in which it has; we should adore in humble silence the inaccessible elevation of his secrecy; we should venerate the holiness of his decrees; we should bless the course of his providence; and, uniting our will to the very will of God, we should desire with him, in him, and for him, those very things which he has wished in us, and for us, from all eternity.

2. There is no consolation but in truth. Unquestionably there is nothing in Socrates or Seneca which can soothe or comfort us on these occasions. They were under the error, which, in blinding the first man, blinded all the rest. They have all conceived death to be natural to man; and all the discourses that they have founded upon this false principle, are so vain and so wanting in solidity, that they have only served to show, by their utter uselessness, how very feeble man is, since the loftiest productions of the greatest minds are so mean and puerile.

It is not so with Jesus Christ; it is not so with the canonical Scriptures. The truth is set forth there: and consolation is associated with it, as infallibly as that truth itself is infallibly separated from error. Let us regard death then, by the light of that truth which the Holy Spirit teaches. We have there a most advantageous means of knowing that really and truly death is the penalty of sin, appointed to man as the desert of crime, and necessary to man for his escape from corruption: that it is the only means of delivering the soul from the motions of sin in the members, from which the saints are never entirely free, while they live in this world. We know that life, and the life of Christians especially, is a continued sacrifice, which can only be terminated by death. We know that Jesus Christ, when he came into this world, considered himself, and offered himself to God as a sacrifice, and as a real victim; that his birth, his life, his death, resurrection and ascension, and his sitting at the right hand of the Father, are but one and the same sacrifice. We know that what took place in Jesus Christ, must occur also in all his members.

Let us consider life then as a sacrifice, and that the accidents of life make no impression on the Christian mind, but as they interrupt or carry on this sacrifice. Let us call nothing evil but that which constitutes the victim due to God a victim offered to the devil; but let us call that really good, which renders the victim due in Adam to the devil, a victim sacrificed to God; and by this rule, let us examine death.

For this purpose we must have recourse to the person of Jesus Christ: for as God regards men only in the person of the Mediator, Jesus Christ, men also should only regard either others or them selves, mediately through him.

If we do not avail ourselves of this mediation, we shall find in ourselves nothing but real miseries or abominable evils; but if we learn to look at every thing through Jesus Christ, we shall always obtain comfort, satisfaction, and instruction.

Let us look at death then through Christ, and not without him. Without Christ it is horrible, detestable; it is the abhorrence of human nature. In Jesus Christ it is very different; it is lovely, holy, and the joy of the faithful. All trial is sweet in Jesus Christ, even death. He suffered and died to sanctify death and suffering; and as God and man, he has been all that is great and noble, and all that is abject, in order to consecrate in himself all things except sin, and to be the model of all conditions of life.

In order to know what death is, and what it is in Jesus Christ, we should ascertain what place it holds in his one eternal sacrifice; and with a view to this, observe, that the principal part of a sacrifice is the death of the victim. The offering and the consecration which precede it, are preliminary steps, but the actual sacrifice is death, in which the creature, by the surrender of its life, renders to God all the homage of which it is capable, making itself nothing before the eyes of His majesty, and adoring that Sovereign Being which exists essentially and alone. It is true that there is yet another step after the death of the victim, which is God's acceptance of the sacrifice, and which is referred to in the Scripture, as Gen. viii. 21. *And God smelled a sweet savor.* This certainly crowns the offering; but then this is more an act of God towards the creature, than of the creature to God; and does not therefore alter the fact that the last act of the creature is his death.

All this has been accomplished in Jesus Christ. When he came into the world he offered himself. So Heb. ix. 14. *Through the eternal Spirit, he offered himself to God. When he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body thou hast prepared me. Then, said I, Lo, I come, in the volume of the book it is written of me, to do thy will, O God; yea, thy law is within my heart.* Heb. x. 5. Psalm xl. 7, 8. Here is his oblation; his sanctification followed immediately upon his oblation. This sacrifice continued through his whole life, and was completed by his death. So Luke xxiv. 26. *Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and entered into his glory.* And again, Heb. v. *In the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, he was heard in that he feared;* and *though he were a son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.* And God raised him from the dead, and caused his glory to rest upon him, (an event formerly prefigured by the fire from heaven, which fell upon the victims to burn and consume the body,) to quicken him to the life of glory. This is what Jesus Christ has obtained, and which was accomplished at his resurrection.

This sacrifice, therefore, having been perfected by the death of Jesus Christ, and consummated even in his body by the resurrection, in which the likeness of sinful flesh has been swallowed up in glory, Jesus Christ had done all on his part; it remained only that the sacrifice be accepted of God; and that, as the smoke arose and carried the odor to the throne of God, so Jesus Christ should be in this state of complete immolation, offered, carried up, and received at the throne of God itself; and this was accomplished in his ascension, in which, by his own strength, and by the strength of the Holy Spirit, supplied to him continually, he ascended up on high. He was borne up as the smoke of those victims who were typical of Jesus Christ, was carried up buoyant on the air, which is a type of the Holy Spirit. And the Acts of the Apostles state expressly, that he was received into heaven, to assure us that this holy sacrifice, offered on the earth, was accepted and received into the bosom of God.

Such is the fact with regard to our Almighty Lord. Now, let us look at ourselves. When we enter into the church, which is the company of all faithful people, or to speak more particularly, of God's elect, into which Jesus Christ, by a privilege peculiar to the only Son of God, entered at the moment of his incarnation, we are offered and sanctified. This sacrifice continues through life, and is perfected in death, in which the soul, quitting entirely the vices and the corrupt affections of earth, whose contagion still, throughout life, ministered some infection, perfects her own immolation, and is received into the bosom of God.

Let us not then sorrow for the death of the faithful, as the heathen who have no hope. We have not lost them at their death. We lost them, so to speak, from that moment when they were really given to God. From that time they were the Lord's. Their life was devoted to him; their actions to mankind regarded only the glory of God. Then in their death they have become entirely separated from sin, and in that moment they have been received of God, and their sacrifice received its completion and its crown.

They have performed their vows; they have done the work which God gave them to do; they have accomplished the work for which alone they were created. The will of God has been done in them, and their will has been absorbed in the will of God. That then which God has joined together, let not our will put asunder; let us destroy or subdue, by a right comprehension of the truth, that sentiment of our corrupted and fallen nature which presents to us only false impressions, and which disturbs by its delusions, the holy feelings that evangelical truth inspires.

Let us not then regard death as heathens, but as Christians, with hope, as St. Paul ordains; for this is the special privilege of believers. Think not of a corpse as a putrid carcass, as lying nature represents it to us; but count it, according to the apprehensions of faith, as the sacred and eternal temple of the Spirit of God.

For we know that the bodies of the saints are preserved by the Holy Spirit unto the resurrection, which will be accomplished by that Spirit dwelling in them for that purpose. It was on this account that some reverenced relics of the dead; and for this same reason, formerly, the eucharist was placed in the mouth of the dead. But the church has given up this custom, because the eucharist being the bread of life, and of the living, ought not to be administered to the dead.

Do not consider the faithful, who have died in the grace of God as having ceased to live, though nature suggests this; but as now beginning to live, for so the truth assures us. Do not regard their souls as perished and annihilated, but as quickened and united to the sovereign source of life. And in this way, correct by the belief of these truths, those erroneous opinions which are so impressed upon our minds, and those feelings of dread which are so natural to us.

3. God created man with two principles of love; the love of God, and the love of self; but governed by this law, that the love of God should be infinite, having only the infinite God for its end; the love of self finite and subordinate to God.

Man, in that state, not only loved himself without sinning; but not to have loved himself, would have been criminal.

But since sin entered into the world, man has lost the former principle of love; and this love of self, having dwelt alone in this noble mind, made originally capable of an infinite love, has spread forth inordinately in the void which the love of God left desolate; and hence man now loves himself, and all other things for his own sake, i. e. in an infinite degree.

There is the origin of self-love. It was natural to Adam; and in his state of innocence it was quite justifiable; but in consequence of sin, it has become criminal and unbounded. We see then both the source of this love, and the cause of its enormity and guilt. It is the same with the desire of dominion, with inactivity, and all other vices; and this idea may be easily transferred to the dread which we have of death. This dread was natural and proper in Adam, when innocent; because as his life was approved of God, it ought to be so by man; and death would have been dreadful, as terminating a life conformed to the will of God. But since man has sinned, his life has become corrupt, his body and soul mutually hostile to each other, and both hostile to God.

But while this change has poisoned a life once so holy, the love of life has yet remained; and that dread of death, which has remained the same also, and which was justifiable in Adam, is not justifiable in us.

We see, then, the origin of the dread of death, and the cause of its guilt. Let the illumination of faith correct the error of nature.

The dread of death is natural to man; but it was in his state of innocence, because death could not enter paradise, without finishing a life perfectly pure. It was right, then, to hate it, when it went to separate a holy soul from a holy body: but then it is right to love it, when it separates a holy soul from an impure body. It was right to shrink from it when it would have broken up the peace between the soul and the body; but not when it terminates an otherwise irreconcilable dissension. In fact, when it would have afflicted an innocent body; when it would have deprived the body of the power of knowing God; when it would have separated from the soul a body submissive to its will, and cooperating with it; when it would have terminated all the blessings of which man knew himself capable, then it was right to abhor it. But, when it terminates an impure life; when it takes away from the body the liberty of sinning; when it rescues the soul from the might of a rebel, who counteracts all his efforts for salvation, it is very improper to retain towards it the same opinions.

We must not then give up this love of life which was given us by nature; for we have received it from God. But then, let it be a love for that same life which God gave, and not for a life directly contrary to it. And whilst we approve the love which Adam felt to the life of innocence, and which Jesus Christ also had for his life, let it be one business to hate a life, the reverse of that which Jesus Christ loved, and to attain to that death which Jesus Christ experienced, and which happens to a body approved of God; but let us not dread a death, which, as it operates to punish a guilty body, and to cleanse a vitiated body, ought to inspire in us very different feelings, if we have but the principles, in however small a degree, of faith, hope, and charity.

It is one of the great principles of Christianity, that all which happened to Jesus Christ, should take place in the soul and body of each Christian: that as Jesus Christ has suffered during his mortal life, has died to this mortal life, has risen to a new life, has ascended to heaven, where he has sat down at the right hand of the Father; so ought both the body and soul to suffer, die, rise again, and ascend to heaven.

All these things are accomplished during this life in the soul, but not in the body. The soul suffers and dies to sin; the soul is raised to a new life; and then, at last, the soul quits the earth, and ascends to heaven in the holy paths of a heavenly life; as St. Paul says, *Our conversation is in heaven.*

But none of these things take place in the body during this present life; they will occur hereafter. For, in death, the body dies to its mortal life: at the judgment, it shall rise to new life; and after the judgment, it shall ascend to heaven, and dwell there for ever. So that the same train of events happens to the body as to the soul, only at different times: and these changes in the body do not take place till those of the soul are complete—that is, after death. So that death is the coronation of the beatification of the soul, and the dawn of blessedness to the body also.

These are the wonderful ways of Divine wisdom respecting the salvation of souls! And St. Augustine teaches us here, that God has adopted this arrangement to prevent a serious evil; for if the period of the act of the spiritual regeneration of the soul had been made the period of the death and resurrection of the body also, men would only have submitted to the obedience of the gospel from the love of life; but by the present arrangement, the power of faith is much more manifested, whilst the way to immortality is traced through the shades of death.

4. It were not right that we should not feel and mourn over the afflictions and misfortunes of life, like angels who have not the passions of our nature. It were not right either that we should sorrow without consolation like the heathens, who know not the hope of grace. But it is right that we should be afflicted and comforted as Christians, and that the consolations of grace should rise superior to the feelings of nature; so that grace should not only be in us, but victorious in us; so that, in hallowing our heavenly Father's name, his will should become ours; so that his grace should reign over our imperfect nature, and that our afflictions should be, as it were, the matter of a sacrifice which grace completes, and consumes to the glory of God: and that these individual sacrifices should honor and anticipate that universal sacrifice, in which our whole nature shall be perfected by the power of Jesus Christ.

And hence we derive benefit from our imperfections, since they serve as matter for such sacrifices.* For it is the object of true Christians to profit by their own imperfections, in as much as *all things work together for good to the elect.*

And if we are careful, we shall find great profit and edification in considering this matter as it is in truth. For since it is true, that the death of the body is only the image of the death of the soul, and that we build on this principle, that we have good ground to hope for the salvation of those whose death we mourn; then it is certain, that if we cannot check the tide of our grief and distress, we may at least derive from it this benefit, that if the death of the body is so dreadful, as to give rise to such emotions, that of the soul would have caused us agonies far less consolable. God has sent the former to those for whom we weep; but we hope that the latter he has averted. See then in the magnitude of our woes, the greatness of our blessings; and let the excess of our grief, be the measure of our joy.

5. Man is evidently too weak to judge accurately of the train of future events. Let our hope, then, be in God; and do not let us weary ourselves by rash and unjustifiable anticipations. Let us commit ourselves to God for the guidance of our way in this life, and let not discontent have dominion over us.

Saint Augustine teaches us that there is in each man, a Serpent, an Eve, and an Adam. Our senses and natural propensities are the Serpent; the excitable desire is the Eve; and reason is the Adam. Our nature tempts us perpetually; criminal desire is often excited; but sin is not completed till reason consents.

Leave then this Serpent and this Eve to distress us if they will; but let us pray to God so to strengthen our Adam by his grace, that he may abide victorious—that Jesus Christ may be his conqueror, and may dwell in us for ever.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRAYER, FOR THE SANCTIFIED USE OF AFFLICTION BY DISEASE.

O Lord, whose Spirit is in all things so good and gracious, and who art so merciful, that not only the prosperities, but even the humiliations of thy elect are the results of thy mercy: graciously enable me to act in the state to which thy righteous hand has reduced me, not as a heathen, but as a true Christian; that I may recognize thee as my Father and my God, in whatever state I am; since the change in my condition, makes no change in thine; since thou art always the same, though I am ever variable; and that thou art no less God, when thou ministerest affliction or punishment, than in the gifts of consolation and peace.

2. Thou has given me health to serve thee, and I have profanely misused it. Thou hast now sent disease to correct me. Suffer me not so to receive it as to anger thee by my impatience. I have abused my health, and thou has rightly punished me; let me not abuse thy correction also. And since the corruption of my nature is such, that it renders thy favors hurtful to me, let thy Almighty grace, O God, make these thy chastenings profitable. If in the vigor of health, my heart was filled with the love of this world, destroy that vigor for my safety's sake, and unfit me for the enjoyment of this world, either by weakness of body, or by overcoming love, that I may rejoice in thee only.

3. O God, to whom at the end of my life, and at the end of this world, I must give an account of all that I have done; O God, who permittest this world to exist, only for the trial of thine elect, and the punishment of the wicked; O God, who leavest hardened sinners to the luxurious, but criminal enjoyments of this world; O God, who causest this body to die, and at the hour of death, separatest our souls from all that in this world they have loved, O God, who at the last moment of my life, breakest me off from all those things to which I am attached, and on which my heart has been fixed; O God, who wilt consume at the last day the heavens and the

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* 2 Corinthians xii. 9, 10.

earth, and all the creatures that are therein, to show to all the world that nothing subsists but thyself, and that nothing but thyself is worthy of love, because thou only dost endure; O God, who wilt destroy all these vain idols, and all these fatal objects of our affections; I praise thee, and I will bless thee, O my God, all the days of my life, that it hath pleased thee to anticipate in my favor, the event of that awful day, by destroying already, as it respects me, all these things, through the weakness to which thou hast reduced me. I praise thee, O my God, and I will bless thee all the days of my life, that it hath pleased thee to reduce me to a state of inability to enjoy the sweets of health, and the pleasures of the world; and that thou hast in a manner destroyed for my profit, those deceitful idols which thou wilt hereafter effectually destroy, to the confusion of the wicked in the day of thine anger. Grant, Lord, that I may henceforth judge myself according to this destruction, which thou has wrought in my behalf; that thou mayest not judge me after that entire destruction which thou wilt make of my natural life and of the whole world. For seeing, O Lord, that at the instant of my death, I shall find myself separated from this world, stripped of all things, and alone in thy presence, to answer to thy justice for all the thoughts of my heart: grant that I may consider myself in this disease, as in a kind of death, separated from the world, stripped of all the objects of my affection, and alone in thy presence, to implore from thy compassion the conversion of my heart; and that hence I may have great comfort from the thought, that thou visitest me now with a species of death, as the result of thy mercy, before thou appointest me really and finally to death as the result of thy justice. Grant, then, O my God, that since thou hast anticipated my death, I may anticipate the rigor of thy sentence; and that I may examine myself before thy judgment, to find mercy in thy presence.

4. Grant, O my God, that I may adore in silence, he order of thy providence, in the guidance of my ife; that thy rod may comfort me; and that, if I have lived in the bitterness of my own sins during my prosperity, I may now taste the heavenly sweetness of thy grace, during the salutary evils with which thou hast chastened me. But I confess, O my God, that my heart is so hardened, and so full of the thoughts, and cares, and anxieties, and attachments of the world, that neither sickness, nor health, neither sermons, nor books, nor thy holy Scriptures, nor thy gospel, nor its holiest mysteries, nor alms, nor fastings, nor mortifications, nor the sacraments, nor thy death, nor all my efforts, nor those of the whole world put together, can effect any thing whatever, even to begin my conversion, if thou dost not accompany all these things by the extraordinary assistance of thy grace. For this, O my God, I address myself to thee, the Almighty, to ask from thee a gift, that all thy creatures together could not bestow. I should not have the daring to direct my cry to thee, if any other being could answer it. But, O my God, since the conversion of my heart, for which I now entreat, is a work which surpasses all the efforts of nature; I can apply to none but to the Author and Almighty master of nature, and of my heart. To whom should I cry, Lord, to whom should I have recourse but to thee? Nothing short of God can fulfil my desire. It is God himself that I need, and that I seek; and to thee only, O my God, do I address myself, that I may obtain thee. Open my heart, Lord. Enter this rebel place, where sin has reigned. Sin holds it in subjection. Enter as into the house of a strong man; but first bind the strong and mighty enemy who ruled it, and then take possession of the treasures which are there. O Lord, regain those affections which the world has stolen. Seize this treasure thyself, or rather resume it; for it belongs to thee as a tribute that I owe thee, as stamped by thine own image. Thou hast imprinted it at the moment of my baptism, which was my second birth; but it is all effaced. The image of the world is graven there so deeply, that thine is scarcely cognizable. Thou only couldst create my soul; thou only canst create it anew. Thou only couldst impress there thine image; thou only canst reform it, and refresh the lineaments of thy obliterated likeness; that is, Jesus Christ my Saviour, who is thine image, and the very character of thy subsistence.

5. O, my God, how happy is a heart that can love so lovely an object, with an honorable and a beneficial love! I feel that I cannot love the world without displeasing thee, without injuring and dishonoring myself; and yet the world is still the object of my delight. O, my God, how happy is the soul who finds his delight in thee, since he may abandon himself to thy love, not only without scruple, but with commendation. How firm and lasting is his happiness, since his hope cannot be disappointed, because thou wilt never be destroyed, and neither life nor death shall separate him from the object of his desires; and that the same moment which overwhelms the wicked and their idols in one common ruin, shall unite the just with thee in one common glory; and that as the one shall perish with the perishable objects to which they were attached; the others, shall subsist eternally in the eternal and self-existent object to which they were so strictly united. Blessed are they, who, with perfect freedom, and an invincible bias of their will, love perfectly and freely, that which they are incessantly constrained to love.

6. Perfect, O my God, the holy emotions that thou hast given me. Be their end, as thou art their beginning. Crown thine own gifts; for thine I admit them to be. Yes, O my God, far from assuming that my prayers have any merit, which could constrain thee to answer them, I most humbly confess, that having given to the creature that heart, which thou didst form for thyself only, and not for the world, nor for myself, I could look for no blessing but to thy mercy; since I have nothing in me which could deserve it; and that all the natural emotions of my heart, inclining towards the creatures or myself, can only anger thee. I thank, thee, then, O my God, for the holy emotions that thou hast given me, and even for that disposition which thou hast also given me to feel thankful.

7. Touch my heart with repentance for its faults; for without this inward grief, the outward evils with which thou hast smitten my body, will be but a new occasion of sin. Make me to know that the diseases of my body are only the chastening, and the emblem of the diseases of my soul. But grant, Lord, also, that they may be the remedy, by making me consider, amidst these pains that I do feel, the evil which I did not previously perceive in my soul, though totally diseased and covered with *putrifying sores*. For, O Lord, the greatest of its evils is that insensibility, and that extreme weakness which has deprived it of all consciousness of its own miseries. Make me then to feel them deeply; and let the remainder of my life be a continued penitence, to bewail the sins which I have committed.

8. O Lord, though my life past has been exempt from gross crimes, from the temptations to which thou hast preserved me; it has been very hateful in thy sight, from my continual negligence, my misuse of thy holy sacraments, my contempt of thy word, and of thy holy influence, by the listlessness and uselessness of my actions and thoughts, by the total loss of that time which thou hast given me for thy worship, to seek, in all my ways, the means

pleasing thee, and to repent of the sins, which I daily commit; sins from which, even the most righteous are not exempt; so that even their life had need be a continual penitence, or they run the risk of falling from their steadfastness. In this way, O my God, I have ever been rebellious against thee.

9. Yes, Lord, up to this hour I have been ever deaf to thy inspirations; I have despised thy oracles; I have judged contrary to what thou judgest; I have contradicted those holy precepts which thou didst bring into the world, from the bosom of thy eternal Father, and by which thou wilt judge the world. Thou sayest, *Blessed are they that mourn, and wo to them that are comforted;* and I have said, Wretched are those that mourn, and blessed are those who are comforted. I have said, Happy are they who enjoy a fortunate lot, a splendid reputation, and robust health. And why have I thought them happy, except that all these advantages furnished them an ample facility for enjoying the creature, that is, for offending thee. Yes, Lord, I confess that I have esteemed health a blessing, not because it was a ready means of serving thee usefully, by devoting more care and watchfulness to thy service, and by the ready assistance of my neighbor; but that, by its aid, I could abandon myself, with less restraint to the abounding delights of life, and taste more freely its deadly pleasures. Graciously, O Lord, reform my corrupted reason, and conform my principles to thine. Grant that I may count myself happy in affliction, and that in this inability for external action, my thoughts may be so purified, as no longer to be repugnant to thine; and that in this way, I may find thee within me, when from my weakness I cannot go forth to seek thee. For, Lord, thy kingdom is within thy believing people; and I shall find it within myself, if I discover there thy Spirit, and thy precepts.

10. But, Lord, what shall I do to constrain thee to pour forth thy Spirit upon this wretched earth? All that I am is hateful in thy sight; and I find nothing in me which can please thee. I see nothing there, Lord, except my griefs which bear some faint resemblance to thine. Consider then the ills that I suffer, and those which threaten me. Look with an eye of pity on the wounds which thy hand hath made. O my Saviour, who didst love thy sufferings even in death; O my God, who didst become man, only to suffer more than any man, for man's salvation; O God, who didst become incarnate after the sin of men, and who didst take a body only to suffer in it all that our sins deserved; O God, who lovest so much the suffering bodies of men, that thou didst choose for thyself the most afflicted body that ever was in the world; graciously accept my body, not for its own sake, nor for any thing in it—for all deserves thine indignation—but for the miseries which it endures, which only can be worthy of thy love. Kindly regard my sufferings, O Lord, and let my distresses invite thee to visit me. But to complete the sanctification of thy dwelling, grant, O my Saviour, that if my body is admitted to the common privilege with thine, that it suffers for my offences, my soul also may have this in common with thy soul, that it may be in bitterness for them also; and that thus, I may suffer with thee, and like thee, both in my body and my soul, for the sins which I have committed.

11. Graciously, O Lord, impart thy consolations during my sufferings, that I may suffer as a Christian. I ask not exemption from distress; for this is the reward of the saints: but I pray not to be given up to the agonies of suffering nature, without the consolations of thy Spirit; for this is the curse of Jews and heathens. I ask not a fulness of consolation, without any suffering; for that is the life of glory. I ask not a full cup of sorrow, without alleviation, for that is the present state of Judaism. But I ask, Lord, to feel, at the same time, both the pangs of nature for my sins, and the consolations of thy Spirit through grace; for this is true Christianity. Let me not experience pain, without consolation; but let me feel pains and consolations at the same time, so that ultimately I may experience consolation only, free from all suffering. For formerly, Lord, before the advent of thy Son, thou didst leave the world to languish without comfort under natural sufferings: now thou dost console and temper the sufferings of thy saints, by the grace of thine only Son; and hereafter thou wilt crown thy saints with a beatitude, perfectly pure, in thy Son's eternal glory. These are the marvellous degrees through which thou dost carry thy works. Thou hast withdrawn me from the first; cause me to pass through the second; that I may reach the third. This, Lord, is the mercy that I ask.

12. Suffer me not to be so far alienated from thee, as to be able to contemplate thy soul, sorrowful even unto death, and thy body laid low by death for my sins, without rejoicing to suffer also both in my body and my mind. For there is nothing more disgraceful, and yet nothing more usual among Christians, than that while thou didst sweat blood for the expiation of our offences, we should be living luxuriously at ease; and that Christians, who make a profession of being devoted to thee; that those who, in their baptism, have renounced the world to follow thee; that those who have vowed solemnly, before the church, to live and die for thee; that those who profess to believe that the world persecuted and crucified thee; that those who believe that thou didst give thyself up to the wrath of God, and to the cruelty of men, to redeem them from all iniquity; that those, I say, who believe all these truths, who consider thy body as the sacrifice offered for their salvation; who consider the indulgences, and the sins of this world, as the only cause of thy sufferings, and the world itself as thy executioner; that they should seek to indulge their own bodies with these same delights, and in this same world; and that they who could not without horror, see a man caress and cherish the murderer of his own father, who had surrendered himself to secure his life, should live as I have done; should live joyously amidst that world, which I know unquestionably to have been the murderer of him whom I recognize as my Father and my God, who gave himself up for my salvation, and who has borne in his own body the punishment of my transgressions. It is right, O Lord, that thou hast interrupted a joyousness so criminal as that in which I have indulged amidst the shadows of death.

13. Take from me then, O Lord, the grief that self-love may feel on account of my own sufferings, and on account of those human events which do not fall out precisely according to the wishes of my heart, and which do not make for thy glory. But awaken within me a sorrow assimilated to thine own. Let my sufferings mollify thine anger. Make them the means of my safety and my conversion. Let me wish no more for health and life, but to employ and expend them for thee, with thee, and in thee. I do not ask of thee health or sickness, life or death; but merely that thou wouldst dispose of my health or sickness, of my life or death, for thy glory, for my salvation, and for the benefit of thy church, and of thy saints, among whom I would hope, by thy grace, to be found. Thou only knowest what is needful for me: thou art the sovereign Lord; do with me what thou wilt. Give or take; only conform my will to thine; and grant, that in humble and entire submission, I may accept the ordinances of thy eternal providence, and that I may regard with equal reverence, whatever comes from thee.

14. Grant, O my God, that in uniform equanimity of mind, I may receive whatever happens; since we know not what we should ask, and since I cannot wish for one thing more than another without presumption, and without setting up myself as a judge, and making myself responsible for those consequences, which thy wisdom has determined properly to conceal from me. O Lord, I know that I know but one thing; and that is, that it is good to follow thee, and evil to offend thee. After that, I know not what is better or worse in any thing. I know not which is more profitable for me, sickness or health, wealth or poverty, nor any other of the things of this world. This were a discovery beyond the power of men or angels, and which is veiled in the secrets of thy providence, which I adore, and which I do not desire to fathom.

15. Grant then, O Lord, that such as I am, I may be conformed to thy will; and that, diseased as I am, I may glorify thee in my sufferings. Without these, I cannot reach thy glory; and even thou, my Saviour, wouldst not attain to glory but by this means. It was by the scars of thy sufferings, that thy disciples knew thee; and it is by their sufferings that thou wilt recognize those who are thy disciples. Recognize me, O Lord, amidst the evils that I suffer, both in body and mind, for the sins that I have committed; and because nothing is acceptable to God, that is not offered by thee, unite my will to thine, and my agonies to those which thou hast endured. Let mine become thine. Unite me to thyself; and fill me with thyself, and with thy Holy Spirit. Dwell in my heart and soul, to endure within me my sufferings, and to continue to endure in me, all that remains yet unsuffered of thy passion, which thou completest in all thy members, even to the entire perfection of thy mystical body; that being thus at length full of thee, it may be no more I that live and suffer, but that it may be thou who livest and sufferest in me, O my Saviour; and that thus, having some little part in thy sufferings, thou mayest fill me abundantly with the glory which they have purchased; in which thou livest with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A COMPARISON OF ANCIENT AND MODERN CHRISTIANS.

In the infancy of the Christian church, we see no Christians but those who were thoroughly instructed in all matters necessary to salvation; but in these days, we see on every side an ignorance so gross, that it agonizes all those who have a tender regard for the interests of the church. Then, no one entered the church, but after serious difficulties, and long cherished wishes; now, we find ourselves associated with it, without care or difficulty. Formerly, no one was admitted but after a most rigid examination; now, every one is admitted before he is capable of being examined. Formerly, no one was admitted but after repentance of his former life, and a renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil; now, they enter the church before they are in a state to do any of these things. In fact, formerly it was necessary to come out from the world, in order to be received into the church; whilst, in these days, we enter the church almost at the same time that we enter the world. Then there was distinctly recognized by those earlier proceedings, an essential difference between the world and the church. They were regarded as two things, in direct opposition, as two irreconcilable enemies; of which the one persecutes the other perpetually, and of which, that which seems the weakest, will one day triumph over the strongest; and between these two contending parties, it became necessary to abandon the one, in order to enter the other; to renounce the maxims of the one, in order to follow those of the other; each one must disencumber himself of the sentiments of the one, in order to put on the sentiments of the other; and finally, must be prepared to quit, to renounce, and to abjure the world where he had his former birth, and to devote himself entirely to the church in which he receives his second birth. And thus a wide distinction, was habitually drawn between the one and the other. But now, we find ourselves almost at the same moment introduced into both; and, at the same time, we are born into the world, and born anew into the church.* So that, dawning reason now no longer perceives the broad line of distinction between these two opposing worlds, but matures and strengthens, at the same time, under the combined influence of both. The sacraments are partaken of, in conjunction with the pleasures of the world; and hence, instead of there being an essential distinction between the one and the other, they are now so mingled and confounded, that the distinction is almost entirely lost.

Hence it arises, that whilst then Christians were all well instructed; now, there are many in a fearful state of ignorance; then, those who had been initiated into Christianity by baptism, and who had renounced the vices of the world, to embrace the piety of the church, rarely declined again to the world which they had left; whilst now, we commonly see the vices of the world in the hearts of Christians. The church of the saints is all defiled with the intermingling of the wicked; and her children that she has conceived, and born from their infancy at her sides, are they who carry into her very heart, that is even to the participation of her holiest mysteries—her deadliest foes—the spirit of the world—the spirit of ambition, of revenge, of impurity, and of lust; and the love which she bears for her children, compels her to admit into her very bowels, the bitterest of her persecutors.

But we must not impute to the church the evils that have followed so fatal a change; for when she saw that the delay of baptism, left a large proportion of infants still under the curse of original sin, she wished to deliver them from this perdition, by hastening the succor which she can give; and this good mother sees, with bitter regret, that the benefit which she thus holds out to infants, becomes the occasion of the ruin of adults.

The true meaning of the church is, that those whom she thus withdraws at so tender an age, from the contagion of the world, should subsequently become separate from its opinions. She anticipates the agency of reason, to prevent those vices into which corrupted reason might entice them; and that, before their natural mind could act, she might fill them with her better spirit, so that they might live in ignorance of the world, and in a state so much further removed from vice, in as much as they have never known it. This is evident in the baptismal service; for she does not confer baptism till the children have declared, by the lips of their parents, that they desire it—that they believe—that they renounce the world and the devil. And as the church wishes them to preserve these dispositions throughout life, she expressly enjoins upon them to keep them inviolate; and by an indispensable command, she requires the parents to instruct their children in all these things; for she does not wish that those whom, from their infancy, she has nourished in her bosom, should be less enlightened, and less zealous than those whom she formerly received as her own; she cannot be satisfied with a less degree of perfection in those whom she herself has trained, than in those whom she admits to her communion.

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* It is quite evident by the tenor of the whole passage, that M. Pascal means here only a formal initiation by baptism, and not a spiritual birth—a real regeneration. At the same time, the error which his words appear in some degree to countenance, was held by the unenlightened part of the Romish church; and it is still held by some members of the church of England, who do not understand either her doctrines or her services; whilst some men among us, like M. Pascal, give an improper countenance to the error, by the adoption of the inexplicable notion of baptismal regeneration.

Yet the rule of the church is so perverted from its original intention, that it cannot be thought of without horror. Men think no more of the peculiar blessing which they have received, because they did not themselves ask it, because they do not even remember having received it. But since it is evident, that the church requires no less piety in those who have been brought up from infancy as the servants of faith, than in those who aspire to become such, it becomes such persons to set before them the example of the ancient catechumens of the early church, to consider their ardor, their devotion, their dread of the world, their noble renunciation of it; and if *they* were not thought worthy to receive baptism, without these dispositions, those who do not find such dispositions in themselves, should at once submit to receive that instruction which they would have had, if they were now only about to seek an entrance into the communion of the church. It becomes them still further to humble themselves to such a penitence, as they may wish never again to throw aside; such that they may henceforth find less disgust in the austere mortification of the senses, than of attraction in the criminal pleasures of sin.

To induce them to seek instruction, they must be made to understand the difference of the customs which have obtained in the church at different times. In the newly formed Christian church, the catechumens, that is, those who offered for baptism, were instructed before the rite was conferred; and they were not admitted to it, till after full instruction in the mysteries of religion; till after penitence for their former life; till after a great measure of knowledge, of the grandeur and excellence of a profession of the Christian faith and obedience, on which they desire to enter for ever; till after some eminent marks of real conversion of heart, and an extreme desire for baptism. These facts being made known to the whole church, they then conferred upon them the sacrament of incorporation or initiation, by which they became members of the church.* But now, since baptism has been, for many very important reasons, permitted to infants before the dawn of reason, we find, through the negligence of parents, that nominal Christians grow old without any knowledge of our religion.

When teaching preceded baptism, all were instructed; but now, that baptism precedes instruction, that teaching which was then made necessary for the sacrament, is become merely voluntary, and is consequently neglected, and almost abolished.—Reason then showed the necessity of instruction; and when instruction went before baptism, the necessity of the one, compelled men necessarily to have recourse to the other. But in these days, when baptism precedes instruction, as men are made Christians, in the first instance, without instruction, so they believe that they may remain Christians without being instructed; and instead of its being the case, that the primitive Christians expressed the warmest gratitude for a grace, which the church only granted after reiterated petitions—the Christians of these days, manifest nothing but ingratitude for this same blessing conferred upon them, before they were in a state to ask it. If the church, so decidedly abhorred the occasional, though extremely rare instances of backsliding among the primitive Christians, how ought she to hold in abhorrence, the falling again and again of modern Christians, notwithstanding the far higher degree in which they stand indebted to the church, for having so speedily and liberally removed them from that state of curse, in which, by their natural birth, they were involved. She cannot see without bitter lamentation, this abuse of her richest blessings; and that the course which she has adopted for her childrens' safety, becomes the almost certain occasion of their ruin; for her spirit is not changed, though the primitive custom is.*

CHAPTER XXV.

ON THE CONVERSION OF A SINNER.

The first thing which God imparts to a soul that he has really touched, is a degree of knowledge and perception altogether extraordinary, by which the soul regards both itself and other things in a totally novel manner.

This new light excites fear, and imparts to the soul a restlessness which thwarts the repose that it had formerly found in the wonted sources of indulgence.

The man can no longer relish, with tranquillity, the objects by which he had been previously charmed. A perpetual scrupulousness haunts him in his enjoyments; and this interior perception will not allow him any longer to find the wonted sweetness in those things to which he had yielded with all the melting fulness of the heart.

But he finds yet more bitterness in the exercises of piety, than in the vanities of the world. On one side, the vanity of the things that are seen, is felt

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[*] This was the case with converted heathens; but if M. Pascal conceived it to be the case with the children of baptized believers, he is in error; and the whole tenor of the history of the church will prove him to be so.

[*] These views of M. Pascal, evidently originate in the difficulty presented to a believing mind, by the formal and irreligious state of the Christian churches. The thought will occur to a considerate mind, lately awakened to feel the power of true religion, after a youth of nominal religion and real carelessness—"Whence does this evil arise?" And this reference to the mode of admitting converts from heathenism, in earlier days, is one way of settling the point, to which young Christians frequently have recourse.—Yet this is cutting the knot, instead of untying it. It is an error which originates in an unfounded and imaginary notion of the state of the Christian church at any time. A little patience and experience—a little practical knowledge of how the Christian system works, would give a very different view of the matter. It is, however, on this summary mode of settling the difficulty, to which the inexperienced mind resorts—that the Anabaptist churches found their peculiar notions, and justify their separation; and it is in the ready application of this notion to meet the difficulty when it first arises, that they find their success. Pascal, after mature deliberation on the facts of the case, did not at all see the necessity of renouncing the custom of infant baptism. He could distinguish between an evil that casually accompanied, and an evil that originated in, that custom.

more deeply than the hope of the things that are not seen; and, on the other, the reality of invisible things affects him more than the vanity of the things which are seen. And thus the presence of the one, and the absence of the other, excite his disgust, so that there arises within him a disorder and confusion which he can scarcely correct, but which is the result of ancient impressions long experienced, and new impressions now first communicated.

He considers perishable things as perishing, and even as already perished; and, in the certain conviction of the annihilation of all that he has loved, he trembles at the thought; whilst he sees, that every moment goes to rob him of the enjoyment of happiness, and that that which is dearest to him, is perpetually gliding away; and that at length a day will come, in which he will find himself bereft of all on which he had built his hope. So that he sees clearly, that as his heart is devoted only to things in themselves fragile and vain, his soul must, at the exit from this life, find itself solitary and destitute, since he has taken no care to unite himself to a real and self-subsistent good, which could support him in, and subsequently to, this present existence.

And hence he begins to consider as a nonentity, every thing which returns to nothingness—the heavens, the earth, his body, his relations, his friends, his enemies, wealth or poverty, humiliation or prosperity, honor or ignominy, esteem or contempt, authority or insignificance, health or sickness, and even life itself. In fact, whatever is shorter in duration than his soul, is incapable of satisfying the desires of that soul, which earnestly seeks to establish itself on a basis of felicity as durable as itself.

He begins to regard with astonishment, the blindness in which he has been plunged; and, when he considers on the one hand, the length of time that he has lived without any such thoughts, and the great number of persons who live with equal thoughtlessness; and, on the other, how clear it is that the soul being immortal, cannot find happiness in the things that perish, and which must, at all events, be taken from him by death; then there comes upon him a holy anxiety and astonishment, which gives rise to salutary sorrow.

For he considers, that however great may be the number of those who grow old in the ways of the world, and whatever authority may be in the multitude of examples, of those who place their happiness in this world, it is nevertheless certain, that even if the things of this world had in them some substantial delight—an assumption which is falsified by the fatal and continual experience of an infinite number of persons—the loss of these things is certain, at the moment when death separates us from them.

So that, if the soul has amassed a treasure of temporal good, whether of gold, of science, or of reputation, it is inevitably necessary, that it must one day find itself denuded of all the objects of its felicity; and hence it appears, that though many objects have had in them that which ministered satisfaction, they had not that which would have satisfied him permanently; and that even if they procured him a happiness that was real, they could not procure a happiness that was lasting, because it must be terminated by the limits of human life.

Then by a holy humility, which God has exalted above pride, the man begins to rise above the common habits of men in general. He condemns their conduct; he detests their maxims; he laments their blindness; he devotes himself to the search for that which is truly good; he arrives at the conviction, that it must possess these two qualities—the one, that it must be as durable as himself—the other, that it must be more worthy of love than any thing else.

He sees that in the love which he has cherished towards the world, he has found in it, owing to his blindness, the second quality of these two, for he had discovered nothing more worthy of his love, but now as he sees not in it the former quality also, he knows that it is not the sovereign good. He seeks it then elsewhere; and knowing, by an illumination altogether pure, that it does not exist in the things which are within him, or around him, or before him, he begins to seek for it in those things which are above.

This elevation of soul is so lofty and transcendant, that it stops not at the heavens; they have not what would satisfy him; nor at the things above the heavens, nor at the angels, nor at the most perfect of created beings. It darts through universal creation, and cannot pause till it has reached the very throne of God; there the soul begins to find repose, and grasps that real good which is such, that there is nothing more truly worthy of love, and that it cannot be taken from him but by his own consent.

For though he does not yet taste those enjoyments by which God blesses the services of habitual piety, he learns, at least, that the creatures can never deserve his love more than the Creator; and his reason, aided by the light of grace, teaches him that there is nothing more worthy of love than God, and that He cannot be taken away except from those who reject him—since to desire God, is to possess him; and to refuse him, is to lose him.

And thus he rejoices in having found a blessing which cannot be torn from him as long as he wishes to possess it, and which has nothing superior to itself.

And with these novel reflections he enters upon the view of the grandeur of his Creator, and upon acts of the deepest humiliation and reverence. He counts himself as less than nothing in that presence; and, being unable to form of himself an idea sufficiently humiliating, or to conceive of the sovereign good a thought sufficiently exalted, he makes repeatedly fresh efforts to lower himself to the last abysses of nothingness, whilst he surveys God still in interminably multiplying immensities; and, at last, exhausted by this mighty conception, he adores in silence, he looks on himself as a vile and useless creature, and by repeated acts of veneration, adores and blesses his God, and would for ever bless and adore.

Then he sees something of the grace by which God has manifested his infinite majesty to a worthless worm—he is ashamed and confounded at having preferred so many vanities to such a Divine Master; and, in the spirit of compunction and penitence, he looks up for his compassion to arrest that anger, the effect of which, seen through these immensities, seems to hang over him so awfully.

He sends up ardent prayers to God, to obtain this mercy, that as it has pleased him to disclose himself to his soul, it would please him also to lead it to himself, and prepare for him the means of reaching him. For it is to God that he now aspires, and, at the same time, he only aspires to reach him by those means which come from God himself, for he wishes God himself to be his way, his object, and his end. Then on the result of these prayers, he learns that he ought to act conformably to the new light which he has received.

He begins to know God, and to desire to go to him; but he is ignorant of the mode of reaching him. If, then, his desire is sincere and real, just as a person who wishes to go to a particular spot, but who has lost his way, and knows that he is in error, has recourse to those who are well acquainted with it, so he seeks advice from those who can teach him the way that leads to the God, from whom he has so long been alienated. And in thus seeking to know this way, he resolves to regulate his conduct for the remainder of his life by the truth, as far as he knows it; and seeing that his natural weakness, together with the habitual tendency which he now has to the sin in which he has lived, have incapacitated him for reaching the happiness of which he is in search, he implores from the mercy of God those gracious aids by which he may find him, devote himself to him, and adhere to him for ever. Heartily occupied by the loveliness of the Divine excellency—old as eternity, in fact, but to him so new;—he feels that all he does ought to bear him towards this adorable object; he sees now clearly that he ought henceforth only to think of adoring God, as his creature, of gratitude to him for unnumbered obligations, of penitence as guilty, and prayer as necessitous; so that his entire occupation should be to contemplate, and love, and praise him throughout eternity.

CHAPTER XXVI.

REASONS FOR SOME OPINIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

I WRITE my thoughts here without order, but probably not in mere unmeaning confusion. It is, in fact, the true order, and will mark my object, even by the disorder itself.

We shall see that all the opinions of the multitude are very sound: that the people are not so weak as they are reported; and, that consequently, the opinion which would destroy the opinion of the people, will be itself destroyed.

2. It is true in one sense, that all the world is in a state of delusion; for although the opinions of the people are sound, they are not so as held by them, because they conceive the truth to reside where it does not. There is truth in their opinions, but not where they suppose.

3. The people reverence men of high birth.—Your half-informed men despise them, affirming, that birth is not a personal advantage, but a mere accident. Your really superior men honor them, not on the ground of the popular notion, but for loftier reasons. Certain zealots of narrow views, despise them, notwithstanding those reasons which secure to them the respect of superior men, because they judge by a new light, that their measure of piety imparts. But more advanced Christians give them honor, according to the dictates of light yet superior; and thus opinions, for and against, obtain in succession, according to the light possessed.

4. Civil wars are the greatest of evils. They are certain, if it is wished to recompense merit, for all would affirm that they deserved reward. The evil to be feared from a fool who succeeds by inheritance, is neither so great, nor so certain.

5. Why follow the majority? Is it because they have more reason? No. But because they have more force. Why follow ancient laws, and ancient opinions? Are they wiser? No. But they stand apart from present interests: and thus take away the root of difference.

6. The empire founded on opinion and imagination, sometimes has the upper hand; and this dominion is mild and voluntary. The empire of force reigns always. Opinion is, as it were, the queen of the world; but force is its tyrant.

7. How wisely are men distinguished by their exterior, rather than their interior qualifications. Which of us two shall take the lead? Which shall yield precedence? The man of least talent? But I am as clever as he. Then we must fight it out for this. But he has four lacqueys, and I have but one. *There* is a visible difference: we have only to count them. It is my place then to give way; and I am a fool to contest the point. This arrangement keeps us in peace; which is of all blessings the greatest.

8. From the habit of seeing kings surrounded with guards, and drums, and officers, and with all these appendages which tend to create respect and terror, it happens, that the countenance of kings, even though seen sometimes without these adjuncts, still awakens in their subjects the same reverential feeling; because, even then, we do not mentally separate their person from the train with which we usually see them attended. The multitude who know not that this effect has its origin in custom, believe it to originate in native feeling; and hence arises such expressions as, The character of divinity is imprinted on his countenance, &c.

The power of kings is founded on the reason, and on the folly of the people; but most chiefly on their folly. The greatest and most important thing in the world has weakness for its basis; and this basis is wonderfully secure, for there is nothing more certain, than that the people will be weak, whilst that which has its foundation in reason only, is very insecure, as the esteem for wisdom.

9. Our magistrates have well understoood this mystery. Their crimson robes, their ermine, in which they wrap themselves, the palaces of justice, the fleur-de-lis—all this pomp and circumspection was necessary; and if physicians had not their cassock and their mule; and if theologians had not their square cap, and their flowing garments, they would never have duped the world, which could not withstand this authenticating demonstration. Soldiers are the only men who are not in some measure disguised; and that is, because their own share in the matter, is the most essential part of it. They gain their point by actual force—the others by grimace.

On this account our kings have not had recourse to such disguises. They have not masked themselves in extraordinary habits, in order to appear impressive; but they have surrounded themselves with guards, and lancers, and whiskered faces, men who have hands and energies only for this service. The drums and trumpets which go before them, and the legions that surround them, make even brave men tremble. They not only wear a dress, but they are clothed with might. A man had need have an unprejudiced mind, to consider merely as another man, the Grand Signior surrounded by his glittering train of 40,000 Janissaries.

If magistrates were possessed of real justice, if physicians knew the true art of healing, there were no need of square caps. The majesty of science would be sufficiently venerable alone. But possessed, as they mostly are, with only imaginary science, they must assume these vain adornments which impress the imagination of those among whom they labor, and, by that means, they obtain respect. We cannot look at an advocate in his gown and his wig, without a favorable impression of his abilities.

The Swiss are offended at being called gentlemen, and have to establish the proof of their low origin, in order to qualify them for stations of importance.*

10. No one chooses for a pilot, the highest born passenger on board.

All the world sees that we labor with uncertainty before us, either by sea, in battle, &c. but all the world does not see the law of the chances, which shows that we do rightly. Montaigne saw that a narrow mind is an offence, and that custom rules every thing—but he did not see the reason of this. Those who see only effects, and not their causes, are in relation to those who discover the causes, as those who have eyes only, compared with those who have mind. For the effects are perceptible to the senses, but the reasons only to the understanding. And though, in fact, these effects are perceived by the understanding, yet such a mind, compared with that which discovers the causes, is as the bodily senses to the intellectual powers.

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* At Basle they must renounce their nobility, in order to enter the senate.

11. How is it that a lame man does not anger us, but a blundering mind does? Is it, that the cripple admits that we walk straight, but a crippled mind accuses us of limping? But for this, we should feel more of pity than of anger.

Epictetus asks also, Why we are not annoyed if any one tells us that we are unwell in the head, and yet are angry if they tell us that we reason falsely, or choose unwisely? The reason is, that we know certainly that nothing ails our heads, or that we are not crippled in the body. But we are not so certain that we have chosen correctly. So that having only assurance, inasmuch as we perceive the matter distinctly, whilst another sees it as clearly the contrary way, we are necessarily brought into doubt and suspense; and still more so, when a thousand others laugh at our decision; for we must prefer our own convictions to those of ever so many others, and yet that is a bold and difficult course. Now, we never feel this contradiction of our senses in a case of actual lameness.

12. Respect for others requires you to inconvenience yourself. This seems foolish; yet it is very proper. It says, "I would willingly inconvenience myself seriously, if it would serve you, seeing that I do so when it will not." Besides, the object of this respect is to distinguish the great. Now, if respect might show itself by lolling in an elbow chair, we should respect all the world, and then we should not distinguish the great; but being put to inconvenience, we distinguish them plainly enough.

13. A superior style of dress is not altogether vain. It shows how many persons labor for us. A man shows by his hair that he has a valet and perfumer, &c.; and by his band, his linen, and lace, &c. It is not then, a mere superficial matter, a mere harness, to have many hands employed in our service.

14. Strange indeed! they would have me not pay respect to that man dressed in embroidery, and followed by seven or eight lacqueys. Why he would horse-whip me if I did not. Now, this custom is a matter of compulsion; it does not exist between two horses, when one is better caparisoned than the other.

It is droll in Montaigne, that he does not see the difference between admiring what we see, and asking the reason of it.

15. The people have some wise notions: for example, the having chosen amusement and hunting, in preference to poetry. Your half-learned gentry laugh at them, and delight in pointing out their folly in this; but for reasons which they cannot perceive, the people are right. It is well also to distinguish men by externals, as by birth or property. The world strives to show how unreasonable this is; but it is perfectly reasonable.

16. Rank is of great advantage, as it gives to a man of eighteen or twenty years of age, a degree of acceptance, publicity, and respect, which another can scarcely obtain by merit at fifty. There is a gain, then, of thirty years without difficulty.

17. There are men, who, to show us that we are wrong, in not esteeming them more highly, never fail to bring forward the names of those persons of quality who think well of them. I would answer them, "Show us the merit by which you have gained their esteem, and we will esteem you as they do."

18. If a man stands at the window to see those who pass, and I happen to pass by, can I say that he placed himself there to see me? No: for he did not think of me particularly. But if a man loves a woman for her beauty, Does he love *her?* No: for the small-pox which destroys her beauty without killing her, causes his love to cease. And if any one loves me for my judgment or my memory, Does he really love me? No: for I can lose these qualities without ceasing to be. Where then is this *me*, if it is neither in the body nor the soul? And how are we to love the body or the soul, except it be for those qualities which do not make up this *me*, because they are perishable? For can we love the soul of a person abstractedly; and some qualities that belong to it? That cannot be; and it would be unjust. Then they never love the person, but only the qualities; or, if they say that they love the person, they must say also, that the combination of qualities constitutes the person.

19. Those things about which we are most anxious, are very often a mere nothing; as, for instance, the concealment of our narrow circumstances. This evil of poverty is a mere nothing, that imagination has magnified to a mountain. Another turn of thought would induce us to tell it without difficulty.

20. Those who have the power of invention are but few. Those who have not are many, and consequently, the strongest party. And generally, we see that they refuse to the inventors the praise that they deserve, and that they seek by their inventions. If they persist in seeking it, and treat contemptuously those who have not this talent, they will gain nothing but a few hard names, and they will be treated as visionaries. A man should take care, therefore, not to plume himself upon this advantage, great as it is; and he should be content to be esteemed by the few, who really can appreciate his merits.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DETACHED MORAL THOUGHTS.

There are plenty of good maxims in the world; we fail only in applying them. For instance, it is without doubt that we should expose life to defend the public good; and many do this; but scarcely any one does this for religion. It is necessary that there be inequality in the state of man; but that being granted, the door is opened, not only to the highest domination, but to the highest degree of tyranny. It is needful to allow some relaxation of mind; but this opens the door to the loosest dissipations. The limits should be marked; they are not laid down. The laws would prescribe them, but the human mind will not endure it.

2. The authority of reason is far more imperious than that of a master; for he who disobeys the one, is unhappy; but he who disobeys the other, is a fool.

3. Why would you kill me? Why? do you not live across the water? My friend, if you lived on this side, I should be an assassin; it would be unjust to kill you in this way; but since you live on the other, I am brave, and the act is just.

4. Those who live irregularly, say to those who live discreetly, that it is they who swerve from the dictates of nature, and that they themselves live according to it; as those who are in a vessel believe that the people on shore are receding from them. Both parties use similar language. There should be a fixed point to decide the case. The port settles the question for those in the vessel,

but where shall we find this fixed point in morals?*

5. As fashion makes pleasure, so does it justice. If men really knew what justice is, they would never have admitted this commonest of all maxims throughout the world, that each should follow the custom of his own country. Real equity would have subjugated all nations, by its native brilliancy; and legislators would not have taken in the stead of this invariable rule of right, the fancies and caprices of Persians and Germans, &c. It would have been set up in all the states of the earth, and at all times.

6. Justice is that which is by law established; and hence all our established laws are to be necessarily accounted just, because they are established.

7. The only universal rules are, the laws of the land in ordinary matters. In extraordinary matters, the majority carries it. Why is this? From the power that exists in it.

And hence, also, kings who possess an extrinsic force, do not follow even the majority of their ministers.

8. Undoubtedly an equality of rights is just; but not being able to compel men to be submissive to justice, legislators have made them obedient to force. Unable to fortify justice, they have justified force; so that justice and force uniting, there might be peace, for that is the sovereign good—*summum jus, summa injuria.*

The power of the plurality is the best way; because it is a visible power; and it has force to command obedience. Yet this is the counsel only of inferior men.

If they could, they should have put power into the hands of justice; but since power will not let itself be used as men please, because it is a palpable quality, while justice is an intellectual quality, of which they may dispose as they please, they have placed justice in the hands of power, and now they call that justice which power requires to be observed.

9. It is just, that whatever is just should be observed. It is necessary that whatever is the strongest should be obeyed. Justice without power is inefficient; power without justice is tyranny. Justice without power is gainsayed, because there are always wicked men. Power without justice is soon questioned. Justice and power must be brought together, so that whatever is just may be powerful, and whatever is powerful may be just.

Justice may be disputed; but power speaks pretty plainly, and without dispute. So that it needs but to give power to justice; but seeing that it was not possible to make justice powerful, they have made the powerful just.

10. It is dangerous to tell the people that the laws are not just; for they only obey them because they believe them to be just. They must be told therefore at the same time, that they must obey them as laws; as they obey their superiors, not because they are just, but because they are their superiors. If you make them comprehend this, you prevent all sedition. This is the true definition of justice.

11. It were well for the people to obey laws and customs, because they are laws; and that they understood that this made them just. On this ground, they would never deviate from them; whilst on the other hand, if their justice is to rest on any other basis, it may easily be brought into question, and then the people are made liable to revolt.

12. When it is made a question, whether we should make war, and kill so many men, and doom so many Spaniards to die, it is one man only who decides, and he an interested party. It ought to be a third and an indifferent person.

13. Language such as this, is false and tyrannical: "I am well-looking; then men ought to fear me: I am strong; then men should love me." Tyranny is to seek to obtain that by one means, which should only be obtained by another. We owe different duties to different kinds of merit; a duty of love to that which is amiable; of fear, to that which is mighty; of teachableness, to the learned, &c. This duty should be done. It is unjust to withhold this. It is unjust to require more. And it savors equally of error and of tyranny to say, "He has no might, then I will not esteem him. He has no talent, therefore I will not fear him." Tyranny consists in the desire of universal dominion, unwarranted by our real merit.

14. There are vices which have no hold upon us, but in connection with others; and which, when you cut down the trunk, fall like the branches.

15. When malice has reason on its side, it looks forth bravely, and displays that reason in all its lustre. When austerity and self-denial have not realized true happiness, and the soul returns to the dictates of nature, the re-action is fearfully extravagant.

16. To find recreation in amusements, is not happiness; for this joy springs from alien and extrinsic sources, and is therefore dependent upon, and subject to interruption by a thousand accidents, which may minister inevitable affliction.

17. The highest style of mind is accused of folly, as well as the lowest. Nothing is thoroughly approved but mediocrity. The majority has brought this about; and it instantly fixes its fangs on whatever gets beyond it either way. I will not resist their rule. I consent to be ranked among them; and if I object to be placed at the low extreme, it is not because it is low, but because it is the extreme; for I should in the same way refuse to be placed at the highest. To get really beyond mediocrity, is to pass the limits of human nature. The dignity of the human soul, lies in knowing how to keep the middle course; and so far from there being greatness in leaving it, true greatness consists in never deviating from it.

18. No man obtains credit with the world for talent in poetry, who does not fairly hang out the sign of a poet; or for a talent in mathematics, if he has not put up the sign of a mathematician. But your truly honest men have recourse to no such expedients. They no more play themselves off for poets, than for embroiderers. They are neither called poets nor geometers; but they are at home in all these matters. Men do not make out specifically what they are. When they enter a room, they speak of the topic then in discussion. They do not discover a greater aptness for one subject than for another, except as circumstances call out their talents; for to such persons it is a matter of equal indifference, that it should not be said, "That man talks remarkably well," when conversational powers is not the point in question, or that this should be said of them when it is. It is poor praise, therefore, when a man is pointed out, on his entering a room, as a great poet, or that he should only be referred to, where the merit of some verses is to be considered. Man is full of wants; he only loves those who can satisfy them. "He is a good mathematician;" they say, "but then I must be bored incessantly with mathematics:" or, "That man thoroughly comprehends the art of war; but I do not wish to make war with any man." Give me, then, a polite man, with general talents, to meet and supply all my necessities.

19. When in health, we cannot at all judge how we would act in sickness; but when sickness comes,

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* The answer of M. Pascal would be, In the Holy Scriptures.

then we submit freely to the needful discipline. The disease itself is the cause of this. We feel then no longer the eager thirst for amusements and visiting, which originates in health, and which is quite incompatible with a state of sickness. Nature, then, gives inclinations and desires conformed to our present state. It is only the fears that originate with ourselves, and not with nature, that trouble us; for they associate with the state in which we then are, the feelings of a state in which we are not.

20. Injunctions to humility, are sources of humiliation to the humble; but of pride, to the proud. So also the language of Pyrrhonism and doubt is matter of confirmation to those who believe. Few men speak humbly of humility, or chastely of chastity—few of skepticism with real doubtfulness of mind. We are nothing but falsehood, duplicity, and contradiction. We hide and disguise ourselves from ourselves.

21. Concealed good actions are the most estimable of all. When I discover such in history, they delight me much. Yet even these cannot have been altogether hidden, because they have been so recorded; and even the degree in which they have come to light, detracts from their merit, for their finest trait is the wish to conceal them.

22. Your sayer of smart things, has a bad heart.

23. This *I* is hateful; and those who do not renounce it, who seek no further than to cover it, are always hateful also. Not at all, say you, for if we act obligingly to all men, they have no reason to hate us. That is true, if there were nothing hateful in that *I*, but the inconvenience which it administers. But if I hate it, because it is essentially unjust, because it makes itself the centre of every thing, I shall hate it always. In fact, this *I* has two bad qualities. It is essentially unjust, because it will be the centre of all things; it is an annoyance to others, because it will serve itself by them; for each individual *I* is the enemy, and would be the tyrant of all the others. Now you may remove the annoyance, but not the radical injustice, and hence you cannot make it acceptable to those who abhor its injustice; you may make it pleasing to the unjust, who no longer discover their enemy, but you remain unjust yourself, and cannot be pleasing therefore but to similar persons.

24. I cannot admire the man who possesses one virtue in high perfection, if he does not, at the same time possess the opposite virtue in an equal degree; as in the case of Epaminondas, who united the extremes of valor and of meekness; without this, it is not an elevated, but a fallen character. Greatness does not consist in being at one extreme, but in reaching both extremes at once, and occupying all the intermediate space. Perhaps this is in no case more than a sudden movement of the soul, from one extreme to the other, and, like a burning brand, whirled quickly round in a circle, it is never but in one point of its course at a time. Still this indicates the energy of the soul, if not its expansion.

25. If our condition were really happy, there were no need to divert us from thinking of it.

26. I have spent much time in the study of the abstract sciences; but the paucity of persons with whom you can communicate on such subjects, disgusted me with them. When I began to study man, I saw that these abstract sciences are not suited to him, and that in diving into them, I wandered further from my real object, than those who knew them not, and I forgave them for not having attended to these things. I expected then, however, that I should find some companions in the study of man, since it was so specifically a duty. I was in error. There are fewer students of man, than of geometry.

27. When all things move similarly, nothing moves apparently—as on board a ship. When all things glide similarly to disorder, nothing seems to be going wrong. He who stops, considers the rapid recession of others, an immoveable point.

28. Philosophers boast of having arranged all moral duties in a certain classification. But why divide them into four, rather than into six divisions. Why make four sorts of virtues rather than ten. Why range them under the general heads of *abstine* and *sustine*, than any others. But then, say you, here they are all reduced to a single word. Well, but that is quite useless without explanation; and as soon as you begin to explain, and you develop the general precept which contains all the others, they issue in the same confusion that at first you wished to avoid, and thus, in reducing them to one, you hide and nullify them; and to be made known, they must still come forth in their native confusion. Nature has given each an independent subsistence; and though you may thus arrange the one within the other, they must subsist independently of each other. So that these divisions and technical terms have little use, but to assist the memory, and to serve as guides to the several duties which they include.

29. To administer reproof with profit, and to show another that he deceives himself, we should notice on what side he really has considered the thing—for on that side he generally has a right impression—and admit there the accuracy of his views. This will please him, for he then perceives that as far as he did see, he was not in error, but that he failed only in not observing the matter on all sides. Now, a man is not ashamed of not perceiving every thing; but he does not like to blunder. And perhaps this arises from the fact, that naturally the mind cannot be deceived on the side on which it looks at things, any more than the senses can give a false report.

30. A man's virtue should not be measured by his occasional exertions, but by his ordinary doings.

31. The great and the little are subject to the same accidents, vexations, and passions; but the one class are at the end of the spoke of the wheel, and the other near the centre; and consequently, they are differently agitated by the same impulses.

32. Though men have no interest in what they are saying, it will not do to infer from that absolutely, that they are not guilty of falsehood; for there are some who lie, simply for lying sake.

33. The example of chastity in Alexander, has not availed to the same degree to make men chaste, as his drunkenness has to make them intemperate. Men are not ashamed not to be so virtuous as he; and it seems excusable not to be more vicious. A man thinks that he is not altogether sunk in the vices of the crowd, when he follows the vicious example of great men; but he forgets that in this respect they are associated with the multitude.—He is linked with such men at the same point, at which they are linked with the people. However great they may be, they are associated at some point with the mass of mankind. They are not altogether suspended in mid air, and insulated from society. If they are greater than we, it is only that their heads are higher; but their feet are as low as ours. They are all on the same level—they tread the same earth; and, at this end, they are brought equally low with ourselves, with infants, and with the brutes that perish.

34. It is the contest that delights us, not the victory. We are pleased with the combat of animals, but not with the victor tearing the vanquished.—What is sought for but the crisis of victory? and the instant it comes, it brings satiety. It is the same

in play, and the same in the search for truth. We love to watch in arguments the conflict of opinions; but as for the discovered truth, we do not care to look at that. To see it with pleasure, we must see it gradually emerging from the disputation. It is the same with the passions; the struggle of two contending passions has great interest; but the dominion of one is mere brutality. We do not seek for things themselves, but for the search after them. So on the stage, scenes without anxiety, miseries without hope, and merely brutal indulgences, are accounted vapid and uninteresting.

35. Men are not taught to be honest, but they are taught every thing else; and yet they pique themselves on this, above all things. They boast then only of knowing the only thing which they do not learn.

36. How weak was Montaigne's plan for exhibiting himself! and that not incidently and contrary to his avowed maxims, as most men contrive to betray themselves; but in accordance with his rule, and as his first and principal design. For to speak fooleries accidentally, and as a matter of weakness, is every one's lot; but to do so designedly, and to speak such as he did, is beyond all bounds.

37. Pity for the unfortunate is no proof of virtue; on the contrary, it is found desirable to make this demonstration of humanity, and to acquire, at no expense, the reputation of tenderness. Pity therefore is little worth.

38. Would he who could boast the friendship of the Kings of England, and of Poland, and the Queen of Sweden, have believed that he might look through the world in vain for a home and a shelter?*

39. Things have various qualities, and the mind various inclinations; for nothing presents itself simply to the mind, neither does the mind apply itself simply to any subject. Hence, the same thing will at different times produce tears or laughter.

40. There are men of different classes, the powerful, the elegant, the kind, the pious, of which each one may reign in his own sphere, but not elsewhere. They come sometimes into collision, and contend who shall have the dominion; and most unwisely, for their mastery is in different matters. They do not understand one another. They err in seeking an universal dominion. But nothing can accomplish this, not even force. Force can do nothing in the realms of science; it has no power but over external actions.

41. *Ferox gens nullam esse vitam sine armis putat.* They prefer death to peace: others prefer death to war. Every variety of opinion may be preferred to that life—the love of which appears so strong and so natural.

42. How difficult is it to propose a matter to another man's judgment, without corrupting his judgment by the manner in which it is proposed. If we say, "I like this," or, "I think this obscure," we either entice the imagination that way, or produce irritation and opposition. It is more correct to say nothing, and then he will judge as the matter really is; that is, as it is then, and according as the other circumstances over which we have no control, may bias him; if even our very silence has not its effect, according to the aspect of the whole, and the interpretation which the man's present humor may put upon it, or according to the conjecture he may form from the expression of my countenance, and the tone of my voice; so easy is it to bias the judgment from its natural and unfettered conclusion, or rather so few men are there of resolute and independent mind.

43. Montaigne is right. Custom should be followed because it is custom, and because it is found established, without inquiring whether it is reasonable or not; understanding of course those matters which are not contrary to natural or divine right. It is true that the people follow custom for this only reason, that they believe it to be just; without which, they would follow it no longer, for no one would be subjected to any thing but reason and justice. Custom without this would be accounted tyranny; but the dominion of reason and justice is no more tyrannous than that of pleasure.

44. The knowledge of external things will not console us in the days of affliction, for the ignorance of moral science: but attainments in moral science, will console us under the ignorance of external things.

45. Time deadens our afflictions and our strifes, because we change and become almost as it were other persons. Neither the offending nor the offended party remain the same. Like a people that have been irritated, and then revisited two generations after. They are yet the French nation, but not what they were.

46. What is the condition of man? Instability, dissatisfaction, distress. He who would thoroughly know the vanity of man, has only to consider the causes and the effects of love. The cause is a *je ne sais quoi*, an indefinable trifle; the effects are monstrous. Yet this indiscribable something sets the whole earth—princes, armies, multitudes, in motion. If the nose of Cleopatra had been a little shorter, it would have changed the history of the world.

47. Cæsar appears to me too old to have amused himself with the conquest of the world. Such sport might do for Alexander, an ardent youth, whom it was difficult to curb; but Cæsar's day had gone by.

48. Fickleness has its rise in the experience of the fallaciousness of present pleasures, and in the ignorance of the vanity of absent pleasures.

49. Princes and kings must play themselves sometimes. They cannot be always upon their thrones. They become weary. Greatness to be realized, must be occasionally abandoned.

50. My humor depends but little on the weather. I have my cloud and my sunshine within me. Even prosperity or failure in my affairs affects me little. I sometimes rise spontaneously superior to misfortune; and from the mere joy of superiority, I get the better of it nobly. Whilst at other times, in the very tide of good fortune, I am heartless and fretful.

51. Sometimes in the very writing down my thought, it escapes me. But this teaches me my weakness, which I am ever forgetting. And this instructs me therefore as much as my forgotten thoughts would have done; for what I ought always to be learning, is my own nothingness.

52. It is a curious fact, that there are men in the world who, having renounced all the laws of God and man, have made laws for themselves, which they strictly obey; as robbers, &c.

53. "This is my dog," say the children; "that sunny seat is mine." There is the beginning and the exemplification of the usurpation of the whole earth.

54. You have a bad manner: excuse me if you please. Without the apology I should not have known that there was any harm done. Begging your pardon, the "excuse me," is all the mischief.

55. We scarcely ever think of Plato and Aristotle, but as grave and serious looking men, dressed in long robes. They were good honest fellows, who

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* The reference is to the cotemporary sovereigns, Charles I. of England, John Casimir of Poland, and Christina, Queen of Sweden.

laughed with their friends as others do; and when they made their laws and their treatises on politics, it was to play and divert themselves. It was probably the least philosophical and serious part of their lives. The most philosophical was the living simply and tranquilly.

56. Man delights in malice; but it is not against the unfortunate, it is against the prosperous proud; and we deceive ourselves if we think otherwise.—Martial's epigram on the blind, is utterly worthless, for it does not comfort them; it only adds another spark to the glory of the author: all that makes only for the author, is worthless. *Ambitiosa recidet ornamenta.* He should write to please men of a tender and humane spirit, and not your barbarous inhuman souls.

57. These compliments do not please me: "I have given you much trouble." "I fear to weary you." "I fear that this is too long." Things either hurry me away, or irritate me.

58. A true friend is such a blessing, even to great men, in order that he may speak well of them, and defend them in their absence, that they should leave no stone unturned to get one. But they should choose warily; for if they lavish all their efforts on a fool, whatever good he says of them will go for nothing; and in fact he will not speak well of them, if he feels his comparative weakness; for he has not any authority, and consequently he will slander for company's sake.

59. Do you wish men to speak well of you?—Then never speak well of yourself.

60. Do not laugh at the men who seek respect through their duties and official stations; for we regard no man but for his acquired qualities. All men hate one another naturally. I hold it a fact, that if men knew exactly what one says of the other, there would not be four friends in the world. This appears from the quarrels to which occasional indiscreet reports give rise.

61. Death is more easy to endure without thinking about it, than the thoughts of death without the risk of it.

62. It is wonderful indeed, that a thing so visible as the utter vanity of this world, should be so little known, and that it should be so uncommon and surprising to hear any one condemn as folly, the search after its honors.

He who does not see the vanity of this world, is vain indeed. For, in fact, who does not see it, but those young persons who are hurried along in the bustle and din of its amusements, without a thought of the future? But take away those diversions, and you will see them wither with *ennui*. They are then feeling their emptiness without really knowing it: for surely it is a very wretched state, to sink into unbearable sadness, as soon as we cease to be diverted, and are left free to think.

63. Almost every thing is partly true and partly false: not so with essential truth. It is perfectly pure and true. This admixture in the world, dishonors and annihilates truth. There is nothing true, if we mean pure essential truth. We may say that homicide is *bad*, because that which is evil and false is well understood by us. But what can we say is good? Celibacy? I say no! for the world would terminate. Marriage? No; for continency is better. Not to kill? No; for disorders would increase, and the wicked would murder the good.—To kill? No; for that destroys nature. We have nothing true or good, but what is only partially so, and mixed with evil and untruth.

64. Evil is easily discovered; there is an infinite variety. Good is almost *unique*. But some kinds of evil are almost as difficult to discover, as that which we call good; and often particular evil of this class passes for good. Nay, it needs even a certain greatness of soul to attain to this, as it does to attain to that which is good.

65. The ties which link the mutual respects of one to another, in general, are the bonds of necessity. And there must be different degrees of them, since all men seek to have dominion; and all cannot, though some can attain to it. But the bonds which secure our respect to this or that individual in particular, are the bonds of the imagination.

66. We are so unhappy, that we cannot take pleasure in any pursuit, but under the condition of experiencing distress, if it does not succeed, which may happen with a thousand things, and does happen every hour. He who shall find the secret of enjoying the good, without verging to the opposite evil, has hit the mark for happiness.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THOUGHTS ON PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY SUBJECTS.

The more enlarged is our own mind, the greater number we discover of men of originality. Your common-place people see no difference between one man and another.

2. A man may be possessed of sound sense, yet not be able to apply it equally to all subjects; for there are evidently men who are highly judicious in certain lines of thought, but who fail in others. The one class of men are adapted to draw conclusions from a few principles; the other to draw conclusions in cases which involve a great variety of principles. For instance, the one understands well the phenomena of water; with reference to which, the principles are few, but the results of which are so extremely delicate, that none but a peculiarly acute intellect can trace them; and most probably, these men never would have been great geometricians, because geometry involves a great many principles; and that the nature of a mind may be such, that it can trace a few principles up to their extreme results; yet not adequately comprehend those things in which a multitude of principles are combined.

There are then two sorts of minds, the one fathoms rapidly and deeply the principles of things, and this is the spirit of accurate discrimination; the other comprehends a great many principles without confusing them, and this is the spirit of mathematics. The one is energy and clearness of mind; the other is expansion of mind. Now, the one may exist without the other. The mind may be powerful, but narrow; or, it may be expanded and feeble.

There is much difference between the geometrical mind, and the acute mind. The principles of the one are clear and palpable, but removed from common usages; so that, for want of the habit, it is difficult to bring the attention down to such things; but as far as the attention is given to them, the principles of those things are plainly seen, and would need a mind altogether in error, to reason falsely on such common-place matters; so that, it is almost impossible that the principles of such things should not be ascertained.

But in the case of the acute mind, the principles in which it is conversant are found in common usage, and before the eyes of all men. You have but to turn your head without effort, and they are before you. The only essential point is a right perception; for the principles are so interwoven and so numerous, that it is almost impossible but that some should be lost sight of. Now, the omission of one principle leads to error; hence it needs a very accurate perception to ascertain all the principles, and then a sound judgment not to reason falsely on known principles.

All the geometricians would be acute men, if they possessed this keenness of perception, for they cannot reason falsely on the principles which they perceive; and the men of acute mind would be geometricians, if they could but turn their attention to the less prominent principles of geometry.

The reason then why some men of acute intellect are not geometers is, that they cannot turn their attention to the principles of geometry; but the reason why geometers have not this acuteness is, that they do not perceive what is before their eyes, and that being accustomed to the plain and palpable principles of geometry, and never reasoning till they have well ascertained and handled their principles, they are lost in these matters of more acute perception, where the principles cannot be so easily ascertained. They are seen with difficulty—they are felt rather than seen. It is scarcely possible to make them evident to those who do not feel them of themselves. They are so delicate and so multitudinous, that it requires a very keen and ready intellect to feel them; and that generally, without being at all able to demonstrate them in order, as in geometry; because these principles cannot be so gathered, and it were an endless labor to undertake it. The thing must be seen at once, at a glance, and not by a process of reasoning; at least, to a certain degree. And hence it is rarely the case, that geometers are acute men, or acute men geometers; because geometers will treat these nicer matters geometrically, and thus make themselves ridiculous; they will begin with definitions, and then go to principles—a mode that will not answer in this sort of reasoning. It is not that the mind does not take this method, but it does so silently, naturally, without the forms of art—for all men are capable of the expression of it; but this feeling of it is the talent of few.

And the acute mind, on the contrary, accustomed to judge at a glance, is so astonished when they present to it a series of propositions, where it understands but little, and when to enter into them, it is necessary to go previously through a host of definitions and dry principles, that not having been accustomed thus to examine in detail, it turns away in disgust. There are, however, many weaker minds, which are neither acute nor geometrical.

Geometers, then, who are exclusively geometers, possess a sound judgment, provided only that the matter be properly explained to them by definitions and principles; otherwise they go wrong altogether, for they only judge rightly upon principles which are clearly laid down for them; and your acute men, who are exclusively so, have no patience to go down into first principles, in matters of speculation and imagination, which they have never seen in use in the world.

3. It often happens, that to prove certain things, men adduce such examples, that they might actually take the things themselves to prove the examples; which does not fail of producing an effect; for as they believe always that the difficulty lies in the thing to be proved, the example, of course, appears more intelligible. Thus, when they wish to illustrate a general principle, they exhibit the rule of a particular case. But if they wish to illustrate a particular case, they begin with the general rule. They always find the thing to be proved obscure, but the medium of proof clear and intelligible; for when it is purposed to prove a point, the mind pre-occupies itself with the thought, that it is obscure and difficult. Whilst, on the contrary, it assumes that the mode by which it is to be proved will be clear, and consequently, under that impression, comprehends it easily.

4. All our reasonings are compelled to yield to feeling. A mere imagination, however, is both similar and contrary to feeling. Similar, because it does not reason—contrary, because it is false; so that it is difficult to distinguish between these contrarieties. One man says that my feeling is a mere fancy, and that his fancy is a real feeling; and I say the same of him. We need then a criterion: reason offers itself; but it may be biassed to either side, and hence there is no fixed rule.

5. They who judge of a work by rule, are, with respect to those who do not, as those who possess a watch, with respect to those who do not. One says, We have been here now two hours. Another says, It is but three quarters of an hour. I look at my watch, and say to one, You grow weary; and to the other, Time flies fast with you, for it is just an hour and a half; and I smile at those who tell me, that time lingers with me, and that I judge by imagination. They know not that I judge by my watch.

6. There are men who speak well, but who do not write well. The place, the circumstances, &c. excite them, and elicit from their mind, more than they would find in it without that extraordinary stimulus.

7. That which is good in Montaigne, can only be acquired with difficulty: that which is evil, (I except his morals,) might be corrected in a moment, if we consider that he tells too many stories, and speaks too much of himself.

8. It is a serious fault, to follow the exception instead of the rule. We ought to be rigidly opposed to the exception. Yet since it is certain that there are exceptions to the rule, we should judge rigidly, but justly.

9. There are men who would have an author never speak of the things of which others have spoken; and if he does, they accuse him of saying nothing new. But if the subjects are not new, the disposition of them may be. When we play at tennis, both play with the same ball, but one may play it better than the other. They might just as well accuse us of using old words, as if the same thoughts differently arranged, would not form a different discourse; just as the same words differently arranged would express different thoughts.

10. We are more forcibly persuaded in general, by the reasons which we ourselves search out, than by those which are the suggestion of the minds of others.

11. The mind makes progress naturally, and the will naturally clings to objects; so that in default of right objects, it will attach itself to wrong ones.

12. Those great efforts of mind to which the soul occasionally reaches, are such as it cannot habitually maintain. It reaches them by a sudden bound, but only to fall again.

13. Man is neither an angel nor a brute; and the mischief is, they who would play the angel, often play the brute.

14. Only discover a man's ruling passion, and you are sure of pleasing him; and yet each one has in the very notion that he has formed of good, some phantasies which are opposed to his real interest; and this is a strange incongruity, which often disconcerts those who would gain his affection.

15. A horse does not seek to be admired by its companion. There is to be sure, a sort of emulation in the course, but this leads to nothing; for in the stable, the clumsiest and worst made, will not on that account give up his corn to the others. It is not so among men. Their virtue is not satisfied with itself; and they are not satisfied, unless they obtain it by some advantage over others.

16. We injure the mind and the moral sentiments in the same way. The mind and the moral sentiments are formed by conversation. The good or the evil improve or injure them respectively. It is of importance then, to know how to choose well, so as to benefit, and not injure them. But we are

unable to make this choice, unless the mind is already formed, and not injured. There, then, is a circle, from which happy are they who escape!

17. When among those things in nature, the knowledge of which is not absolutely necessary, there are some, the truth of which we do not know, it is perhaps not to be lamented, that frequently one common error obtains, which fixes most minds.—As for example, the moon, to which we attribute the change of weather, and the fluctuations of disease, &c. For one of man's greatest evils is a restless curiosity after the things which he cannot know; and I know not whether it is not a less evil to be in error on such subjects, than to be indulging an idle curiosity.

18. If the lightning had fallen upon low places, the poets and other men who reason only from such analogies, would have failed of their best proofs.

19. Mind has its own order of proceeding, which is by principles and demonstrations; the heart has another. We do not prove that we ought to be loved, by setting forth systematically the causes of love; that would be ridiculous.

Jesus Christ and St. Paul have rather followed this way of the heart, which is the way of charity, than that of the intellect; for their chief end was not merely to instruct, but to animate and warm. St. Augustine does the same. This mode consists chiefly in a digression to each several point, which has a relation to the end, so as to aim at that end always.

20. There are men who put an artificial covering on all nature. There is no king with them, but an august monarch: no Paris, but the capital of the empire. There are places where we must call Paris, Paris; and others where we must call it the capital of the empire.

21. When in a composition we find a word occurring more than once, and on an attempt to alter it, it is found so suitable that a change would weaken the sense; it should be left. To remove it, is the work of a blind envy, which cannot discern that this repetition is not, in this case, a fault; for there is no absolute general rule.

22. Those who make antitheses by forcing the sense, are like men who make false windows for the sake of symmetry. Their rule is not to speak justly, but to make accurate figures.

23. One language is with respect to another a cypher, in which words stand for words, and not letters for letters; and hence an unknown language cannot be decyphered.

24. There is a standard of taste and beauty which consists in a certain accordant relation between our nature—it may be weak or strong, but such as it is,—and the thing that pleases us. All that is formed by this standard delights us: houses, songs, writings, verse, prose, women, birds, rivers, trees, rooms, and dresses. All that is not formed by this standard, disgusts a man of good taste.

25. As we say, poetic beauty, so also we should say geometrical beauty, and medicinal beauty. Yet we do not say so, and the reason of this is, that we know distinctly the object of geometry, and the object of medicine; but we do not know so precisely in what consists that delight, which is the object of poetry. We do not rightly know what is that natural model which we ought to imitate; and, for want of this knowledge, we invent extravagant terms, as, *golden age*, *paragon of our days*, *fatal laurel*, *bright star*, &c. and we call this jargon poetical beauty. But he who should imagine to himself a lady dressed by such a model, would see a beautiful woman covered with mirrors and chains of brass, and could not refrain from laughing; because we understand better that which pleases in a woman, than that which pleases in poetry. But those who are not skilled in these matters, might admire her in this dress; and there are plenty of villages where they would take her for the queen; and hence there are some who call sonnets, made after such a model, *village queens*.

26. When a discourse paints a passion or an effect naturally, we find in ourselves the truth of what we hear—and which was there without our knowing it;—and we feel induced to love him who causes us to discover it, for he does not show us his good, but our own; and hence, this benefit conferred, makes us love him. Besides, that this community of intellectual enjoyment that we have with him, necessarily inclines the heart to love him.

27. There should be in eloquence that which is pleasing, and that which is real; but that which is pleasing, should itself be real.

28. When we meet with the natural style, we are surprised and delighted, for we expected to find an author, and we have found a man. Whilst those of good taste who look into a book, in the hope of finding a man, are altogether surprised to find an author: *plus poetice quam humane locutus est*. They confer the greatest honor on nature, who teach her that she can speak best on all subjects, even theology.

29. The last thing that we discover in writing a book, is to know what to put at the beginning.

30. In a discourse it is wrong to divert the mind from one thing to another, except to prevent weariness; and that only in the time when it is really suitable, and not otherwise; for he who wishes to amuse inappropriately wearies—men will turn away their attention altogether. So difficult is it to obtain any thing from man but by pleasure—the current coin for which we are willing to give every thing.

31. What a vanity is painting which attracts admiration, by the resemblances of things, that in the original we do not at all admire!

32. The same sense is materially affected by the words that convey it. The sense receives its dignity from the words, instead of imparting it to them.

33. Those who are accustomed to judge by feeling, understand but little in matters of reasoning; for they, at once, penetrate the subject with one view, and are not accustomed to search for principles. Others, on the contrary, who are accustomed to reason from principles, comprehend little in matters of feeling; searching for principles, and not being able to discover them.

34. True eloquence despises eloquence. True morality despises morality; that is to say, the morality of the understanding, sets light by the morality of the fancy, which knows no rule.

35. All the false beauties that we condemn in Cicero, have their admirers in crowds.

36. To set light by philosophy, is the true philosophy.

37. Many persons understand a sermon as they understand vespers.

38. Rivers are roads which move forward, and carry us to our destination.

39. Two faces which resemble each other, neither of which is ludicrous alone, excite a smile from their resemblance, when seen together.

40. Astrologers and Alchymists have some sound principles, but they abuse them. Now, the abuse of truth ought to be as much punished as the invention of falsehood.

41. I cannot forgive Descartes. He would willingly, in all his philosophy, have done without God if he could; but he could not get on without letting him give the world a filip to set it a going; after that, he has nothing more to do with him.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ON EPICTETUS AND MONTAIGNE.

Epictetus is one of those philosophers of this world, who have best known the duties of man.—He would have him before all things, to regard God as his chief object, to be persuaded that he governs all things with justice, to submit to him cordially, and to follow him willingly as infinitely wise, and he affirms that this disposition would stay all his complaints and miseries, and prepare him to endure patiently the most distressing events.

Never say, he enjoins, "I have lost that." Say rather, "I have restored it. My son is dead; I have surrendered him. My wife is dead; I have given her up." And so of every other good. "But he who deprived me of this good is a wicked man." Why distress yourself about him, by whom He who lent the blessing, sent to seek it again? While the use of it is permitted to you, regard it as a good belonging to others, as a traveller does in an inn." "You should not wish," he continues, "that things should be as you desire, but you should wish that they may be as they are. Remember that you are here as an actor, and that you play that part which your master is pleased to appoint. If he gives you a short part, play short; if a long part, play long; remain on the stage as long as he pleases; appear on it rich or poor, according to his command. It is your duty to play well the part assigned; but to choose it is the part of God. Set always before your eyes death and the evils which seem least bearable, and you would never think slightingly of any thing, nor desire any thing excessively." He shows in many ways what man should do. He wishes him to be humble, to hide his good resolutions, especially in their commencement, and to fulfil them secretly, for that nothing so much injures them as exposure. He never wearies of repeating that all the study and the desire of men should be to know and to do the will of God.

Such was the light of this great mind, who so well understood the duties of man; happy if he had as well known his weakness. But after having so well understood what man ought to do, he loses himself in the presumption of that for which he thinks him equal. "God," he says, "has given to every man the means of acquitting himself of all his obligations; these means are always in his power. We should only seek happiness by the means that are in our power. Since God has given them for that end, we ought to ascertain what is our liberty. Wealth, life, respect, are not in our power, and do not lead to God; but the mind cannot be forced to believe that which it knows to be false; nor the will to love that which it knows will make it miserable. These two powers then are perfectly free; and by these only can we make ourselves perfect—know God perfectly, love him, obey him, please him, vanquish all vices, attain all virtues, and thus, make ourselves the holy companions of God."

These proud notions lead Epictetus to other errors, such as, that the soul is a portion of the Divine essence; that pain and death are not evils; that we may kill ourselves when we are oppressed; that we may believe that God calls us, &c.

2. Montaigne, born in a Christian land, made a profession of the Roman Catholic religion; and so far there was nothing peculiar about him. But as he wished to seek a system of morals, founded on reason, independently of the illuminations of faith, he laid down his principles according to this supposition, and considered man as entirely destitute of a revelation. He places all things, therefore, in a state of doubt so general and universal, that man doubts even that he doubts; and this uncertainty returns restlessly upon itself in a circle perpetually, opposing equally those who affirm that every thing is uncertain, and those who affirm that nothing is; for he does not wish to give certainty in any thing. In this doubt which doubts itself, and in this ignorance which is ignorant of itself, consists the essense of his opinions. He cannot express it in positive terms; for, if he says, he doubts, he betrays himself by making it certain that he doubts; which being in form contrary to his intention, he is reduced to the necessity of explaining himself by a question; so that not wishing to say, I do not know; he asks, What do I know? And on this idea he has framed his device, in which he has written this motto, "*Que sais je*," under the scales of a balance, each containing a contradictory proposition, and consequently hanging in equilibrium. In fact, he is a pure Pyrrhonist. All his discourses, all his essays, proceed on this principle; and it is the only thing which he professess thoroughly to establish. He insensibly destroys all that passes for certain among men; not to establish the contrary with certainty; for to certainty he is chiefly hostile; but merely to make it appear that the evidence being equal on both sides, it is impossible to know where our confidence should be reposed.

In this spirit he derides every thing like assurance. He combats, for instance, those who have thought to establish a grand remedy against legal processes by the multitude and the professed justice of the laws, as if it were possible to annihilate the region of doubt in which litigation originates; as if we could throw a dam across the torrent of uncertainty, and restrain conjecture. He says on this matter, that he would as soon commit his cause to the first passer by, as to the judges armed with law and precedent. He does not aim to change the order of the state; he does not pretend that his advice is better; he considers none good. He aims only to show the vanity of the best received opinions, showing that the annulling of all laws would sooner diminish the number of differences, than the multitude of laws which serve only to augment them; because the difficulties increase the more they are considered; the obscurities are multiplied by multiplied comments; and the surest way of understanding the sense of the passage is, not to examine it, but to determine on it at the first glance; for that the instant you look into it, all its clearness disappears. On this plan he judges at hap-hazard all human actions and historical facts, sometimes after one manner, sometimes after another, following freely the first impression, without controlling his thoughts by the rules of reason, which, according to him, are all false guides. Delighted with showing, in his own example, the contrarieties of the same mind in this illimitable field, it is the same to him whether he grows warm or not in a dispute, having always the means by one example or another, of showing the weakness of any opinion whatever; being so far elevated by the system of universal doubt, he strengthens himself equally by his triumph or his defeat.

It is from this position, fluctuating and variable as it is, that he combats with invincible firmness the heretics of his time, on the ground that they assumed to themselves the exclusive knowledge of the true sense of Scripture; and from thence also he thunders against the horrible impiety of those who dare to say, that there is no God. He attacks them, especially in the apology of Raimond de Sebonde, and finding them entirely stripped of the support of a revelation, and abandoned to their natural light, independent of faith, he demands of them on what authority they pretend to judge of this Sovereign Being, whose specific definition is Infinity—they who do not thoroughly know the smallest thing in nature. He asks them on what principles they rest, and presses them to disclose them. He examines all that they can produce; and he goes so deeply by that talent, in which he peculiarly excels, that he shows the vanity of those principles which pass for the clearest and the most established. He inquires if the soul knows any thing; if it knows itself; if it is a substance or an accident, body or spirit; what each of these things is, and if there are not some things which belong not to either of these orders; if the soul knows its own body; if it knows what matter is; how it can reason if it is matter, and how it can be united to a material frame, and feel its passions, if it is purely immaterial? When did its existence commence; with or before the body? Will it terminate with it or not? Does it never deceive itself? Does it know when it is in error? seeing that the very essence of error is not being aware of it. He asks also, If brutes reason, think, or speak? Who can say what is time or space; extension, motion, or unity; all being things by which we are surrounded, but utterly inexplicable? What are health, sickness, death, life, good or evil, justice or transgression: things of which we speak continually? If we have within us the principles of truth, and if those that we believe to be such, and that we call *axioms*, or *notions common to all men*, are really conformed to essential truth? Since we cannot know but by the light of faith, that an infinitely Good Being has really given us these principles, and formed us so as to comprehend truth: who could know, without the light of faith, whether we may not be formed by accident; and that consequently, all our notions are uncertain; or, whether we may not be created by a false and wicked being, who has given us these false principles expressly to lead us astray? And thus, he shows that God and the truth are inseparable, and that if one is or is not, if one is certain or uncertain, the other is necessarily the same. Who knows that common sense which we generally regard as the judge of truth, has been appointed to this office by Him who made it? Who knows what is truth? and how can we be sure of possessing it without knowing it? Who knows, in fact, what being is, since it is impossible so to define it, but that there must be something more general; and since it requires, even in the explanation of it, to use the very idea of *Being*, saying it is such or such a thing? Since we know not what the soul, the body, time, space, motion, truth, and good are, and even what being is, nor how to explain the idea that we have formed of them; how can we know that the idea is the same in all men? We have no other mark than the uniformity of results, which is not always a sign of uniformity of principles; for they may be very different, and yet lead to the same conclusions; every one knowing that truth may be concluded from falsehood.

Then Montaigne examines very deeply the sciences:—Geometry, the uncertainty of which he points out in its axioms, and in its terms which it does not define, as *extension*, *motion*, &c.; physics and medicine, which he depresses in a variety of ways; history, politics, morals, jurisprudence, &c. So that, without revelation, we might believe according to him, that life is a dream, from which we do not wake till death, and during which, we have as few principles of truth as in natural sleep. In this way he attacks so fiercely and so cruelly reason when unaided by faith, that causing it to doubt whether it is rational or not, and whether the brutes are so or not, or more or less so than men, he brings it down from the excellence that is attributed to it, and places it as a matter of favor on a level with the brutes, without permitting it to rise above that level, till it shall be instructed by its Creator, as to that real rank which belongs to it, and of which it is ignorant; threatening, if it rebels, to place it beneath every thing else, which appears, at least, as easy as the reverse; and not allowing it power to act, except to recognize, with real humility, its feebleness, instead of elevating itself by a false and foolish vanity. We cannot behold but with joy, that in this writer, haughty reason has been so completely battered by its own weapons—to see this deadly struggle between man and man, which, from the association with God, to which he had raised himself by the maxims of feeble reason, hurls him headlong to the level of the brutes: and we would cordially love the minister of this mighty vengeance, if, as an humble, believing disciple of the church, he had followed the rules of its morality, and taught man whom he had so beneficially humbled, no longer to irritate, by fresh crimes, Him who alone could redeem him from those already committed, and which evils God had already convinced him that man had not the power to discover. But, on the contrary, he acts like a heathen. Look at his moral system.

From this principle, that independent of faith, all is uncertainty; and from the consideration, how large a portion of time has been spent in seeking the true good, without any progress towards tranquillity; he concludes, that we should leave this care to others; resting, in the meantime, in a state of repose, and touching lightly on these subjects lest we sink by pressure; that we should admit truth and the true good upon the first glance, without examining too closely, because they are so far from solid, that however little we grasp the hand, they escape between our fingers, and leave it empty. He follows, then, the report of the senses, and the prevailing notions, because to deny them, would be to do violence to himself, and he knows not in his ignorance of truth, if he would be the gainer by it. He avoids also pain and death, because his instinct shuns them, and yet for the same reason as before, he would not resist them. But he does not trust himself too much to these emotions of fear, and does not venture to conclude that pain and death are real evils; since we discover also emotions of pleasure which we condemn as evil, though nature affirms the contrary. "So that," says he, "I have nothing extravagant in my conduct. I do as others do: and all that they do under the foolish notion that they are seeking the true good, I do from another principle, which is that the probabilities on both sides being equal, example and my own convenience lead me." He adopts the manners of his country, because custom leads him; he mounts his horse and rides, because the horse allows it, but without regarding it as a matter of right; on the contrary, he does not know but that the horse has a right to ride him. He even does violence to himself, in order to avoid certain vices; he preserves matrimonial fidelity, on account of the annoyance resulting from irregularities, the real object of all his actions being convenience and tranquillity. He utterly rejects that stoical virtue, which is delineated with a sour countenance, and a frowning brow, with hair dishevelled, and her forehead wrinkled with care, and sitting in a painful attitude, in solitude and in silence on the top of a rock, an object fit only, as he says, to frighten youth, and doing nothing but seeking with unremitted toil for rest, where rest can never come; whilst, on the other hand, virtue, according to his notion, is ingenuous, open, pleasant, gay, and even sportive; she follows that which pleases her, and negligently trifles with the events of life, whether good or bad; she nestles luxuriously in the bosom of a quiet indolence, from whence she teaches those who seek so restlessly after happiness, that it is to be found no where but in the shrine where she reposes; and that, as he says, ignorance and indifference are the downy pillows for a well-made head.

3. On reading Montaigne, and comparing him with Epictetus, we cannot dissemble a conviction, that they were the two greatest defenders of the two most celebrated sects of the unbelieving world, and that they are the only persons among the varieties of men destitute of the light of true religion, who are in any degree rational and consistent. In fact, without revelation, what could we do but follow one or other of these systems? The first system is, There is a God, then he has created man; he has created him for himself; he has made him such as he ought to be, to be just, and to become happy. Then man may attain to the knowledge of truth; and it is within his range to elevate himself by wisdom, even to God himself who is the sovereign good. The other system is, Man cannot elevate himself to God; his native tendencies are contrary to God's law; his tendency is to seek happiness in visible things, and even in those which are most disgraceful. Every thing then appears uncertain, even the true good itself; and we are reduced to such a state, that we appear to have neither a fixed rule for morals, nor certainty in matters of science.

There is much pleasure in observing in these different lines of reasoning, in what respects men on either side have discovered any traces of that truth which they have endeavored to seek. For it is pleasant to observe in nature, the effort to show forth God in the works of his hands, where some marks of him are seen, because those works are his image; how much more justifiable are the efforts of the human mind to arrive at truth, and the endeavor to ascertain in what respects they attain to it, and in what they go astray. This is the chief benefit to be derived from reading Montaigne's writings.

It would seem that the source of error in Epictetus and the Stoics on one side, and of Montaigne and the Epicureans on the other, is the not having known that the present state of man differs from that state in which he was created. The former, observing in man some remnant traces of his former greatness, and ignorant of his corruption, have treated human nature as in a healthy state, and without need of reparation—an error which has led to the most unbounded pride The latter, sensible of man's present misery, and ignorant of his former dignity, have treated our nature as if it were necessarily impure and incurable, and have thus been led to despair of ever attaining the true good, and have sunk from thence to the lowest moral degradation. These two states, which ought to be taken cognizance of together, in order to ascertain the whole truth, being looked at separately, have led necessarily to one or other of these vices, either pride or immorality, in one of which all unconverted men are infallibly plunged; since either from the power of corruption, they do not avoid irregular indulgence, or if they escape, it is only through pride; so that they are always in one way or other, the slaves of the spirit of wickedness, to whom, as St. Augustine says, sacrifice is offered in many different ways.

And hence it follows, as the result of this imperfect light, that one class of men, knowing their powerlessness, and not their duty, sink down in sin; the other knowing their duty, but not their weakness, lift themselves up with pride. One might suppose, that, by uniting these two classes, a perfect system of morals might be produced; but instead of peace, nothing would result from the meeting but conflict and destruction: for, since the one aimed to establish certainty, and the other universal doubt; the one, the dignity of man, and the other his weakness, they cannot possibly be reconciled; they cannot subsist alone because of their defects; nor together, because of the contrariety of their opinions.

4. But it was needful that they should come into collision and destroy each other, in order to give place to the truth of revelation, which alone can harmonize, by a principle truly divine, such manifest contrarieties. Uniting all that is true, and setting aside all that is false, she indicates by a wisdom evidently "from above," that point at which those opposing principles unite, which, as stated in doctrines merely human, appear perfectly incompatible with each other. And here is the reason of it. The wise men of this world have placed these contrarieties in the same subject; the one side attributing strength to human nature; the other, weakness to this same nature; which things cannot be true together. Faith, however, teaches us to regard these two qualities as residing in different subjects, all the infirmity belonging to man, and all his might to divine assistance. There is the novel and surprising union which God only could teach us—which God only could accomplish, and which is only an image and an effect of the ineffable union of the two natures in the one person of the God-man Mediator. In this way philosophy leads insensibly to theology. In fact it is difficult not to enter upon it whenever we treat of truth, because it is the centre of all truth, a fact which appears here unquestionably, because it so evidently unites in itself whatever there is of truth in these contrary opinions. Moreover, we can see no reason why either party should refuse to follow it. If they are filled with notions of human greatness, what is there in all that they have imagined, that does not yield to the gospel promises, which are a purchase worthy of the inestimable price of the death of the Son of God. And if they take delight in the infirmity of human nature, no notion of theirs can equal that of the real weakness induced by sin, of which that same death is the remedy. Each party finds in the gospel, more even than it has wished; and what is wonderful, they find there the means of solid union—even they who could not of themselves approximate in an infinitely lower degree.

5. Christians in general have little need of these philosophical lectures. Yet Epictetus has an admirable talent for disturbing those who seek for repose in external things, and for compelling them to discover that they are really slaves and miserably blind, and that it is impossible to escape the error and the distress from which they endeavor to fly, unless they give themselves up unreservedly to God. Montaigne is equally successful in confounding the pride of those, who, without the aid of faith, boast themselves of a real righteousness; in correcting those who value their own opinion, and who believe that, independently of the existence and perfections of God, they shall find in the sciences infrangible truth. He exhibits to reason so convincingly the poverty of its light, and the multitude of its errors, that it is difficult afterwards to feel even the temptation to reject the mysteries of religion, on the ground that they may be contradicted; for the spirit is so humbled, that it does not even presume to judge if mysteries are possible, a point which ordinary men debate too readily. But Epictetus, in his reprehension of indifference, leads to pride, and may be most injurious to those who are not convinced of the corruption of all righteousness, but that which is of faith. Montaigne, on the other hand, is positively evil in his influence on those whose bias is to impiety and vice. And hence, these authors should be read with great care and discretion, and with peculiar regard to the condition and morals of those who look into them. It

seems, however, that the union of them can only have a beneficial influence, as the evil of the one corrects the evil of the other. It is true that they do not impart virtue, but they disturb men in their vices. For man finds himself assailed by contrarieties, one of which attacks his pride, and the other his carelessness, and ascertains that all his reason will not enable him either to obtain peace in the indulgence of his vices, or altogether to avoid them.

CHAPTER XXX.

ON THE CONDITION OF THE GREAT.

A MAN was thrown by a tempest on an unknown island, the inhabitants of which were seeking their king, whom they had lost; and as he had accidentally some resemblance to him, both in face and figure, he was mistaken for him, and recognized as such by all the people. At first he knew not how to act: but he resolved, at length, to yield to his good fortune. He received, therefore, all the respect with which they honored him, and allowed himself to be treated as their king.

But since he could not altogether forget his former condition, he thought even while he received their homage, that he was not the king whom this people sought, and that the kingdom did not really belong to him. His thoughts, consequently, were two-fold. One, by which he played the king; the other, which recognized his true condition, and that chance only had placed him in this extraordinary position. He hides this last thought, whilst he discloses the other. According to the former, he deals with the people; according to the latter, he deals with himself.

Think not, that by a less extraordinary chance you possess your wealth, than that by which this man became a king. You have not in yourself any personal or natural right, more than he; and not only does your being the son of a duke, but your being in the world at all, depend upon a variety of contingencies. Your birth depended on a marriage, or rather on all the marriages of a long line of ancestry. But on what did these marriages depend? on an accidental meeting! on a morning's conversation! on a thousand unforeseen occurrences!

You hold, say you, your riches from your forefathers; but was it not the result of a thousand contingencies, that your forefathers acquired or preserved them? A thousand others as clever as they, have not been able to acquire wealth, or have lost it when they had. You conceive, that by some natural channel, this wealth descended from your ancestry to you: No such thing. This order is founded solely on the will of those who made the laws, and who might have had divers good reasons for so framing them; but none of which, most assuredly, was formed in the notion of your natural right in those possessions. If they had chosen to ordain that this wealth, after having been possessed by the father during his life, should return at his death to the public treasury, you would have had no reason to complain.

Thus then, the whole title by which you possess your property, is not a title founded in nature, but in human appointment. Another train of thought in those who made the laws, would have made you poor; and it is only this favorable contingency, by which you are born in accordance with the whim of law, which has put you in possession of your present wealth.

I do not mean to say that your goods are not yours legitimately, and that others are at liberty to rob you of them; for God, our great master, has given to society the right of making laws for the division of property; and when these laws are once established, it is unjust to violate them. And here there is a slight distinction between you and the man of whom we have spoken, whose only right to the kingdom, was founded in an error of the people; for God would not sanction his possession, and, in fact, requires him to renounce it, whilst he authorizes yours. But the point in which the two cases completely coincide is this, that neither your right nor his is founded in any quality or merit whatever in you, or which renders you deserving of it. Your soul and your body are of themselves no more allied to the state of a duke, than to that of a laborer; there is no natural tie which binds you to the one condition, rather than to the other.

Then what follows from this? that you ought to have, as this man of whom we have spoken, a two-fold habit of thought; and that, if you act outwardly towards men, according to your rank in life, it becomes you, at the same time, to cherish a sentiment more concealed, but more true, that you are in no respect naturally above them; and if the more ostensible thought elevates you above men in general, this secret conviction should lower you, and reduce you to a perfect equality with all men; for this is your natural condition.

The people who admire you, are perhaps not aware of this secret. They believe that nobility is a real natural superiority; and they regard the great, as being of a different nature from others. You are not required to correct this error, if you do not wish it; but see that you do not insolently misuse this elevation, and, above all, do not mistake yourself, and imagine that there is in your nature something more elevated than in that of others.

What would you say of him who had been made king, through the mistake of the people, if he so far forgot his original condition, as to imagine that this kingdom was properly his, that he deserved it, and that it belonged to him as a matter of right? You would wonder at his folly. But is there less folly in men of rank, who live in such strange forgetfulness of their native condition?

How important is this advice! For all the arrogance, violence, and impatience of the great, springs but from this ignorance of what they really are. For it would be difficult for those who inwardly consider themselves on a level with all men, and who are thoroughly convinced that there is in them nothing that merits the little advantages which God has given them above others, to treat their fellow-creatures with insolence. To do this, they must forget themselves, and believe that there is in them some essential superiority to others. And in this consists the delusion which I am anxious to expose to you.

2. It is desirable that you should know what is really due to you, that you may not attempt to require of men that which is not your due, for that were a manifest injustice; and yet to act thus, is very common in men of your condition, because they are not aware of their real merit.

There is in the world two sorts of greatness; there is a greatness founded in nature, and a greatness founded in appointment. That which is constituted great, depends on the will of men, who have believed with reason, that they ought to honor certain situations in life, and pay them certain respects. Of this kind are titles and nobility. In one country, the nobles are reverenced; in another, the laborers. In this, the elder son; in that, the younger. Why is this? Because men would have it so. It was a matter of indifference before it was so constituted; since then, it has become a matter of right, for it is unjust to interfere with it.

Natural greatness is that which is independent of the caprices of men, because it consists in real and effective qualities of body and mind, which render the one or the other more estimable, as science, intellect, energy, virtue, health, or strength.

We owe a duty to each of these kinds of greatness; but as they differ in nature, we owe them also a very different kind of respect. To constituted greatness, we owe the appointed reverence; that is, certain outward ceremonies, which ought to be, at the same time, accompanied as we have shown, with an internal recognition of the propriety of this arrangement; but which does not force upon us the idea of any real quality of greatness in those whom we so honor. We speak on our bended knee to kings. We must stand in the saloons of princes. It is folly and narrow-mindedness to refuse these observances.

But natural respect, which consists in esteem, we only owe to natural greatness; and we owe contempt and aversion to the opposite qualities to this greatness. It is not necessary that I should esteem you, because you are a duke; but it is that I bow to you. If you are both a duke and a virtuous man, then I will yield the reverence which I owe to both these qualities. I will not refuse you the obeisance which your ducal dignity demands; nor the esteem that your virtue merits. But if you were a duke without virtue, I would then also do you justice; for while I paid that outward respect which the laws of society have attached to your rank, I would not fail to cherish towards you that inward contempt, which your meanness of soul deserved.

This is the line that justice prescribes to such duties, and injustice consists in paying natural respect to artificial greatness, or in requiring external reverence to natural greatness. Mr. N. is a greater geometer than I, and, on this account, he would take precedence of me. I would teli him that he does not comprehend this matter rightly. Geometry is a natural superiority—it asks the preference of esteem; but men have not appointed to it any outward acknowledgment. I take precedence of him therefore; while, at the same time, I esteem him more than myself, for his geometrical talent.

In the same way, if as a duke, and a peer of the realm, you are not satisfied that I stand uncovered before you, and you require me to esteem you also, then I must beg you to show me those qualities which deserve it. If you do this, then you gain your point, and I cannot refuse you with justice; but if you cannot do this, then you are unjust to ask it; and, most assuredly, you would not succeed, even if you were the mightiest potentate on earth.

3. I would have you, then, to know your true condition, for it is the thing, in all the world, of which you men of rank are the most ignorant. What is it, according to your notion, to be a great lord? It is to have the command of many objects of human gratification, and to be able thus to satisfy the wants and the desires of many. It is the wants and the wishes of men which collect them round you, and render them subservient; without that, they would not look to you exclusively; but they hope, by their attentions and adulation, to obtain from you some part of those good things which they seek, and which they see that you have to bestow.

God is surrounded by people full of the need of charity, who ask of him those blessings of charity that are his to give. Hence he is appropriately called, " The king of charity."

You are in the same way surrounded with a little crowd of people, over whom you reign in your way. These people are full of sensual wants. They ask of you sensual blessings. They then are bound to you by covetousness. You are then properly the king of covetousness. Your dominion may be of small extent; but as to the kind of royalty, you are on a level with the greatest kings of the earth. They are like you, monarchs of animal wants. This it is which invests them with power, namely, the possession of things after which men greedily crave.

But in thus recognizing your real and natural condition, use the means which are consistent with it, and do not pretend to reign by any other way than by that which actually constitutes you a king. It is not your natural energy and power which subjects the people round you. Do not pretend then to rule them by force, nor to treat them harshly. Satisfy their just desires; relieve their wants; find your pleasure in beneficence; help them as much as you can; and act in your true character as the king of animal necessities.

What I have said to you, does not go far into the subject of duty; and if therefore you rest there, you will not fail to lose yourself, though you will then, at least, sink as a virtuous man should do. There are men who destroy their own souls by avarice, by brutality, by dissipation, by violence, by passion, by blasphemy. The path which I point out to you, is undoubtedly more virtuous than these. But in any way, it is unpardonable folly to lose one's self; and therefore, I say, you must not rest at that point. You should despise sensuality and its dominion, and aspire to that kingdom of charity, where all its subjects breathe nothing but charity, and desire no other blessings. Others will direct you better than I can in this way; it will be sufficient for me to have turned you aside from those low and sensualizing ways, along which I see so many persons of rank hurried, from the want of a due acquaintance with their own real condition.

THE END

A
NARRATIVE OF THE VISIT
TO THE
AMERICAN CHURCHES,
BY THE
# DEPUTATION
FROM THE
CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

BY

ANDREW REED, D. D. AND JAMES MATHESON, D. D.

NEW-YORK
THOMAS GEORGE, JR. 162 NASSAU STREET.
....
1835.

DEDICATION AND PREFACE.

TO
THE CHURCHES
OF
ENGLAND AND AMERICA,
THIS NARRATIVE
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
WITH THE EARNEST DESIRE THAT IT MAY PROMOTE
THEIR MUTUAL AFFECTION,
AND THEIR UNITED DEVOTEDNESS
TO THE
WORLD'S SALVATION,
BY THE
DEPUTATION.

PREFACE.

It must be admitted that enough has been recently written on America, unless it were better written, or occupied some new field of discourse. The execution of the following volumes must be left with the judgment of the public; but the authors may claim the advantage of having occupied new ground.

Notwithstanding the numerous communications made by travellers within these few years, relative to this interesting country, the ample fields of Nature and Religion remained almost unexplored and unreported. Happily, these subjects are in keeping with each other, since to illustrate one is to assist the conception of the other; and happily, too, they were most in accordance with the taste of the writers, as well as in the very spirit and design of their mission. Religion, indeed, must be considered as the great subject of inquiry; and if nature and outward circumstance, in the form of narrative, are associated with it, it is from a desire of commending to the memory and heart, with greater facility and power, the things that are "invisible," by "the things which do appear."

The Congregational Union was formed in the year 1831. It had been several times contemplated; and at length arose, partly from the growing exigencies of the times, and partly from the improved spirit in the churches. It was felt that, in pleading with unwavering resolution for the principle of independence, under difficult circumstances, we were liable to adopt a limited view of its import; and that it was desirable, on every account, to convey the acknowledged strength and efficiency of our individual churches to those churches in an associated capacity. The attempt has been successful beyond the expectations of many; and it is earnestly to be hoped, that, since the *sign* of our religion is Union, and the *spirit* of it Love, its success will be complete.

One of the best and earliest effects of this union was, to express sympathy to kindred fellowships, without restriction from national bias or geographical boundaries. An affectionate correspondence was soon opened between it and the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies of the United States, which afforded much gratification. Affection was strengthened by its exercise; and it was proposed to seek the higher profit and pleasure which might arise from personal intercourse. In this spirit, a Deputation was appointed to make a fraternal visit to the churches of that land; to assure them of our Christian esteem and affection; and to bear home again the responses of kindness and confidence. The churches of America have shown their eagerness to participate in this communion; not only by the temper in which they received the Deputation, but equally by the celerity with which they determined to send their delegates in return; while the efforts which we have already made have certainly disposed us the more fully to renew and perpetuate the delightful intercourse.

One should have thought, that such a movement on the part of churches in different regions of the globe, could have been viewed only with unmixed satisfaction and joy. Yet the Deputation, on returning, have concern, if not surprise, to find that, in some quarters, and in the name of religion, their mission has been open to misrepresentation, and their motives to misconstruction. They trust, however, when it is found that their mission was as catholic as the religion they profess; that they had no political or party purposes to accomplish; that their embassy was one of fraternal and Christian charity—to express love and to invite love—nothing more and nothing less—that justice will be done to a service which, apart from the *manner* of its execution, demands only the approbation of the generous and the good. Whatever may be the ultimate conclusion of those who have indulged in hasty, and perhaps prejudiced objection, their judgment is fixed—unalterably fixed. They have reason to regard it as one of the noblest acts to which the church, in recent times, has given herself; they are confident that, if rightly sustained, the *consequences* will be most felicitous; and they must regard it, *in itself*, as among the most cheering signs of the times, if, indeed, the union of the church is to anticipate the conversion of the world.

It was no part of the engagement, that the visit of the Deputation should issue in an extended and published report. But they have been ready, with such ability and opportunity as they might command, to obey urgent request; and the more so, as the interest which the mission has created in their minds, disposes them to contribute to the utmost to render its effects extensively and permanently beneficial. They have felt that this part of their undertaking is attended with delicacy and difficulty. Every statement is likely to be seen through the medium of opposite habits and partialities; and on that account alone, while it gives pleasure to one party, it may give offence to the other. All offence, indeed, might have been easily avoided, by avoiding discrimination; but to write without discrimination would be to write without profit. They have confidence in the manliness of the American character to believe, that candid remark, when meant for improvement, will be candidly received; and if comparison and discrimination should sometimes reveal defects on our own part, they cannot think that it must necessarily give offence. They have sought to fulfil their commission in forgetfulness of prejudice on the one hand, and partiality on the other; and they will not suppose that, on this account, they will be deemed worthy of blame or suspicion. It were ungenerous of them not to do justice to America; but it were unnatural of them to depreciate England for the purpose of exalting America. They are truly sensible that their mission is one of pure charity; they would deeply regret that it should not be consummated in this spirit; and should it seem to be otherwise, in any instance, they crave of the reader to supply the charitable construction which may be wanting in the writer.

The circumstances of time, of distance, and of the Deputies having, during the visit, kept separate notes, made it requisite, in preparing the following volumes, that there should be a division of labor. It will be seen that the report on Canada and Pennsylvania, and the arrangements of the Statistical Tables in the appendix, rested with Mr. Matheson; for the remaining portions, the other member of the Deputation is responsible.

They cannot allow themselves to commit this work to the public, without a distinct and grateful acknowledgment of the manifold kindnesses expressed to them during their residence in the United States. Especially they desire to assure those friends who so readily made them a home in their own families, when they were so entirely separated from their endeared connections, that they do and must retain a deep and indelible sense of their affectionate and self-denying attentions.

On the whole, as the fruits, at the time, were unquestionably good, may it not be hoped that they shall abide and improve with years? And by such intercourse, maintained on Christian principles, why may we not expect that the churches of the two countries shall become ONE; the people become ONE; and their efforts to benefit the world ONE; till all nations shall be blessed, even as England and America are blessed? And England and America the more blessed, for the common deed of righteousness and love?

London, April 28. 1835.

NARRATIVE.

LETTER I.

My dear friend—I remember when called to separate from you, that I promised to supply you with a narrative of our visit to the Western world. I originally meant to do this by a succession of letters, transmitted from date to date, as I might change the place of observation, or find opportunity to copy and forward my impressions. Such, however, was the pressure and continuity of my engagements, as to make this quite impracticable. All that I could do was to take hasty notes, to defend me from the treachery of the memory; in the hope that I might afterward give them such form and correctness as might render them intelligible and acceptable to you. I now propose to fulfil this duty; and I have the persuasion that, under the circumstances, you will receive it as a real, though a late, redemption of my promise.

On the morning succeeding the very solemn and affecting valedictory service at Zion chapel, I left town for Liverpool. On arriving at that place, I was sought out by my esteemed friend Mr. Bulley, and kindly urged to make his house my home.—Here I was joined by Mr. Matheson, who was to be the companion of my travels. Every thing had been arranged by our friend for our departure; and we had only to realize and confirm those arrangements previously to our sailing.

The *Europe*, in which vessel we had engaged our passage, was announced to sail on the 16th; but we had hope that as the tide would not serve till two o'clock, and as the wind was not promising in the opening of the day, that we might pass our Sabbath in quietude. With this doubtful hope we participated in the morning worship at Dr. Raffles's, and had an especial place in the prayers of the church and congregation. At the close of the service the word was—"The wind serves—all on board immediately." We obeyed the summons; parted with our friends; joined our vessel; and committed ourselves to the ocean and to God.

The passage is now so regularly made, and it has been so often described, that it is needless to offer particulars. Our packet is considered one of the finest on the line; it is fitted up in the most handsome style; it has a table not inferior to our best inns; it is indeed a floating hotel. Our company, too, composed as it was of all professions and pursuits, was respectable and agreeable; they were rather disposed to respect than to depreciate us on the ground of our ministerial character; we parted with many of them with much regret, and afterward in our travels met with some of them with sincere pleasure. Indeed, every thing was acceptable and pleasant, with the exception of close air, coffin-like cabins, restless but confined motion, and —the sea-sickness. These deductions, unhappily, belong to a sea life; and though the allowance made for them may be various with various persons, I think it is uniformly considerable; for I have always observed that both the sailor and the passenger equally admit, that the *quick* voyage is the *good* voyage.

You know my admiration for the ocean; I had one opportunity of seeing it in its majesty. We were in a smart gale of wind for a day and a half. Unwell as I was, I could not forego the unobstructed enjoyment of the scene. I got on deck, and secured myself as well as I could by the cordage, and observed in silence. Every thing was raised from its ordinary state of being, and was full of power.—The calm earnestness of the captain; the awakened and prompt attention of the sailor; the subdued anxiety of the passenger; the straining and groaning of the vessel; the roaring and battling of the waters as they resisted our impetuous course; were full of sublimity. At such a time, the snapping of a cord or the starting of a plank might have brought not merely disaster, but death. But the ocean, what shall be said of it? When it rose in all its mightiness, and shut up our view, which was before illimitable, to a small span in the heavens; when it stood around our little bark in unbroken mountains, as once it did around the Egyptians, threatening to ingulf us in an instant and for ever; then I had an advanced and unutterable conception of nature and of Omnipotence. In crossing our channels, and in running along our coasts, I had thought I knew what the sea was; but I was then satisfied I had never seen it before.

I will not trouble you further with sights. We did not see the icebergs nor the sea-serpents. We were told that we saw some whales; but I should fear to avouch it. Indeed, we were now beginning to look for the land, as decidedly the most interesting object. But while searching for it, calm and fog came on, and made us in turn fearful of the object of our anxious search. This pause to our hopes was hard to bear so near to our haven. Every wish was now directed to the pilot-boats; and when at length one was discovered, like the wing of a bird through the opening mists, there was universal joy.

We felt as if, on getting the pilot on board, we should make a decided movement towards our port. But the breeze was still faint, and the fog heavy. Fogs, it is understood, prevail very much at this season of the year for many days; and they arise from the sudden return of hot weather, which dissolves the ice, and produces immense evaporation. We moved slowly through the Narrows into the expanding bay, and dropped anchor in the evening off Staten Island, and about six miles from the city. In the morning we quitted our vessel for a steamboat. The mists were still heavy, and veiled every thing from sight; we lost, therefore, for the present, the view of the bay, which is admitted to be exceedingly good. This, with a new world before us, was but a slight disappointment. About ten o'clock I sprang on the landing at New-York, and realized the presence of a country, which had long dwelt as a picture of interest and of hope in my imagination.

We made the best of our way to Bunker's hotel. Our first inquiry was for single-bedded rooms, as we understood that to be the only matter of doubt. They were readily obtained; and a black servant was commissioned to conduct us to them. After dressing, our first concern was, to use our retirement in acknowledging the Hand which had conducted us safely over the great Atlantic; and in committing ourselves to its renewed guidance, now that we were strangers in a strange land.

Before we retired to our rooms, we had expressed a wish for some refreshment; and I expected, on coming down, to see a little breakfast-table set for us. Nothing of this sort was, however, visible. I went into the bar-room, and looked at the papers, still waiting for a summons to the anticipated refreshment. At last I approached to the bar, and ventured to ask for it. The master of the ceremonies, without speaking, placed a small basket of biscuits and a plate of cheese before us as we stood. We were amused, as well as disappointed; and, as we seemed to be without choice, we partook of the supply that was offered. We thought, at least, that the little set-out had been for us; but while we were busy with it, two or three gentlemen came up, and, without permission, or without seeking a separate knife or plate, claimed a share. We asked for a glass of wine; a glass was literally supplied, and the decanter restored to its place. When our repast was over, we still waited in the bar-room, and must have shown some of the awkwardness of strangers. At length our host was conscious of this, and came with an apology for having forgotten to show us to a sitting-room. We were then introduced to a handsome withdrawing-room, which was open to other residents at the hotel.

While I give you this incident as illustrative of manners, you are not to suppose that the other arrangements of the house were on a level with this: they were excellent. But the case was, our appetite was out of time. The breakfast hour was past, and the dinner hour was not come; and the American inn, while it provides bountifully for periodical hunger, has no compassion for a disorderly appetite. There is one hour, one table, one meal, one summons; and if you are ready, you may fare very well; if you miss the opportunity, you must digest the consequences as you can. It was interesting to see how readily the American, with his love of freedom, submitted to these restraints, while John Bull insists on naming his own dinner, at his own table, at his own time, and in his own room. He has certainly more independence in his *habits*, if not in his *opinions*, than his transatlantic brethren.

After disposing of our snack and our host, we naturally desired to see something of the world around us. We walked up the Broadway. It is every way the principal street: its width is about that of Piccadilly, and its length about two miles and a half. It meets the eye well. The straight line it offers to the sight is relieved, in some measure by the foliage of trees and the towers of churches, while it conveys to the imagination a sense of magnitude and importance beyond the reality. My first impressions from the objects were such as these. The habitations, from frequently having the Venetian or other shutters closed, as the readiest mode of excluding the sun, affected me painfully, as though death had entered them. The ordinary signs of health could not be so prevalent as with us; for I was continually saying to myself, How ill that man looks. The shops are not at all English; they are Parisian; indeed, nowhere but in England can you meet with that shop-front which is so indicative of wealth, or the security of property, and of tact for catching the eye of the hasty passenger. The ladies, who were using the Broadway as a promenade, struck me as of less stature than ours. Those who aspired to fashion, used Parisian dresses; and they had a mincing tread, which was meant to be Parisian, but is certainly not so; it is affectation, and therefore disagreeable.

New-York is the counterpart of Liverpool; they have grown remarkably together. At no very distant period, they both had some 5,000 inhabitants; they have advanced almost thousand by thousand, and are now nearly equal in population. In point of site, Liverpool has the advantage. It springs boldly from the water, and, by its various elevation, presents more picture to the eye; while for water conveyance, and the mere purposes of business, the advantage is with New-York. It stands on a plane only sufficiently inclined to ensure a good drainage, and of course supplies great facilities for the transit of goods. At present, Liverpool does by far the greatest amount of business; but, because New York has more home trade, there is with it greater show of mercantile activity and life.

This city is really worthy of the reputation she has for the frequency of the fires. There were six to my knowledge in ten days. They appear to arise partly from wood being the common fuel, which is less safe than coal; and partly from flues being carried through frame-buildings, which is very hazardous. Some, however, as with ourselves, are intentional; persons of bad principle and embarrassed circumstances abuse the benefit of insurance, and seek to save themselves by fire, reckless of whom they destroy.

In the afternoon of the day, we were kindly waited on by Drs. Cox and Peters, and the Rev. W. Patton. They came as a deputation from the Third Presbytery, which was then in session. They stated that they were instructed to invite us to attend its sittings, and to accept of accommodations which had been made in Mr. Patton's family, in expectation of our arrival. We accepted the invitations in the spirit in which they were given; and were refreshed by intercourse with brethren whom we had known and esteemed in the Father Land.

LETTER II.

My dear friend—On the following day, according to the previous arrangement, we changed our habitation, and did honor to the invitation of the Presbytery. There were about thirty persons present. We were received by the Moderator, in the name of the body, with affectionate respect. We were glad to observe their methods of business.—They are similar to those with which we are familiar in our committee meetings. Several subjects were discussed and disposed of; but they were only of ordinary interest.

In the afternoon a young man was on trial for his license. His examination at this sitting was theological. He read a theme which discovered fair talent and true piety. It was pretty closely discussed. I could see that the examiners were not quite agreed among themselves. This circumstance gave an unnatural perplexity to the subject, as well as to the person examined. He obtained, however, the favorable suffrage of his brethren.

We had declined all application for ministerial service on the Sabbath after our arrival. I had suffered so much in the voyage as to leave me unfit for it; and besides, I was anxious to improve an occasion for hearing, which I foresaw it would be more difficult to secure as our stay advanced. On the morning of the day we attended at Laight-street church, and united in the thanksgiving and prayers which Dr. Cox affectionately offered on our account. It was an affecting thing, after traversing the great deep, to commit one's self for the first time to an act of worship, in a strange land, with the people of God; and it was the more affecting from the strong resemblance it has to what we most enjoy at home. The order of service, the singing, the hymns, the tunes, the sermon, the devout aspect of the congregation, were as our own. It brought one directly into a state of fellowship; it destroyed the sense of distance, and disposed one feelingly to say,

> "No more a stranger or a guest,
> But like a child at home."

In the evening of the day we went to the opening of a free church. Of the nature of this class of provision for the religious wants of the people, I shall have occasion to speak in another connection. It was to be opened by a protracted meeting, running through the week; and Mr. K., an active revivalist preacher, was to take the service. We had reason to expect that, at such a time, he would try the effect of the *anxious seat*.

The exterior of the church was void of all taste; but it was large, and apparently well built. The ground floor was fitted up for schools: the superior floor was the area of the church; and although this was at an elevation of some twenty steps, there were above it two tiers of galleries, and these running along three sides of the place. It would accommodate 2000 persons; and I suppose 1500 might be in it. The service was good; the sermon very good. I had been led to think that I might hear some statements which might be deemed extravagant; but there was in this exercise nothing of the kind. The preacher was evidently pious and truly in earnest: his statements were plain and scriptural: his appeals were popular, appropriate, and direct to the conscience and the heart. The impression was strong and general on the people.

When the sermon would have closed with us, I observed that the preacher was giving his remarks a new direction; and I was speedily led to conclude, that he was about to try the anxious seat.—He attempted to justify the measure, and then to challenge the people to use it, as a means and expression of religious decision. The persons occupying the two seats immediately before the pulpit were requested to vacate them, that the anxious might use them. Then a pause occurred. Two or three females, by degrees, appeared on the end of the seat. The preacher, with some of the awkwardness of disappointment upon him, renewed his address; and urged the young persons, and especially the young men, to decision, and to this mode of expressing it. Another pause was made; but no young men came. Dr. L., the minister of the church, renewed the appeal; and employed tests in different parts of it, as if waiting for signs of compliance; and when he saw that no greater effect was likely to follow, he changed the terms of the invitation, and begged all those who wished to be *prayed for* to come forward. He then gave out a suitable hymn; and while this was singing, the congregation began to disperse; and many serious persons, as might be expected, went before the pulpit to join in the proposed act of prayer. It was by this time nearly ten o'clock, and we left with the congregation.

This, then, was the first occasion on which I saw the anxious seat employed; and if employed, I can hardly conceive of its being with less extravagance or more sagacity; but it was certainly a failure. Without deciding here on the abstract merits of this measure, its adoption in this instance was assuredly bad. The sermon had shed seriousness over the congregation, and had produced tenderness on many; and had they been allowed to retire at a suitable hour for reflection in their closets, one could not avoid hoping that the effect would have been most happy. As it was, I had deep regret.—When it was felt, indeed, by the people, that the seat was to be used, there was a sensible excitement produced, which the novice might commend, but which the judicious would deprecate. I could perceive that a large portion of the people were excited to see how *others* would act in this crisis, and were thus relieved from thinking of themselves; while another portion, composed of such as had been affected by the discourse, feared that they should be overcome by the alarming appeals usual to such occasions, and by diverting their attention, stopping their ears, or a suppressed shuddering, told you that they were hardening themselves into resistance as well as they could.

But I must offer a different picture to your attention. You are aware that the time of our arrival in New-York was one of great excitement. Without indulging in political opinion, it may be understood that this excitement was created by some decided measures recently adopted by the Government relative to the National Bank. Those measures, whether good or ill in their issue, had so shaken public credit, that two hundred and fifty mercantile houses were prostrate in insolvency, and their vibrations were felt in the remote parts of Europe. A municipal election was about to happen, and it was proposed to make a matter of local and limited interest the test of opinion on the policy of the General Government. The polling for the city elections is taken in the different wards, and it usually occurs not only without danger to the peace, but without interruption to business. On this occasion, however, there was a riot in one of the wards. The losing party, with its other losses, as is usual, lost its temper; and when it could not succeed in obtaining votes, set itself to breaking heads. Some twenty persons were seriously hurt in the affray. A slight show of military power prevented farther evil. If these things were to happen, I was not sorry to see them, as they throw up national character; but the good citizens were greatly scandalized that such scenes should disgrace them as had never happened, they said, in the republic before.

The Whigs, as the friends of the Bank strangely called themselves, although they had not the majority of votes, considered that they had gained the victory; and they were resolved on a Whig celebration. I readily accepted a ticket of admission, as it enlarged my field of observation. I must endeavor to place it before you. The place of celebration was the Battery; and the manner was by a collation and speeches. The Battery stands on a slip of open ground at the end of the Broadway and butting on the Hudson river. It is now dismantled; not being used for purposes of defence, but for those of recreation and amusement. When we arrived many thousand persons were assembled within and without; and it was after delay, and with difficulty, that we succeeded in making an entrance.

We ascended to the bulwarks, which are built in a circle, and are usually a promenade, but which were now fitted up with a gallery of seats, and filled with spectators. We looked on a circular area of large dimensions, which was also crowded with people. Opposite us was the port by which we entered, and over it some rooms which had been provided for the officers formerly on duty here. On the roofing, parapets, and abutments, were flags, wooden guns, and a rigged vessel surmounting painted waves. This dumb show was animated by a number of spectators, whose ambition could be satisfied with nothing less than the highest point; but their presence gave a ludicrous air to the whole, as there appeared to be men sitting in the ocean, and upholding a vessel which should have held them. A balcony was prepared before the windows of the rooms I have named, for the speakers; a band of music was beneath, to fill in the pauses; colors were displayed in all directions, and were floating gracefully over the many headed multitude. Immediately over us, and opposite the rostrum, was the national flag, with its dark blue field and brilliant constellation of twenty-four stars; and above it, that all the decorations might not be void of reality, was a living eagle, placed on a perch and fastened by the leg, as the emblem of liberty!

At this moment there was a pause in the regular engagements; but the good people were by no means idle. The Americans, who are quick to dine, had finished their refreshments. Many were evidently ready to attend to such addresses as might be made; but many also, who sat down to eat, rose up to play. These were giving themselves to all manner of practical jokes. Hats and the remnants of bread were flying about; ladders were made of human shoulders to convey water, and glasses, and bread, from those in the area to those in the galleries; while in the centre of the picture a far more earnest group were surrounding and surmounting some barrels of beer, the contents of which they were exhausting with alarming speed.

A cry was made for silence and attention. The music stopped; but the multitude seemed little disposed to listen. A carman, with his frock on, came to the balcony. The fellow-feeling which the more noisy had with him disposed them to attention.—That class of persons in New-York is thriving and respectable; and this man was one of the best of his class. He had the good sense to make a short speech; and he uttered himself with plain sense, stout honesty, and especially with decision on the Whig side of the question. Trade, and of course, carts and wagons, had a vital interest in it. When he finished, hurrahs rang round the bulwarks, and ascended into the air; and that nothing might be wanting to the scene, the man who had the care of the eagle twitched the string and made the bird flap its wings over the assembly. But heroics did not long suit them; they eagerly returned to gossip, or to sport, or to the barrels in the centre of the court, which were still rising in popular favor.

Another call was made, and one of their orators came forward. He had no doubt claims on them, from his zeal in the cause, but he could have little to oratory, or the people would have been more sensible of it. He raised a stentorian voice; but in vain. Those at the windows and beneath him gazed and shouted; but his words died in his own atmosphere, and could not subdue the conflicting sounds in the distance. This gave a new character to the picture. Speech-making and sport, the grave and the gay, were so mixed and opposed, as to make the whole, to an eye like Hogarth's, exceedingly amusing and comical; while the numbers of the meeting, the beauty of the thronged amphitheatre, opening only into the bright blue heavens, saved it from the trivial, and made it interesting and delightful. I observed it for some time; and then, as the more respectable portion of the assembly was moving off, I prepared to leave with it.

I soon found myself moving with a body which had become processional, walking in order, and three or four abreast. It was understood that the celebrated Daniel Webster was at a house in the neighborhood, and the procession moved in that direction into the Broadway. The people gathered about the residence and cheered him. He advanced to the window. He could not have been heard in a speech, and therefore contented himself with bowing, and throwing out at the top of his voice a few short sentences as watchwords to the party. They received them with hurrahs, and passed on in order. The procession must have been quite a mile in length.

As this was the first, so it was the largest assemblage of this interesting people, which I witnessed while in the States. There was less of dignity and gravity about it than I had been led to expect from so grave a people; and there was more of English animation, humor, and audible expression of opinion, than I looked for, and more, certainly, than is usual. It is, however, to be remembered, that this was not a deliberative, but a commemorative occasion; and there was no crisis directly before them to point the speeches or to quicken the attention. On the whole, it was a meeting highly creditable to those who composed it. I saw not a single person intoxicated; nor did I hear afterward a single squabble, or of a pocket spoiled of its contents. It is remarkable, too, and indicative of a great sense of feminine propriety, that I saw not within or about the place a single female. It was feared that the meeting might provoke the Tories to come and create a disturbance; but they were satisfied with the mischief they had already done, and remained quiet at the West End of the town.

The evening of this celebration day was spent at Mr. T.'s. I wish it accorded with my plan to give you a sketch of the party which we had the gratification of meeting. Suffice it to say, that though it was composed of the friends of temperance, there was no want of elegant refreshments; that though composed of religious persons, it was cheerful and refined; that though composed of the two sexes, there was no want of ease in the intercourse or variety of the conversation; and that though composed of Americans, there was no lack of good-breeding or benevolent attentions. In fact, that it was the reverse of every thing lately held up to ridicule under the denomination of "domestic manners," and equal to any thing to be found, of its own grade, in the parent country.

LETTER III.

My dear friend—I must now take you with me to Washington, without pausing to expatiate on the Hudson, or Philadelphia, or Baltimore, in our way. A more favorable opportunity will occur for a brief notice of them.

Among the advantages of our speedy passage was the redemption of time; and of the time so redeemed I was anxious to make the best possible use. It appeared to us that no appropriation of spare time could be better than that of employing it for a visit to the capital, and the Congress which was then sitting; since it would not be possible to have a well-balanced opinion of the country we were visiting, in total ignorance of the character and proceedings of the American Parliament.

It took us three days to overcome the distance. The first two days we travelled by steamboat, or rail-road, and very pleasantly. The last day was mostly consumed in going from Baltimore to Washington; we were nearly seven hours in going less than forty miles, and sometimes with six horses.—The road, though the highway to the capital, was exceedingly bad; in many parts it was several inches deep in dust and sand, and in others it was clogged with loose stones as big as our paving-stones. No excuse could be offered for this, except that they were constructing a rail-road, and so were disposed to consign it to premature ruin.

This was the first time of using their stage coach, and it calls for notice. It is very like the single bodied coach which you have seen in France. It is heavy and strong, to meet the condition of the roads. It carries no outside passengers; but it has three seats within, and each seat receives three persons. To atone for the want of external accommodation, it is open all round, from the elbow upwards, and the roof takes the appearance of a canopy. If you wish to be enclosed, there are sliding shutters, partially glazed, to the doors, and leather curtains for the other openings; a provision that may do very well in the summer, but which must be far from comfortable in the really cold weather. When we took our seats the vehicle was not full: and as the day was very hot, we hoped not to be crowded; but before we had cleared the skirts of the town, three men, rough and large, sought admittance.

Myself and an elderly lady occupied the back seat, and the stoutest of the three directed his movements towards us. We retired into our corners, and left him what room we could in the middle. He showed some desire for the outer seats; but this was not regarded, and he took his place. I soon saw that he had the abominable habit of chewing the "noisome weed," and began to fear for myself and the good lady; and he as soon began to look about him for relief. He looked on my side; I sat forward and looked very grave; he looked on the lady, and regarding her as the weaker sex, he put his head forward and spat across her face into the road. Nobody, not even the lady, seemed surprised at this, though she must have been annoyed. It was so often repeated as to induce her to change seats with him; and I fear it must be said that the annoyance was the more readily renewed in the hope of such an issue.

On the whole, it was an unpleasant ride. The country was not interesting; and, what with the heat of the day, the dust of the road, the crowded state of the coach, and our slow progress, we were rendered weary and unwell. We were glad to be set down at Gadsby's hotel, which is very large, has good accommodations, and would be all you could desire, if somewhat cleaner.

In the morning I did not find myself much refreshed by rest. The glass had dropped down from 80° to 70°, and being chilly and feverish, I determined to take a tepid bath, and was directed to an establishment at the back of the hotel for that purpose. It was certainly a poor affair for such a place as Washington. An old woman, with the occasional help of her daughter, was in attendance. She showed me to a room. It was a mere closet, with a wooden bath, a brick floor, and no fire-place; and the passage was the waiting room. She began to supply it with water; but I saw she had no guide to the heat. I said, "I want it at 90 degrees."—"It will do, sir," was her reply. Unsatisfied, I said, "Have you no thermometer?"—"O no; it was broke some time ago." "It is a strange thing," I said, "to have a bath establishment and no thermometer!" "O," she cried, "I'se can tell, as is used to it—It's blood heat—I know it's blood heat." And so saying she left me. I tried it; it was 96° or 98°. This was not all. Another gentleman came and ordered a bath. The cocks leaked; so that when the hot water was turned on his bath from the main pipe, it began to flow into mine, and I was in danger of getting hotter than I wished. There was no bell; and my only remedy was in quitting it earlier than I designed.

Washington is well placed on a fork of the Potomac. The plan of the city is magnificent; it is laid down in right lines, answering to the cardinal points of the compass, and these are intersected by diagonal lines to prevent a tiresome uniformity of aspect. It is a city that is to be, however; and is never likely to become what was intended, as its distance from the sea, and other disadvantages, deny it the benefits of commerce. While it is waiting to be something better, it appears less than it is. It is computed to have a population of 30,000 persons; but from the width of the streets, with a comparative meanness of the buildings, and from the scattered and unfinished state of every thing, you would think 10,000 the utmost amount. There is, too, a want of timber about here, which gives a nakedness to the picture that does not please you, and leaves you in doubt whether it is a city shrinking from its dimensions into ruin, or ascending upwards to life and magnificence. The only buildings of importance are the President's house and the Capitol; and these are connected by an avenue some 120 feet wide, and about a mile and a half long, which would, indeed, be fine, if it were sustained by a fine growth of timber, or fine lines of habitations.

We were quickly found out by Mr. Post, the excellent minister of the first Presbyterian church, and he insisted on our removing to his dwelling; urging that it was against usage in America to allow clergymen to stay at an inn. We met his kindness with returning confidence, and passed several days in his family—days to which my memory will always revert with pleasure.

Our first concern was to visit the Capitol, and become acquainted with the Congress, and our friend was anxious to secure to us every advantage. The Chamber of Representatives is always regarded as the chief object of sight. It is indeed highly imposing. It is a very large room, with its roof sustained by twenty-four fine marble columns of grand dimensions. The *President*, or chairman, has a raised and canopied seat in the centre of the straight line, with more glitter about it than you would find about the British throne; and the desks and seats of the members diverge from it in radiating lines. A gallery runs behind the pillars, through the course of the half circle. The general impression was not on the whole pleasing. Less than one-third of the place was occupied; and the empty space and large proportions of the room give a diminutiveness and insignificance to the persons present.

There was not much of interest in this house at the time. But I heard one speech that was certainly long, and that was considered to be good. The speaker rose from his desk; his speech lay written before him; he delivered it, however, without much reference to the document, and with a strong voice and energetic manner. But it was all a forced effort, and of necessity it was such. No one listened to him, and he seemed to expect no one to listen. It was understood by both parties that he was using the house as a medium of speech to his constituents across the Alleganies; and they seemed content to have it so. It is in this way that the floor is occupied here for two or more days together; and that the most important business of the state is postponed or neglected, while the house is afflicted with speeches which none will hear, and which are meant to be pamphlets that, with few exceptions, none will read.

The celebrated Colonel Crockett made an advance on this vicious usage, and it would be a great relief if his proposal were acted on. It is said he rose and claimed the notice of the chair, and stated that he had many times tried to obtain the floor, but had been so unfortunate as not to succeed; that he was now leaving to visit his constituents; and as he could not then deliver his speech, he begged to know whether he might publish it as a speech *intended* to have been delivered in the Congress. People were so uncandid, however, in the colonel's case, as to think this was a mere trick; and that he wanted to impress the public with a belief that he had sought an opportunity to make an important speech, but had not been able to find it, when in fact he had no such speech to deliver.

The Senate Chamber is of far less size, and of no pretensions; but it is well adapted to its uses, and therefore gives the eye satisfaction. All the interest, too, at this time, was here. The larger house had agreed to sustain the President in his measures against the Bank; but in the Senate, some strong resolutions had been adopted against them. The President sent down a protest on the subject, and the excitement was raised to the highest. The occasion called up all their best speakers; and if they spoke with less preparation, they spoke under those present impulses which throw out a man's best thoughts in his best manner. It was really a fine opportunity.

Were it not that one is aware what confusion will arise among shrewd men, by the action of strong party prejudices and sudden excitation, it would have been concluded that this deliberative body had very small knowledge of the laws of debate. The discussion soon turned from the principal subject to a point of order, and strange to say, it was two days in disposing of this point of order. The party opposed to the protest proposed some resolutions to the effect that the protest be not received, and for reasons contained in the protest. Their object was to prevent the protest being entered on the records; but their resolutions made it necessary. The other party saw this error, and proposed, as an amendment, that the word *not* be omitted, and for reasons contained in the protest; so that which ever way they dealt with it, they would do what the objecting party wished to avoid—place the protest on the minutes.

None of them could see their way out of this! They contended that the protest was received, and that it was not received; that no amendment could be proposed which was a contradiction to the original proposition: they applied to the chair; they applied from the chair to the senate; and from the senate back again to the chair; till they were more than thrice confounded.

The Senate is now unusually rich in distinguished men. In this, and some following discussions, we heard most of them: Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Clayton, Leigh, Ewing, Frelinghuysen, and Forsyth. I should like to give you a sketch of these men, as they dwell in my memory, but opportunity fails me; and perhaps I might do them some injustice if I attempted any thing more than general impression, from such slight opportunities of knowing them. Suffice it to say, Clay's strength is in popular address; Webster's, in cool argument; Calhoun's, in his imagination, and his weakness too; Frelinghuysen's, in his truly Christian character; Ewing's, in his stout honesty, notwithstanding his bad taste and false quotations; and Forsyth's, in his vanity—certainly, in my eye, the very image of self-complacency.

On the whole, I was much gratified in becoming acquainted with the Congress of this great empire. Yet I must candidly admit, that it fell somewhat below my expectations. In its presence I was not impressed, as I think I should have been in the presence of the men who signed the Declaration; and my eye wandered over the assembly, anxiously seeking another Washington, who, by his moral worth, mental sagacity, and unquestionable patriotism, should, in a second crisis, become the confidence and salvation of his country; but it wandered in vain. Such a one might have been there; the occasion might bring out many such; but I failed to receive such an impression. Nor do I think, on the whole, that the representation is worthy of the people. It has less of a religious character than you would expect from so religious a people; and it has also less of an independent character than should belong to so thriving a people. But as matters stand, it is now only a sacrifice for the thriving man to be a member of Congress; while, to the needy man, it is a strong temptation. In this state of things, it is not wonderful that the less worthy person should labor hard to gain an election; or that, when it is gained, he should consider his own interests rather than those of his constituents. The good Americans must look to this, and not suffer themselves to be absorbed in the farm and merchandise; lest, on an emergency, they should be surprised to find their fine country, and all its fine prospects, in the hands of a few ambitious and ill-principled demagogues.

It was pleasing to find that a number of the members were formed into a Temperance Society; and that a smaller number were accustomed to meet weekly for religious exercises. Many of the elder members too, whose minds are certainly not under a religious influence, have, since the days of Jefferson, come to a conclusion that religion is essential to the stability of their institutions. This is salutary.

Before leaving the Capitol, do you expect that I should sketch it? It stands on a swell of land, which is so abrupt on one side as to have the effect of being artificial. The inclination should be made far less acute. The erection is of very large dimensions, approaching, though still very distant, to our St. Paul's. It is composed of two wings and a centre; and the centre is graced with steps, portico, and dome. The columns of the portico are too slender; and they are made to look more so, from the oppressive flights of steps which lead to them. The smaller domes and semicircular lights in the roof, are dissights which might readily be avoided. It is, however, with these and other faults, a grand building, and every where in the distance, has a very striking effect. There is, in its principal front, a monument which was prepared in Italy. It is not only unworthy of Italy, but of America. Were the names not on it, it would say nothing; and, worse than all, it stands in a basin of water.

The President's house is the reverse of the Capitol; and the two places might be supposed to indicate the genius of the people. It has no pretensions; but is a plain erection in the Grecian style; and, in size and aspect, resembles greatly the modern dwelling of our country gentleman. It is however, not unsuitable to the claims of Washington, and the other provisions made for the chief magistrate by the constitution.

Our kind friends had taken care to supply us with many letters of introduction for Washington, and among them was one for the President. If we had intended, we had no occasion to use it. An intimation was made by one of the household that the President would have pleasure in receiving a call from us. It was of course accepted. It was in the evening of the day; and Mr. Post was with us. We were received with respect, but without formality. The President is tall; full six feet in height. He stoops now, and is evidently feeble. The thermometer was at 72 deg., but he was near a strong fire. He is sixty-eight years of age. He is soldier-like and gentlemanly in his carriage; his manners were courteous and simple, and put us immediately at ease with him. He conversed freely; chiefly of the older country, as interesting to us. He expressed pleasure at the growing intercourse between the countries; at the arrival of ourselves as a deputation in evidence of this; and at the prospect there was of continued peace. He spoke of the Banking question also without reserve. He thought there was a resemblance between the state of the moneyed interest in America, and its state with us in 1825, and was desirous of information. We conversed of it freely, and for some time. Without judging his opinions, with which, as they are political, I have nothing to do in this communication, my impression was, that he held them with a strong conviction that they were right, and beneficial for the country. After remaining about half an hour, we took our leave, with very pleasant recollections of our interview.

Some days afterward we received an invitation to dine with the President. By this time the excitement on the Bank question had risen very high; and it was reported that his dwelling was guarded by troops, from fear of assault on his person. Instead of which there was less of form than before.

When we arrived, the entrance-doors were open; and on being conducted, by a single servant, to what we thought an ante-room, we found the general himself waiting to receive us. We were soon led into the dining-room. The table was laid only for six persons; and it was meant to show us respect by receiving us alone. Mr. Post, whom the President regards as his minister, was requested to implore a blessing. Four men were in attendance, and attended well. Every thing was good and sufficient; nothing overcharged. It was a moderate and elegant repast.

After dinner, we retired to the drawing room. Conversation was there renewed; and by the general on the Bank affairs. It was a delicate subject; we passed from it to other interests of the new country. On leaving, the President inquired of our route; and when he found that I was designing to travel into the west, very obligingly pressed me, if I should visit Tennessee, to tarry at the Hermitage, the name of his estate in that country, and to which he retires in the summer.

The President regularly attends on public worship at Mr. Post's, when he is well. On the following Sabbath morning I was engaged to preach. Himself and some fifty or sixty of the Congress were present. His manner was very attentive and serious. When the service had ended, I was a little curious to see how he would be noticed. I supposed that the people would give way, and let him pass out first, and that a few respectful inclinations of the head would be offered. But no; he was not noticed at all; he had to move out, and take his turn like any other person, and there was nothing at any time to indicate the presence of the chief magistrate. You might be disposed to refer this to the spirit of their institutions; but it has a closer connection with the character of the people. They have, in most of the States, less aptitude to give expression to their sentiments than the English. When afterward the general was passing through Lexington, on his way home, where a strong feeling existed on the part of the merchants against him, I inquired if any marks of disapprobation were offered to him. The reply was, "O no, we merely kept out of his way, and allowed him to change horses, and go on without notice." I think it may be safely said that John Bull would have acted differently in both cases: in the one, he would have offered some decided marks of respect; and in the other, he would not have been backward to show that he was offended.

It was at Washington we first saw the slave-pen. It is usually a sort of wooden shed, whitewashed, and attached to the residence of a slave-dealer. Slaves are bought up here, as at other places, to forward to the south: the gain is considerable, and the inducement in proportion. The slaves have great horror of this. One poor woman, who was expecting to be thus transferred, lately escaped; and on being pursued, she jumped over the bridge, choosing death rather than such a life. But I shall have other opportunities for this subject.

There are here a great many of the colored people who are free; and they appear to thrive. They attend in large numbers to worship, and have lately purchased the place in which Mr. Post's congregation did formerly assemble. I attended on one occasion: it was full, and they were very serious. They are Episcopal Methodists; their bishop was with them, and they were holding a conference. It was a high time. It was remarkable to have a white person among them. On leaving, they were happy to be spoken to, and free to converse. I also was happy to realize that they held with us a common faith and the common hope of salvation.

While at Washington, I first witnessed the wind-storm, which is common in this country. It is peculiar—sometimes awful. The morning had been hot, and the sky fair; I had been to the Senate, and was now resting and writing in my chamber. Quietly the soft and refreshing breezes went down; a haze came over the sun, so that it shone as behind a gauze curtain. Every noise was stilled, except that of the frog, which was unpleasantly audible. The sky got silently darker and darker; the atmosphere became oppressive; and not a breath of air was felt. Suddenly, in the distance, you would see things in commotion; and, while every thing was yet quiet about you, you might hear the distant roaring of the wind. Then the cattle run away to their best shelter; then the mother calls in her heedless children; and the housewife flies from story to story, to close her windows and shutters against the entrance of the coming foe. Now the dust, taken up in whirlwinds, would come flying along the roads; and then would come the rush of wind, which would make every thing tremble, and set the doors, windows and trees flying, creaking, and crashing around you. You would expect the torrent to fall and the thunder to roll; but no, there was neither rain nor thunder there. It was wind, and wind alone; and it wanted nothing to increase its power on the imagination. It raged for a few minutes, and then passed as suddenly away, leaving earth and sky as tranquil and as fair as it found them. It is not easy to account for this very sudden destruction and restoration of an equilibrium in nature. The phenomenon, however, supplies a fine illustration of some striking passages in holy Scripture.

We spent one day with Dr. Laurie before we left the city. He is a Scotchman, and happy to commune with any from the parent land. He has been many years here, in the Presbyterian church, and holds an office under government; but he has lost none of his nationality. He was kind enough to take us to Georgetown. Here is a Catholic seminary of some celebrity: it is a great help to the Catholic interest, and is nourished from Europe. It is said that the bishop of the district has lately received 25,000 dollars from the pope. We paused to take refreshment at Colonel Bumford's, for the sake of knowing an amiable family; of seeing a nice cottage, in somewhat English style, situated on a beautiful estate, commanding fine views of the river and of the city. We afterward rode over the heights; and I was thankful to our friend for this excursion, as, without it, we should not have formed so just an opinion of Washington and its vicinity.

We could not quit this neighborhood without visiting Mount Vernon, the place where Washington lived and died, and is entombed. We left early in the morning, with Mr. Post, by steamboat to Alexandria. This town is on the margin of the river. It presents what is, in this country, an unusual spectacle, of a place in a state of declension. It had a population of 10,000 persons, but it has now not more than 7,000, and there is an air of desolation on it. We engaged a carriage here to take us to Vernon, a distance of nine miles; and we were two hours and a half going, with good cattle. However, it was a fine spring morning; the hill-sides were pretty; most of our way was through the forest, and the woodlands were bursting into life. We were not sorry to feel that we were getting out of the world; and were much delighted with the number of wild-flowers which were expanding to the sun. The ground-honeysuckle, and the brilliant dogwood, especially engaged us.

About a mile and a half before you reach the house, we entered the estate. It is in fact a continuation of the forest; as wild, as quiet, and as beautiful. We were received by a black servant, old and worn out in the service of the family. We presented our cards, and the servant was instructed to attend us over the grounds. We walked quietly round. They assorted with our feelings. Every thing had an appearance of desertion and decay. No hand of repair had seemed to have passed over the cottage, the garden, the plantations. We were about to visit the dead, and all was dying around us, except only vegetation, and that had been allowed to grow so thick and high, as to throw heavy shadows and quiet solemnity on all things.

At length we descended a bank, and stood before the tomb of Washington. It is built of brick, with an iron door. All, except the face of the vault, is hidden; it is grown over with dwarf cedar and forest-trees. I cannot tell you my emotions. I chiefly longed for hours to rest there in silence and solitude.

We went to the cottage. The interior was in harmony with all the external appearances. We were received in the library; it was just as the general had left it. We saw the curiosities: they were just where he had placed them. The inmates, too, were affectingly in keeping. Three females: a widow, an orphan, and an unprotected sister. And they moved and spoke as if the catastrophe had just happened, and they had dried up their tears to receive us. I shall never forget that day. I have had more pleasure and more melancholy; but I never had more of the pleasure of melancholy.

Mrs. Jane Washington was indisposed; but she sent us kind messages as to Englishmen, and some small remembrances of the place and the departed. We wound our way quietly from the cottage, and we soon left the domain, perhaps for ever, which was once dignified by the presence, and which is still sacred by the remains of Washington:—

WASHINGTON,
THE BRAVE, THE WISE, THE GOOD:
WASHINGTON,
SUPREME IN WAR, IN COUNCIL, AND IN PEACE:
WASHINGTON,
VALIANT WITHOUT AMBITION; DISCREET WITHOUT FEAR;
AND CONFIDENT, WITHOUT PRESUMPTION:
WASHINGTON,
IN DISASTER CALM; IN SUCCESS MODERATE; IN ALL HIMSELF:
WASHINGTON,
THE HERO, THE PATRIOT, THE CHRISTIAN;
THE FATHER OF NATIONS, THE FRIEND OF MANKIND;
WHO,
WHEN HE HAD WON ALL, RENOUNCED ALL;
AND SOUGHT,
IN THE BOSOM OF HIS FAMILY AND OF NATURE
RETIREMENT;
AND IN THE HOPE OF RELIGION,
IMMORTALITY.

Forgive me, my dear friend, this ebullition. I never can turn to the name of Washington without enthusiasm. But I will glance at a more sober and worldly view of the case. It is said the government made an offer to purchase the property of the family. How could they make such an offer! How noble it was in the family to decline it, since it would have brought them moneyed advantage, and they are in confined circumstances! Again: How can the people suffer the place to pass to ruin, and the remnants of the family to exist without the means of sustaining it? Surely, if the people of America really knew the state of the case, they would rather sell New York than suffer such things to happen.

LETTER IV.

My dear friend:—We remained nine days at the capital; and might have remained longer to advantage, but the meetings at New York were coming on, and it was needful to hasten thither. I looked to these meetings with something more of confidence and pleasure now, as my strength was considerably recruited; although I was still suffering from cold and partial loss of voice. This cold was brought on by one of those sudden changes of temperature to which this climate is subject. On the previous day to our arrival at Washington, the glass was at 80°, and the day before we quitted it, it was at 48°; and we were shivering with cold, and thankful for good fires. Later than this, even in the middle of May, it was colder still; we had severe frosts, which cut off all the fruit; and snow fell in abundance in the state of New York.

On returning to the place which we considered our home, we were received into the family of Mr. Boorman, of Washington Square; an arrangement kindly suggested by Dr. Cox, and none could have afforded us more real comfort.

We found ourselves fully engaged for the following Sabbath, the 4th of May; but in consequence of the affection of voice from which I still suffered, I could in the issue only answer for a portion of my engagements. I was fixed to preach in the evening at the *consecration* of a new church in Brooklyn. What is called the consecration of a church among the Presbyterians is only what we should call an opening; and as, at this opening, a collection was to be made, I was very unwilling to disappoint them. The occasion was an interesting one. The church was handsome, and well built. It was the result of a revived state of religion in the place. It cost 20,000 dollars, and would accommodate 1,200 persons. It was very full.

As the week of anniversaries opened, there were decided marks of activity and engagement in the religious community. Previously, too, a wise regard is had to method and accommodation. The pastors give notice to their congregations, that those persons who are desirous to entertain one or more ministers during the meeting, may communicate their intentions either to himself or some elder appointed for that service. A counter notice is inserted in the newspapers, to inform the ministers visiting at the time, that accommodation will be provided; and directing them where to apply. At the place of reference an entry is made of all the friends who are prepared to accommodate; and the names of the applicants are filled in as they apply. The whole of this arrangement is effected on Christian principle, and it is on that account effectual. Of course, a respect is had to the requests of friendship, where they exist; but I could not learn that a minister ever failed of accommodation because he was either poor or unknown; nor could I find that, whatever might be the numbers, any suffered disappointment. There must have been from 300 to 400 ministers at this time in New York; but I believe none were necessitated to sojourn at the hotel or the lodging house.

To facilitate also the attendance of strangers and the community generally, a small map is prepared of that portion of the city which is to be the theatre of pious interest and activity; and cards are printed containing a table of the meetings. I insert a copy of one; which, although it does not embrace the meetings of Baptists, Methodists, or Episcopalians, will show that the week is by no means an idle one.

"FIRST OF MAY.

"Anniversary Week.—The following is a complete list of the meetings for the Anniversary Week, so far as we have been able to ascertain:—

"*Monday, May* 5.

"American Seamen's Friend Society, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7 o'clock, p. m.

"American Anti-Slavery Society; meeting of Delegates at Society's rooms, 130 Nassau street, 4 p. m.

"*Tuesday, May* 6.

"American Anti-Slavery Society, at Chatham street Chapel, 10 o'clock, a. m.

"Revival Tract Society, at Third Free Church, corner of Houston and Thompson streets, 4 p. m., and in the evening.

"Convention of Delegates, American Tract Society, 4 p. m., at Society's house.

"American Peace Society, at Chatham street Chapel, 4 p. m.

"New York Sunday School Union, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7 p. m.

"Children of the Sabbath Schools appear in the Park at half past 3 p. m.

"*Wednesday, May* 7.

"American Tract Society, at Chatham street Chapel, 10 a. m.

"Delegates to American Bible Society, at Society's house, 4 p. m.

"New York Colonization Society, at Chatham street Chapel, 4 p. m.

"American Home Missionary Society, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7. p. m.

"American Baptist Home Missionary Society, at Mulberry street Church, 7 p. m.

"*Thursday, May* 8.

"American Bible Society, at Chatham street Chapel, 10 a. m.

"Directors of American Home Missionary Society, at their rooms in the Tract House, 4 p. m.

"Seventh Commandment Society, at Chatham street Chapel, 4 p. m.

"Presbyterian Education Society, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7 p. m.

"American and Presbyterian Education Society united.

"*Friday, May* 9.

"Meeting for the Foreign Mission Board, at Chatham street Chapel, 10 a. m.

"New York City Temperance Society, at Chatham street Chapel, half past 7 p. m.

"New York Infant School Society, in Canal street Church, 10 a. m.

"Morning prayer-meetings will be held at half past 5 o'clock on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, in Chatham street Chapel, and in Mr. Patton's church, Broome street, near Broadway."

Had I leisure, it would not be desirable that I should attempt to describe all these meetings: for they are very similar to each other, and indeed very like our own; but I will endeavor to place one before you as a sample of the whole, as I believe this has not yet been done by any friendly hand. Do not, however, expect that it should equal in magnitude what we have seen in Surrey Chapel or Exeter Hall; for this would not be just. The states have at present no metropolis; the interest of their meetings, therefore, is divided among several places, rather than concentrated in one, as it is in London. However, if I succeed in placing it properly under your eye, you will not think it inconsiderable. If it does not equal our central, it surpasses most of our provincial meetings.

The Societies creating the most interest are the Tract, the Home Mission, the Education, the Bible, and the Foreign Missionary. The last of these was the last in order; but, as it surpassed, perhaps, all in impression, it is to this I will refer.

The ordinary place of meeting is Chatham street Chapel. The place was a theatre; it has been purchased and converted into a free church; and it is, on the whole, deemed the best adapted to the purposes of public meetings. It has, like Zion Chapel, strong indications of what were its original uses. The platform of the stage remains. In the centre of the front line of the stage is a roomy pulpit. From the foot of the pulpit springs a gallery of seats, which rises backwards to the external walls, and fills the whole space over the stage. This is reserved for the ministers; and when it is filled by them, it presents to the eye, as you pass up the aisles, a striking and impressive object. On reaching the platform, and turning round, you have a face of things presented to you somewhat resembling what it would be in a similar position in Spa-fields Chapel. There is a considerable area, and over it two tiers of galleries. The place, I should think, will contain 2,000 persons; and filled, as it was on this occasion, there could not be less than 2,500.

At this meeting of the Foreign Mission Society, the Hon. John C. Smith presided. Dr. Proudfit was called on to open the proceedings by prayer. Dr. Wisner then, as Secretary to the Society, was looked to for a report of its state and prospects. This was not the occasion on which that Society makes it full annual report; it was an auxiliary exercise, and the statement made was a mere abstract. That abstract, however, was wisely given; it was brief, clear, discriminating, and made to turn on vital and great principles of hope and of action; and it was delivered, not by dry and hasty reading, but with freedom and cogent earnestness.

Mr. Winslow, an excellent missionary, who had returned from Ceylon, followed. He gave an interesting account of the condition of missionary work in India, with much pious feeling, and urged for support in correspondence with the opening prospects. A very good impression was made by his speech; shown not in audible admiration of the man, but in silent appreciation of the subject.

Dr. Beman supported his resolution in a speech of different character, but not of contrary effect. It was argumentative, but popular, serious, and urgent, embracing large views of a great subject, and making strong claims on the conscience. The temper of the meeting was fully sustained by his address.

I was expected to follow him with another resolution. I began by referring to my responsibility, for at that moment I deeply felt it. What was said was received with the greatest indulgence and attention; and I was thankful if it did not disturb or allay the state of feeling which happily existed.

After a slight pause, the Rev. Mr. Blagden, of Boston, rose, and referring to the felt state of the meeting, proposed that contributions should be immediately made, and that we should resolve ourselves into a prayer-meeting, to seek the especial blessing of God on our object and ourselves. The president and one or two senior members about the chair, thought that they had better first pass through the usual and remaining business. This was conceded. Messrs. Alder, Matheson, Bethune, and Dr. Spring, followed. They spoke under some disadvantage. The general feeling required not to be excited by continued appeal; but rather to be relieved by devout supplication. The business was disposed of. Notice was given that contributions should be sent to the collectors of the several congregations; and I was requested to close the meeting in prayer. I sought to be excused, but in vain. It was a most solemn and delightful occasion. The profound silence showed that all were engaged in one act; and sweet and refreshing tears were shed in abundance. That time is worth a thousand ordinary ones; it stands out in the places of memory as Bethel did in the recollections of the patriarch, never to be forgotten!

Happy as the service was, it was generally regretted that the suggestion made by Mr. Blagden was not acted upon. Some 5,000 dollars would certainly have been added to the funds of the Society; and such an occasion, so seldom occurring, improved by special prayer, might have led to extraordinary results. To plead order under such circumstances, and to prevent the exercise of religious feeling, is reducing order to formality, and turning the good into an evil. However, the feeling was so strong after the disappointment it had suffered, and after the expression which had been given to it, that before the meeting separated, it was resolved to open two places for special prayer on the following Sabbath evening. These meetings were thronged, and most serious and interesting.

The meetings were mostly held in the morning and evening; commencing at ten and half past seven, and finishing at an uncertain time. The evening meetings closed about ten o'clock, and the morning about two; the one I have described finished at half past two. The meetings, as a whole, were pronounced to be more interesting than they had ever been, and this was said in connection with the assurance that they had been much longer. The morning meeting had previously seldom exceeded two hours or two hours and a half. The societies which were not so fully supported, and which met in the evening, threw some singers into the gallery behind the rostrum, and relieved the meeting by one or two musical compositions. This was not, to my taste, an improvement. Had the whole assembly been challenged to sing, as an expression of the feeling which possessed it, it would have been natural and beautiful; as it was, it appeared too theatrical. It was a common thing to prepare printed slips, with the resolutions and names of the mover and seconder, as a bill of fare.

Generally, the meetings were, in my judgment, delightful. There was more spirit and efficiency in them than I had been taught to expect; or than one might reasonably expect, in the remembrance that the platform meeting is of later date with them than with us. They are in no way inferior to our meetings at Bristol, Liverpool, or Manchester; and in some respects they are perhaps superior. They have fewer men that speak; but then they have fewer formal, inappropriate, and turgid speeches. There may be with us more play of talent, and more beauty of period; but with them there is less claptrap, less trifling, and no frivolity. They meet as men who have a serious business in hand, and who are determined to do it in a manly and serious manner; and they look with wonder and pity on the impertinence of a man who, at such a time, will seek to amuse them with pun, and humor, and prettiness. The speakers, perhaps, ask more time to prepare than in England, but they do not lean more on their notes; and if they have less action, they do not create less interest. That interest is, indeed, not expressed as with us, by strong and audible signs, till one's head aches. I witnessed, in all the meetings, but one burst of this kind, and that was severely put down by a rigid chairman. But if the speaker has a worthy theme, and if he is worthy of it, he shall find, in commending it to the judgment and the heart, that he is addressing himself to a people who can wait on his lips with intelligent smiles, and silent tears, and with what, after all, perhaps, is the highest compliment, silence itself—deep and sublime—like the silence of heaven.

Two things should be remarked before this subject is dismissed from your attention. The first is, that, at no one of these meetings, was a public collection made; and the other is, that, in connection with all of them, early prayer meetings were held at different parts of the town.

At length this busy week came to its close. A week it was, in which I had made more acquaintance than in any similar period of time; in which the dwelling of our worthy host was made too much like a house of call; in which a field of service was opening before us, not only in the States, but over the Canadas; and in which my poor stock of strength was perfectly exhausted.

LETTER V.

My dear friend—I have now to introduce you to new and different scenes. Hitherto we had seen nothing of the rural population; nor had we found an opportunity of marking the effects of a very recent revival. Morristown, which is some thirty miles from New-York, and in the State of New-Jersey, supplied the double occasion; and our kind friend Mr. Phelps, partly to meet this desire, and partly from a benevolent concern to relieve me from the pressure of too many engagements, proposed to take us thither. We readily accepted his offer, and left on Saturday for that place.

We went by a steamer to Elizabethtown, and from thence by a coach, which was waiting the arrival of the boat. The road was bad, and the run heavy; but the country was varied and pretty, and all the objects were new. Apple orchards prevail greatly about here. That fruit has been cultivated extensively and profitably for distillation; but the Temperance Society has destroyed the trade. I saw, on the road-side, a good sized house just finished, and placed on stilts, with this notice on it:

"TO BE SOLD AND REMOVED AT THE DIRECTION OF THE PURCHASER."

Morristown is beautifully located. It is placed on ridges of land, which drop away into the valleys. The scattered cottages run round a green of irregular form, and having the Presbyterian church as a centre-piece; and from the green they run off again into the different avenues which lead to it, and are half concealed among the tress. The cottages are what is called *frame buildings*; they have a frame or skeleton of wood; and this is clothed externally with feather-edged boarding. The roof is covered with shingle; which is a sort of wooden slate, made either of pine or cedar. Every thing indeed is of wood except the chimneys, which are carried up in brick. When they are kept nicely painted, and have green Venitian shutters, as is mostly the case here, they look pretty, and will endure a long time. The church was raised of the same materials; with a tower and spire springing from the ground, and forming a projection on the front elevation of the edifice. This is the usual material, and the usual form given to it, in the construction of the rural church.

Not being expected here, nor having even the knowledge of any person, we made our way to one of the two inns on the green; but before we could make our little arrangements, the rumor of our arrival had got abroad, and we were not allowed to stay there. Mr. Matheson went to Mr. Hover's, the minister of the Presbyterian church; and Mr. Phelps and myself accepted the invitation of Mr. Cook, a zealous member of the Methodist church, and who had first shown us kindness.

The next day was the Sabbath. I declined all engagement for the day, not only as necessary to my state of health, but as I sought those opportunities of hearing and of quiet observation which were requisite to assist one's judgment. I had the less delicacy in this, as the ministers were all prepared to meet their flocks, and as Mr. Matheson had engaged to assist Mr. Hover in duties somewhat arduous.

In the morning I worshipped at the Presbyterian church. The avenues and green were animated by the little groups hastening to the house of God; some sixty light wagons stood about the green and church fence, which had already delivered their charge. The people were all before the time. I should think twenty persons did not enter after me, and I was in time. There were, I should think, above a thousand persons present. The exercises were well and piously conducted. Mr. Hover read his sermon, but he read it with tears. It was on the duty of parents to their children, and it made a good impression. It was adapted to this end; for it was excellent in composition and in feeling. The people did not show much interest in the singing, nor all the interest in prayer which I expected; but on the whole it was, perhaps, the best time of both pastor and people; for they were still surrounded by the effects and influence of a revival which had lasted most of the winter. The particulars of this revival I will here put down; postponing any observations on the subject generally, till I can give it the full consideration which its importance demands.

From all I could learn, religion must have been low in this congregation previous to the revival; that is, lower than it usually is in our churches. There are many causes that might contribute to this; and chiefly, I think, it might arise from many persons, who, as they grow up, have no wish to be thought irreligious, and yet have no conscientious regard for religion; and who, feeling towards the predominant church as a sort of parish church, attach themselves to it, and thus from time to time infuse into it a worldly character. Several pious persons, principally the minister and elders, I believe, felt for the condition of the people, and the want of success in the ordinary means of grace; and they met together for prayer and consultation. The pastor engaged to bring the subject, as it impressed themselves, before the attention of the church; and special meetings for prayer and a special visitation, were determined on. The township was laid out in districts, and thirty-four visiters were appointed. They were to go two and two; and to visit every family and individual more or less in attendance at church. Their business was, by conversation and prayer, and earnest appeal to the conscience, to press the claims of domestic and personal religion on all; and this was to be done without mixing it up with ordinary topics of converse, or partaking of social refreshments, that nothing might interfere with the impression. The visitation was to be made within one week; this limitation was of great use; and as this people have much leisure at the period of the year which was chosen, it could be attended with no difficulty.

The results were highly encouraging. Many were revived, and many were brought under conviction and serious inquiry. The deputies reported whatever was interesting to the pastor, and encouraged the people to communicate with him; and his hands were soon full of occupation. He determined on holding a protracted meeting in the month of February for some days, and by this means he brought to his youth, and his overladen hands, the help of some brethren in the ministry. It was conducted, I believe, with prudence and efficiency; and it advanced the good work which had been begun. As the fruit of these exercises, the happy pastor was looking to receive nearly fifty persons to the communion of the pious at the next sacrament. It should be observed that their sacraments, and consequently their admissions, occur only once in three months; and that this circumstance gives to their amount of admissions an apparent advantage over ours.

In the afternoon of the day I attended the Episcopal church. It is small and thinly attended.—There were not two hundred persons. The minister is, I believe, of worthy character, and seriously disposed; but he reads a sermon in essay style; fairly put together indeed, yet void of thought, of distinctness, and of point. It would provoke neither objection nor inquiry; and was therefore not likely to do good. The service closed as it began: the people were evidently not interested. O what a lifeless thing professed religion may become, and what a responsibility rests with the minister, lest he should deprive it of life as it passes through his hands!

On leaving the place, I took a circuitous and unfrequented path home, and was delighted with the scenes it presented to me. One spot especially dwells in my memory. You stood on a slope above the village; and in looking upon it, you saw only the turret of the hall, the spire of the church, and the angles of a few cottages through the foliage of the poplar, the oak, and the pine, which concealed all the rest. Here and there little parties appeared and disappeared, as they quietly moved on from the school or the church to their quiet home. Behind you were two verdant lanes, which promised to transport you from the world; while at your side the land broke suddenly away some hundred feet, and presented you with a small lake finely fringed with wood; and again it fell away, and ran into the distance, giving to the eye vale after vale, and hill after hill, beautifully formed, beautifully clothed, and in beautiful perspective. The sun was shining brilliantly on this distant scenery; and a fine dark cloud had risen like a curtain over the other portion of it, so as to throw as much of quiet animation into the whole picture as possible. It was a sweet study.

In the evening I went with Mr. Cook and my friend to the Episcopal Methodist church. It is not large, and has been recently built. The men occupied one side of the place, and the women the other; an unsocial plan, and more likely to suggest evil than to prevent it. We were there before the service commenced. The silence was interrupted disagreeably, by continued spitting, which fell, to a strange ear, like the drippings from the eaves on a rainy day. They have the custom of turning their back to the minister in singing, that they may face the singers; and they have also the practice, to a great extent, of interlining the prayer with exclamations and prayers of their own. Such as these, for instance, were common:—Amen—Do so, Lord—Lord, thou knowest—Let it be so, Lord—Yes, yes, Lord—Come, come, Lord, &c.—You will recognize in this only what you have witnessed at home.

Their minister came out from Ireland. He is an intelligent, humble, pious man; and preached a sound and useful sermon. But he has no management of his voice; it was at one elevation, and that the highest, throughout. By this means he lost the power to impress; and threatens, I fear, to wear himself out with vociferation. The ministers in this connection, I found, are allowed to settle. He is just settled; he has a wife and three children, and has 500 dollars a year.

It was nearly ten o'clock when we left. The night was dark. The clouds had settled heavily all round the horizon, and the lightning was flashing most vividly through the whole circle. We seemed like Saturn surrounded by rings of fire.—I had not before seen American lightning.

On the whole, the state of this township is very good. There are in it 3,500 persons. There are 2,500 in attendance on worship, and about 1,000 in communion; and there are not less than 700 children in the schools. The change, too, must have been great. One fact will satisfy you of this; there were in this township, before the temperance efforts, fourteen stores for the sale of spirituous liquors—apple-gin, rum, and whiskey; now there is only one.

It would have been pleasant to us all could we have stayed a day or two here; but as we had to be present at the sittings of the General Assembly, we were obliged to leave on the Monday evening. We parted with our friends with the hope of meeting again; and hastened back to New-York. So soon as we arrived we found that, in consequence of the special prayer-meetings having been so well attended, and of some disappointment having arisen from our absence, a supplemental prayer-meeting had been fixed for that evening, and we were announced as expected. We made haste therefore to go; and united with Dr. Spring, Mr. Norton, and other ministers, in conducting the meeting.

The following day was fully occupied; the morning in meeting those claims, which arose on leaving our American home for a considerable time; and the evening in the society of many friends, which our kind host and hostess had invited to meet us. The following morning, at five, we started for Philadelphia, with the happiness of still being attended by Mr. Phelps, who was delegated to the Assembly, and two of his daughters, who were availing themselves of this opportunity to visit the city. We were not strangers to the place, as it had lain in our way to and from Washington; nor had we to seek a dwelling, for Dr. Ely, who had before received us, still insisted that we should accept of the hospitality of his hospitable family.

LETTER VI.

My dear friend—We had no sooner time to look about us in Philadelphia, than we found ourselves in a full tide of occupation, not inferior to what we had known at New-York. The Assembly would require a close attention, and have heavy sittings, and crowded attendance, as questions of great, and, in the judgment of many, of fearful interest, would come on. In addition to this, the public institutions availed themselves of the favorable occasion to hold anniversary meetings, which were edged into all the niches of time, which it was hoped the Assembly would leave disengaged; and it was a matter of earnest request that we should attend them. Our home, too, gave the same signs of busy engagement. Dr. Ely on these occasions keeps open house. There were thirteen or fourteen of us dwelling there, and always more than this number at the dinner-table. As these visiters were our brethren, and came from all parts of the States, it supplied a means of profitable and pleasant intercourse, which suffered no deduction, except what arose from the difficulty of finding time to enjoy it. Let me, however, put the more important engagements before you in the order of their occurrence.

On the evening of our arrival, we found that the Episcopal Church Missionary Society was holding a meeting. I went to it. It was respectably attended. The venerable Bishop White was in the chair. Several clergymen spoke from written speeches. They were good, one very good; and the only defect was in the awkwardness and formality of the delivery. Dr. Milnor, a name well known among us, and now very pleasant to my recollections, had come on with the effects of the New-York meetings upon him, and he urged that something should be done for China. A vote was carried unanimously to send out a missionary; and it gave new life to their proceedings. This altogether was an infant attempt on the part of the evangelical Episcopal clergy, and it was well and piously sustained.

The next morning we attended the General Assembly. They met in the church which was built for Mr. Hay, formerly of Bristol; it is the seventh Presbyterian church. It is capacious and handsome, and well adapted for sight and sound. The sittings are opened by a devotional service of the usual order; and the moderator of the last year is always appointed to preach. The place was thronged, and with such an assemblage of pastors, elders, and saints, as is seldom witnessed. The preacher was Dr. W. M'Dowell; his text, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem;" and the sermon breathed the spirit of the text. The whole service—sermon, prayers, psalmody—was devout and refreshing. It was like some of the best things we have at home, and was calculated to have a happy effect in the pending discussions.

After the public worship, the congregation dispersed or retired to the galleries, or to that portion of the area which was assigned to spectators; the one half of the area nearest to the pulpit being retained for the uses of the members of assembly. The Assembly is formed by the standing committee of commissioners, making a report of the persons present who are duly appointed to sit as commissioners in this convention. It appeared that there were nearly 200 present; the numbers returned had been reduced, to avoid the inconveniences which attach to very large bodies sitting in legislative and judicial capacities. The congregational bodies send delegates to this Assembly, but they are not allowed to vote. By the time that the body had got into form and shape, it was needful to grant a recess.

At four o'clock they met again. The first business was, after prayer, to choose a moderator and temporary clerk; who, with the two permanent clerks, composed the official staff of the court.—Committees were then appointed, whose duties were either to dispose of trivial business, or to prepare more serious business for the consideration of the Assembly. These arrangements were followed by reports from the permanent and stated clerks, Dr. M'Dowell and Dr. Ely, on the correspondence and the outline of business waiting the attention of the commissioners. These were all preliminaries, and when they were arranged it was time to adjourn, or at least it was deemed so by the meeting.

Dr. Philip Lindsley, President of Nashville college, was chosen as moderator; a gentleman whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making at Washington. So far as intelligence, impartiality, and urbane and Christian carriage were qualifications, the choice was a happy one; but a person who presides over a large meeting, where one half of the persons are unused to the forms of proceeding, and where strong discussion and party feeling are expected to break out, requires, above all things, much promptitude and tact in the ways of business generally, and a good acquaintance with the practices of the body over which he is placed in particular. This Dr. Lindsley candidly acknowledged he did not possess; and, from the want of it, both himself and the court were often embarrassed, sometimes in a humorous, and sometimes in a vexatious manner.

On the following day, much time was consumed in minor affairs; but at length came the subject of the complaint and appeal of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia against the Synod of Philadelphia. An effort was made by an amendment to postpone it, on which there was much confusion. But all were waiting for the discussion, and the proposition was overruled; and the complaint and appeal were allowed to take their hearing. A long hearing it was, for it lasted beyond the remainder of our stay, and very little else occupied the attention of the Assembly. This indeed was the question of questions; and as it was by no means one of local or temporary interest, I must endeavor to place it briefly before you.

Some of the pastors and churches in this city had adopted opinions and courses which fall generally under the head of *new measures;* while those who have not adopted them have fallen, by a contrast of terms, under the denomination of *old measures.* As these measures, both new and old, affect other churches besides the Presbyterian, they must be noticed distinctly and more at large elsewhere. It is sufficient to state here, that they were the occasion of much, and sometimes of bitter dispute, in the existing Presbyteries. The new-measure party, who were a minority in the existing Presbyteries, and who felt themselves annoyed, proposed to withdraw their connection, and form themselves into a separate Presbytery, as a measure of peace, under the style of an Elective Affinity Presbytery. The existing Presbyteries of the Synod felt that this was to place themselves beyond what they deemed a salutary influence; and especially they were alarmed at a proposed departure from the constitution of the church, which recognized no such principle of separation. The whole matter went before the General Assembly; and, after seven days' heated and painful discussion, the Assembly confirmed the existence of the Second Presbytery, and instructed the Synod to receive it. The Synod refused to comply, and assigned its reasons in a string of resolutions, and the Presbytery came up again with its appeal and complaint. Thus the affair stood at this time; and it was now thrown open, and with it the old wounds, to fresh exacerbation. Each party was heard by its own advocates even to weariness, for the argument lay in a small space, and a great length of time was bestowed on it. Then came the rights of the judicatory. The roll was called, and every member in giving his vote had the right to give his reasons too; and very many availed themselves of it. At last the votes were taken, and it was found that about two-thirds of the court were against disturbing the previous determination.

On the character of the discussion as it advanced there is not much room for remark. There was not a great deal of good speaking. One speech was argumentative and very clever, but it wanted perspicuity and condensation to give it power. Another speaker was remarkable and amusing, from the manner in which scraps of common Latin fell from his lips at every third sentence, and with all sorts of accent. And another awakened extraordinary excitement by his power in biting sarcasm, a power used so waywardly as to alarm both friends and foes. While many in the course of the debate expressed themselves with brevity, in nothing remarkable, except for that good sense and gracious feeling which savoreth all things.

I have given you this account somewhat in detail, because this body is next in importance to the Congress itself. The persons composing it are the elect of their particular societies, and they come from all parts of the States; some of them the distance of 1,000 and 1,200 miles. Many of them were ashamed that we should witness discussions which involved much personal allusion, and which, while man is man, will throw up his infirmities to the surface. For my own part, I was glad of an occasion of observing the conduct of such a body under very trying circumstances; and the result was that of unfeigned *admiration.* Apart from the conduct of the leading speakers, who, residing in the city, and pledged to certain views, might be regarded as *ex parte* advocates, the Assembly generally did not forget their character as judges, but carried themselves with much gravity, impartiality and forbearance. They overlooked the effects of passion in others, and subdued them in themselves; they evidently acted under the fear of God, and with a desire of promoting the things that "make for peace." I could not help thinking, at various times of provocation, what a different conduct would have been shown had it not been for the restraints of religion; and how much of religious influence must have been silently felt to produce the amount of restraint. I have seen many religious bodies, when less tried, and when more habituated to this sort of trial, and when dwelling in a more refined atmosphere, not behave so well.

In saying as much as this, however, in favor of the court, you must understand, what I have already intimated that this question was regarded by neither party, nor by the Assembly, as of local interest. It was not a question whether a new Presbytery, constituted on new principles, in Philadelphia, should exist or be annihilated; but it was a question which was considered as a test of the strength or weakness of the *new-measure men* throughout the whole church. That the new Presbytery should be willing to make it so is not surprising; but that the Synod should have been so disposed is amazing, as it was placing a subject which they deemed to be of the first magnitude in a most unequal and perilous position. In fact, it was no trial of strength on the new and old measures. The Assembly had, at a former sitting, heard and passed judgment on a case brought regularly before them by appellant and defendant. The Synod had refused to act on that judgment; and the real question now was, whether the Assembly should retain its place in the constitution as a supreme and final court of appeal. All who know how backward men are to review and reverse a decision they have formally made, will see that there were few chances, even if wrong, of getting it set right, and if right, just no chance at all. And the Synod, by still identifying the case with the greater question, have created an impression in favor of the new measures, which they must deem as fatal as it is general. Up to this moment, it is generally considered that the majority obtained against the Synod is a victory on the side of new measures; whereas, you will now see, that it is a resolution of the Assembly to assert its own supremacy. And certainly, were a calm decision sought on the subject of measures only, the division of this court would be very different.

Before leaving the Assembly, I must yet make one or two references. In the course of the proceedings some interesting reports were brought up, relative to their college, the mission cause, and the state of religion. The report on the state of religion was brought up on the Monday morning after our arrival. We were looked to, in our turn, as delegates from the Congregational Union, for some account of the numbers and condition of our churches. Mr. Matheson made a brief and general statement, and presented the congratulations of our constituents. I was urged to support him, but from the renewed loss of voice, I was obliged to excuse myself. The reports generally were not made so prominent and interesting as I expected, or as, perhaps, they commonly are; there was at this time an exciting and absorbing subject before the meeting unsettled, and, of course, there was an eagerness to pass to it.

It is the custom of the Assembly to set apart a morning during their sessions for special devotion—reading the Scriptures, exhortation, and prayer. Considering the design, and its special character, I went to the place of meeting with high expectation of thronged attendance and happy worship. But no; it was too much there as it is here; the persons who will crowd to a religious debate are not the persons who rejoice in a pure act of worship. At the time of commencement there were not more than two hundred persons present. However, the attendance soon increased to eight hundred or a thousand, and these, without doubt, of the more serious and pious character. I was associated with five of my Presbyterian brethren in leading the services. There was over the meeting a very subdued and tender spirit. All unused to tears, I never saw so many men weeping before. We enjoyed much; and it was an evidence of what might have been enjoyed in more auspicious circumstances.

At the close of the service, Dr. Green, the father of the Assembly, rose and proposed that, instead of proceeding to business, as was usual, they should adjourn, in order to cherish the impressions made. But business pressed greatly; and it was overruled by a proposal that they should receive the Mission Report, which was thought to be in harmony with the existing state of feeling.

Of the other engagements while in this city little need be said. My object is not to report all that was done and said, but so much as may afford information and advantage. The public meetings were mostly duplicates of those held at New-York. The chief of them were connected with the Presbyterian Education, the Temperance, and the Sunday School Union Societies. These were all well attended and well sustained. The Sunday School Union has its establishment here, and appears to be admirably conducted.

There is one service, however, which may claim notice. It was the ordination of Mr. Parker as a missionary to China. It took place on the second evening of our arrival, in the presence of a large assembly of persons. It was by the Second Presbytery, and we were made corresponding members for the time. The Presbytery was constituted by prayer. Afterward Dr. Wisner, Secretary of the Society, gave an introductory sermon. Dr. Ely asked the usual questions; which were replied to, not as with us, but by the mere expression of assent. He then offered the ordaining prayer, with imposition of hands; and led in giving the right hand of fellowship, which is not given in silence, but with explanatory and affectionate remark. Mr. Barnes gave the charge. Mr. Winslow and myself then followed with short addresses, and the service closed with singing and prayer.

This was in itself a delightful service; to me it was peculiarly so. It was the second service, in order of time, which I attended here, and both services related to China. I had for the last three years attempted to call up attention to the claims of China at home, but in vain, and I went out to America not prepared to find much interest there; and when I really found that Christians of that country were looking on China as a field of present labor, and were sending forth not a single missionary, but many, for its redemption, it seemed as though one had crossed the Atlantic to receive an answer to one's prayers.

Still, on returning home, you are surprised with the question, Is China open? My reply is, America has answered that question. China is as open now, and has been for the last twenty years, as it ever will be till we strive to enter. It is not open to indolent inquiry; it is open to faith, prayer, and fixed perseverance. Our negligence to this subject for a long period is the more remarkable, since we have had the greatest facilities for the work; and to justify what we had done, it was indispensable that we should do more. Thirty years ago China secured our attention. Morrison and Milne were devoted to it; and with the most exhilarating success. Malacca, Singapore, and Penang, were taken up as out-posts, to bear on this great empire, and have been sustained, at an immense expense, for some twenty years, only for its sake, and yet no movement of the least importance from that time to this has been made on a country which, with its dependants and accessories, contains one half of the world's population. Surely the churches will awake to a sense of their duty; and while expending their resources on fields of acknowledged importance, will still maintain, that the *first* in importance has, in wisdom and in mercy, the *first* claim to our services of benevolence.

You will perhaps be scarcely satisfied if I leave Philadelphia without speaking of it as a place.—What has been often said, I need not repeat: it will be enough if I give you my impressions. It is indeed a Quaker city, neat, clean, uniform, without any striking features. There is the drab bonnet, and the drab gown, and the frill, and neckerchief and apron to correspond; all very good, and, in a certain acceptation very handsome; but there are no feathers, no flounces, no gaudy colors, and no finery, either genteel or shabby. The streets intersect each other at right angles; and every street is so like its fellow as sometimes to tire on the eye and perplex the course. It is the cleanest city I have seen in this new world; has the finest market; and is admirably supplied with excellent water. I should think a family would find as many comforts and as few inconveniences as may be, in residing here. The females, too, struck me as more interesting in appearance; but they might owe this to their dress. You seldom see the Quaker dress in this town; but it has evidently qualified all you do see. It is a happy medium between what you would find in Quaker life and fashionable life; it borrows taste from the one, and feminine nicety from the other. The society, I should think, is agreeable and excellent.

As for sights, after what I have said, you will suppose that they may soon be disposed of. Yet there is something under this head. We saw the exchange; it is just finished, at a large expense; and, like many of our expensive things, ought to be good. It is built of marble, and has some fine Corinthian columns, with beautiful wrought capitals; but, for the rest, it is sad indeed. Surely no architect could have given such an elevation. The porticoes to the two banks are admirable; I remember gazing on the larger one, in the moonlight, with great pleasure. The corner of the ground in which Franklin lies, and the room in which the Declaration of Independence was first read, interested me. There is here an excellent library and museum. The library has upwards of 30,000 volumes, and is more select than most. It has been greatly enriched by the bequest of an English clergyman. The museum is chiefly remarkable for a fine skeleton of the mammoth.

I saw also the spot where Penn signed his treaty with the Indians. A tree, springing from the roots of the parent tree under which they stood, shades the spot. The Penn Society have lately placed a small monument there; I will not say erected, for it is not more than half the size of one of our obelisks; and it has a shabby enclosure.

On the several faces there is inscribed:

PENNSYLVANIA, FOUNDED 1681,
BY DEEDS OF PEACE.

TREATY GROUND OF WILLIAM PENN
WITH THE INDIAN NATIONS, 1682.
UNBROKEN FAITH.

REPLACED BY THE PENN SOCIETY, 1807.

I went also to see the Water-works and the Penitentiary. The former is the boast of the town. As a work of art, affording great benefit to the people, it is good; as a place of agreeable resort, it is very inviting; but, as a discovery in science, which is the ground of boast to many, it is nothing. A thousand mill-streams are made available on the same principle.

The Penitentiary is really admirable. I can confirm what has generally been said of it. There are some nice and skilful arrangements for the order, supervision, cleansing, and ventilation of the prison. All was good—all, except the method of warming, which had perplexed them. They were about to try a new method, which would also fail. I promised to supply Mr. Woods with the plan adopted in the London Orphan Asylum. He is an excellent man, a Friend; who presides over the establishment gratuitously, finding his reward in the fruits of his benevolence.

I have referred to the Quakers. I am sorry to say that a considerable portion of them have lapsed into fatal heresy. The orthodox have separated from them, and they now bear the appellation of Hicksites. I could not, assuredly, learn their opinions, but I fear it amounts almost to deism. On authority, which I believe I may trust, it is said that they have lately resolved that the word *Holy* shall no longer be an affix to the word *Bible*.

On the morning of the 24th, we quitted this city for New-York, on our way to Boston; after having had the most favorable opportunity of becoming acquainted with the habits and character of the people, and after having had much enjoyment in truly Christian intercourse and worship. Of Dr. Ely's kindness, from first to last, in sickness and in health, we have, and shall have, a grateful impression. We parted with an understanding that we would meet again before we left these shores. Our friends, the Phelps', returned with us. Now, as always, we had kind admonitions to look well to our luggage. The good people have, every-where, alarm on this subject, and there must be a cause for it; but I think it is rather to be found in the mistakes that happen by careless package and the frequent change of conveyance, than in dishonesty. I was referred to an old woman on this trip, who had been so deeply inoculated with this fear, that she sat on one portion of her luggage, and kept her eye on the rest, which lay at her feet; and, lest her thoughts should wander, or the amount be forgotten, she kept amusing herself, and, of course, the passengers who overheard her, with this cheerful ditty:—

"Great box and little box,
Band-box and bundle:
One, two, three, four.
Great box and little box,
Band-box and bundle:
One, two, three, four."

LETTER VII.

My dear friend—The reason which pressed us to return to New-York on the Saturday was, that we had engagements to fulfil in that city. I preached on the Sabbath at Laight-street, and at the Middle Dutch church. I had become acquainted with the ministers of this church through Mr. Abeel, their missionary, who had stayed as an invalid some weeks in my family: and the greater my acquaintance with them, the greater was my esteem. They invited us to their classes, and passed resolutions expressive of congratulations on our arrival, and sympathy in uor object.

On the Monday morning, we left home soon after five, to attend a merchants' prayer-meeting, which was held weekly at six o'clock, and passed in rotation from house to house. On this occasion it was held at Mr. Oliphant's, and it was the more interesting, as he and Mr. Parker, the recently ordained missionary, were about to leave for China. Though he went as a merchant, he wished rather to advance religion than to secure gain. Two friends engaged in prayer; and then the president, as the meeting was of a special character, invited us to offer remarks. Mr. Matheson referred to what Mr. Angus had sought to do in this country; but with little encouragement. I expressed a wish to know if they had defined objects before them in this friendly meeting. It was stated that they had, and they were understood to be—To advance personal piety; to intercede for their families, and to seek, *as merchants*, the promotion of the missionary cause.

Of course, we could only express warm sympathy in such objects; but it was suggested whether, by assuming a more open character, and calling up the attention of the merchants generally, they might not give a fine example to the world, of that important interest consecrating mercantile avocations to missionary objects. Extending remarks of this nature were kindly received, and were to be seriously considered. Mr. Parker also addressed the meeting with humility and affection. There was a sweet spirit over it, and all were, I believe, refreshed with the interview. Altogether, there were about eighteen of us present.

After the exercise, we breakfasted with Dr. Spring. The subject became naturally a principal one in our conversations. He entered into it as warmly as ourselves; and we agreed that we would work in its favor as we had occasion, in the hope that, before we left, something equal to the object might be attempted.

In the afternoon of the same day, we left for Boston by the *Providence* steamer. Messrs. Boorman and Wilder, whom I had known in Paris, attended us to the boat; and Dr. Peters and Mr. Vale, of Cincinnati, were our companions. The Sound, of which little is said, is very beautiful. We had to travel all night; and, as the temptations to "go below" were few, and the evening was fine and warm, I remained on deck. As the night advanced, which was dark, the effect of the sparks emitted from the pine wood used in the furnace, was peculiar. You saw not whence they came; they spread over the dark ground of the sky, and shot abroad with every variety of form and motion; they were equal in brilliancy and grace to any fireworks which I have seen.

Morning came, and we found ourselves surrounded by heavy mists; so that the vessel was obliged to reduce her speed almost to nothing, for the want of landmarks. We reached Providence four hours later than usual. The mail was waiting our arrival, and we went on by it. We travelled at the rate of eight miles an hour, the quickest I have witnessed in this country. It was very hot till we came within five miles of Boston, when the temperature changed many degrees, and made us chilly. We reached the Tremont Hotel at half past seven o'clock. A meeting of the Home Missionary Society was then assembled, and we had been announced as expected. Persons were watching the first arrival; and Dr. Codman and other friends were immediately with us, to convey us to Park-street church. Remonstrance was in vain, and without dressing and without repose, away we went. I soon found myself on the platform of a crowded assembly; and, weary and dirty, and unwilling as I was to take a public part in the engagements of the evening, I was still happy at last, and thus suddenly, to be in the midst of the children of the Pilgrim Fathers. We had an excellent meeting. It was after ten o'clock when we got away; and Dr. Codman kindly attended us to his honor Lieutenant-governor Armstrong's, who had invited us to a residence in his family.

In the morning, Dr. Codman, who was anxious to show us all kindness, called to take us to the Pastoral Association. It met in a large vestry, or lecture-room; there were about one hundred present; the Association, of course, embraced only the ministers of the State of Massachusetts. We were introduced to the moderator, Dr. Fay, and afterward received the fraternal congratulations of the brethren. There was no special business before them. We afterward went to hear the annual sermon for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; yes, it is exactly so; in this, as in most things, you shall find here a type of all that we have in the olden land. Mr. Stearns preached. He is a poet; and the style of the sermon was rather too poetical for prose. It was fine; it was good; but it did not carry the auditors sufficiently from the preacher to the subject.

The following day I attended, with Dr. Codman, the Congregational Convention. This, unlike the Pastoral Association, includes Unitarians. The Convention is of the nature of our Widow's Fund Society; and, like it, it embraces persons of different creeds, and yet is committed to an exercise of public worship. I can easily see how the Unitarian and the orthodox may act together for any purely civil or charitable end, without difficulty; but if it is to be extended to acts of prayer, and the ministration of the word of life, I see nothing but difficulty. So far, however, as the difficulty is practical, the brethren think it is overcome, as of late years the decided majority is with the orthodox, and they always appoint, by the consent of the minority, the preacher.

The business of the Convention was unimportant, and the forms not peculiar. There were but few present; as it was understood, at the previous meeting yesterday, which was large, that little remained to demand attention. The meeting broke up; and quickly after, the public service began in the same place. The sermon was plain and orthodox; but it was orthodoxy with effort, and orthodoxy fearing to offend. The worthy preacher felt, I am persuaded, that he was not in his own pulpit; and passed through the service with constraint.

Of the public meetings generally I need not speak; except to say, that we had enough to do to attend them, and that they were attended with an interest and in numbers equal in proportion to what we had seen elsewhere. There is, however, one meeting which, perhaps, I ought to notice briefly, on account of its results, and on account of its belonging to another denomination.

We had uniformly desired to show that our mission was not from one sect to another sect; but from the Christian churches of one land, to those of another and a sister land; and had sought all opportunities of discovering that catholic spirit, which, after all, alas! has so few occasions to show itself. The friends of the Baptist denomination had applied to me to attend the meeting of their Education Society; and I readily consented to meet their wishes, not only on the principle to which I have alluded, but to offer what support I could to the cause of ministerial education in that body. Next to the Methodists, the Baptists, perhaps, were wanting on this subject; they were now awaking to a sense of the evils attendant on an uneducated ministry, and were demanding that their instructers should themselves first be instructed.

The meeting was held in a chapel of moderate dimensions. It was full, but not crowded, and it had less wealth about it than most of the meetings. There were about a dozen ministers on the platform. The early part of the meeting was not very promising. After the report was read, which was good, and ought to have been very impressive by the facts it recorded, one of the brethren rose to offer a resolution. His speech was written, and he used the notes freely, and yet did not appear at liberty. It was an argument in support of the society; reason after reason was adduced; and at length, as the climax of all, it was to be shown, that the peculiar opinions they held as Baptists, were peculiarly favorable to the cause he was pleading. This was evidently not meant for unbaptized ears. The ministers looked at the speaker, then at me; the people were disconcerted. He, from not having been at liberty, became confused, and felt perhaps more generously than he need to have done. He referred "to what might have been said; but as they were favored with the presence of visiters, he would pass it by;" and then he hastened to a conclusion; and I confess, such is the perversity of our nature, that I have always wished to know what this argument, which I am never to know, could have been.

This little slip of a brother was truly useful. It awakened the dormant feeling in the meeting; and all that feeling was kindness. When I rose to support his resolution as requested, all were generously attentive. At the close, I alluded emphatically to one fact in the report, which was, that out of 4,500 churches, there were 2,000 not only void of educated pastors, but void of pastors; and insisted that, *literally*, they ought not *to sleep* on such a state of things.

The Rev. Mr. Malcolm, who has visited our country, and who is an excellent minister in this city, rose out of turn, and expressed his great pleasure at the presence of a brother from England; and referring to what had been said, he confessed that he, for one, could not sleep with things as they were; he had never felt them as he did then; and he must do something to correspond; he proposed to answer for another scholarship. To support a scholar at college is estimated at from sixty to seventy dollars a year. Another person below the platform rose, and, referring with much simplicity and feeling to that part of the report which announced the death of an excellent man of their number who had sustained two scholarships, said he would answer for another scholarship, and then there would be no loss by the demise of their friend to the society. Another person, alluding to the same bereavement with tears, said he would take a scholarship. By this time a delightful feeling was in the place; not boastful and ostentatious, but meek and subdued. I sought to catch a little of it, and to improve an evident occasion of usefulness. I rose, and spoke with brevity; and proposed that if the meeting, under a sense of duty and gratitude, should be disposed to answer for nineteen scholarships, I would answer for the twentieth. This, from a stranger, and he belonging to another section of the church, had an effect beyond any thing I could have expected. A tender spirit, and from heaven, as I trust, came over the people. They rose in succession, and with deep emotion gave in their pledges till they had made up the nineteen, and secured me. Still, on the feeling went—and on it went, till no less than FORTY-FIVE SCHOLARSHIPS were taken. This, under all the circumstances, was the most remarkable meeting I had yet attended: the effort for the people was so great, and the spirit which anointed and sustained it so admirable. "Surely God was in that place!"

One pleasing incident I must yet attach to this meeting. On the next morning I received a letter from a Mr. Jones, stating that he had been at the meeting—the pleasure he had in having been there—his pleasure at the participation of a stranger from the Old Country in the exercises; and a request, expressed in the most handsome terms, that I would allow him to be responsible for my scholarship. This letter contained the check for the amount. The letter I value as a specimen of what is most courteous and generous in Christian conduct.

I should, perhaps, have remarked, that the public meetings, which ran through the week, and were attached to the Congregational body, were not only good; they improved as they advanced. The last, the Foreign Mission, was excellent. From the state of the meeting, it was suggested to the managing powers that a special concert of prayer, for the conversion of the world, would, if proposed, be well received, and would have a happy effect. It was kindly received; and the people showed then, and afterward, in the exercises, that they could appreciate a devotional service for such purpose. It occurred, as proposed, on the Sabbath evening, in Park-street Church. That large church was full. I united with Drs. Cogeswell and Jenks and Mr. Blagden in leading the service. It was a delightful and solemn season.

In the morning of this day, I preached at the Old South Meeting: the places of worship here preserve their puritanic designation, although they have the form and aspect of a church, equally with Bow Church, Cheap-side. The history of this place is curious and interesting, and shall receive more extended notice, as it deserves, should I hereafter find opportunity. It is, I believe, the original place; and it is the only place which held fast the name of Christ, and kept itself pure in the great defection. It is the place where Whitefield has preached, where the troops were quartered in the revolution, and where, to this day, a band of Christians have continued together, like the primitive saints, "to sing hymns to Christ, to engage each other to commit no sin," and to wait, in prayer and hope, for the light of a better day.

It is like one of our good old churches, and is very nicely kept. We had a double service, as the sacrament was to be administered. The attendance was large to both services; full to the first, and about four hundred communicants at the table. The saints here retain more than ourselves, and for natural reasons, the puritanic form and precision. As a stranger, I was kindly supplied with the order of service. There were no less than *seventeen things to be done* in succession. Only two deacons officiated on the occasion, but there was a full supply of cups and plates; and as they merely conveyed them to one person in a given section of communicants, who passed it from hand to hand, the service was as quickly, and perhaps more quietly done, than when many are employed. Nor do the deacons sit with the pastor, as with us; they come out from their respective seats, when the distribution or collection is to happen, and stand before him till he is ready, and on fulfilling each service, retire to their seats. The whole exercise lasted about three hours. All the associations made it to me an interesting season, and to the people, I trust, not wholly unprofitable. Mr. Matheson spent this Sabbath at Dorchester, preaching for Dr. Codman.

While at Boston we received an affectionate letter from the brethren at Plymouth and its neighborhood, urging us to visit them. It was quite in our mind to do so; and on the Monday we went. It was about the same distance as to Providence; but the travelling was very different. In a run of forty-two miles we consumed seven hours; had to change coaches three times, and broke down once. However, the country was all new and mostly pretty; and, as you know, I can make much of a little good scenery when there is not a great deal to be had. On our arrival, we found the Hon. George Robins ready to welcome us to his family, a man every way worthy to be a descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers.

But the rock—the rock! I had a feverish desire to see it, and could not well address myself to any second thing till I had. Mr. Robins sympathized with the feeling, and kindly led us to the spot, all the time making such explanations as might cool down our enthusiasm. This was considerate; for if the impression were to be taken from present appearance only, it must be weak indeed. It is in the most unpoetical predicament imaginable. You look for a bold piece of rock work, standing out in the ocean, distinct and alone, great in its own greatness; instead of which, it is already under your feet; small piers, for the use of the small craft, have been carried out over it and beyond it, and you require to examine the spot you occupy before you are assured that it is substantial rock. But what of all this; it was the rock—the very rock still, which first offered a resting place to the foot of the weary pilgrim; which was first anointed by his tears and prayers, and which introduced him to "a wealthy place," where he might dwell unscathed by the fires of persecution, and irresponsible to man in "the things that are God's." We might, indeed, complain of the neglect and misdoings of the good people in this matter; but for me, it did not need to be adorned with the palisade, the chisel, or the inscription, to make it interesting: I stood on it, and trembled as I stood. I know of no spot more sacred on earth, except the one spot where the Holy One suffered, "the just for the unjust."

We had wished only a social service, but we found that a public one had been fixed for the next morning. We could not, however, stay over the morning of that day; and in this difficulty, it was necessary to arrange as they could for it that evening. Although there was not an hour's notice, the meeting house was filled, and it would accommodate from 700 to 800 persons. Unitarians and Universalists all came. The Rev. Mr. Conant, of the Baptist Church, offered prayer. The Rev. Mr. Boutelle then introduced us to the meeting, and addressed us in its name. He has since supplied me with a copy of his address; and as it is short and appropriate, and may be taken as a specimen of the spirit in which we were received by the Christians of New England, I think you will be pleased by its insertion:—

"It is with heartfelt gratification, Rev. sirs, that we welcome you to this hallowed spot, where our forefathers first planted their feet—a spot hallowed by their sufferings and tears, their pious labors and sleeping dust.

"We welcome you as descendants of the Puritans—that noble race of men, who, during the sixteenth century, rose as benefactors of mankind, and in the midst of surrounding darkness, hung up, in mid heaven, the lamp of civil and religious freedom; thus kindling a light which has been glowing ever since with a constantly increasing lustre, and which is destined to blaze on until its bright beams shall have illuminated every dark spot on earth.

"Descended from the Puritans ourselves, we delight to cherish their memory, and to extend our fraternal love to those of their posterity dwelling on the other side of the water.

"*Our* ancestors were *your* ancestors; your forefathers our forefathers; we therefore are brethren. As such, most cordially do we welcome you.

"As delegates from more than 1,600 Congregational churches in our father land, we welcome you. Contending as those churches are for religious toleration, for the faith of our common ancestors, and for that form of church polity for which *they* so nobly struggled, we cannot but feel a deep interest in your welfare. We pray for, we rejoice in your prosperity; and we will strive to be co-workers in promoting essentially the same great objects.

"As citizens of England, we welcome you—that land whence our Pilgrim Fathers came;—that land of science, of literature, and of great national prosperity, where so much is doing for the cause of human freedom, for the advancement of pure religion, for the amelioration of the great family of man, and the ushering in of millennial glory. As brethren of our common Lord, we welcome you, and commend you to his favor and protection.

"May Heaven smile propitiously on your mission, rendering it subservient to the interests of his kingdom, both in England and America, and making it conducive to the strengthening of those cords, which should unite in one common brotherhood two nations, exerting a powerful influence on the destinies of the world."

Of course, we could do no less than acknowledge the address. The last address and the concluding prayer devolved on me; and we then united in singing the fine hymn in Watts—"Give me the wings of faith to rise," &c. I never saw so much of its beauty, for I never sung it in such appropriate and affecting circumstances. It was, on the whole, a remarkable service; and was evidently deemed a considerable event in the history of this small and quiet town—an event, I trust, not without permanent advantages.

As you will have a strong interest in this place, I will aid your conceptions of it by briefly stating, that the township has a population of 5,400 persons. There are four orthodox Congregational places, having 1,200 hearers, and 400 communicants; there is one Baptist, having about 350 hearers and 100 communicants; there are one Unitarian and one Universalist, having together about 600 hearers and about 40 communicants. The schools are in proportion. About 600 of the males are sailors. In consequence of a neglect of pure religion, and a corresponding temptation to the use of ardent spirits, the people had sadly degenerated from the manners of their fathers; but there is now, in manners and in religion, a great change for the better. The Temperance cause here has wrought most beneficially. Three fourths of the pauperism has been destroyed by it; and last year, where so much liquor was once used, not one person applied for a license to sell it. Many might still have been glad of the profits; but none was willing to incur the infamy, for such it would have been in this community.

With such decided benefits always visible to them, it is not wonderful if the good cause should have been, in some instances, pressed too far. We had often heard, that many, in their zeal, had pledged themselves and each other to disuse tea, coffee, &c.; but had not met with such persons. There were many here; and our excellent hostess, at least, provided for such a state of things. At our tea-service, I observed that there were two pots, as usual. When asked, which I would take? I replied, "Tea and coffee, have you?" "No, sir," was the answer; "the one is tea, and the other is water." And this arrangement was necessary; for one half of the persons present, I should think, declined the tea, and took either water, or milk and water.

The next morning, early, we visited the Court-House, the Pilgrim Hall, and the Burial-Ground. The first has nothing very remarkable besides the original charter, signed "Warwick." The Hall is a recent erection, and still unfinished. It is for the speeches on the commemoration days, and for the care of relics and curiosities. At present there are not many, nor do these demand to be noted. The Burial-Ground is unique. It is on the face of a rude hill above the town, and has, in a high degree, a rough, weather-worn, old, and venerable aspect. It is the genealogical table of the whole people. Many of the dates go back almost to the first settlers. It realizes, more than any thing, to the mind, the whole story of the Fathers; and, more than most things in this new country, it speaks of an olden time—of men and things that were, and are not, and have long gone by. Give it me for effect before Pere la Chaise. It is the grave, and nothing but the grave. It must be seen to be felt; and, after all, many will see and not feel.

Where I could have coveted hours, minutes only were allowed me. I hastened home, to prepare for leaving, and requested that we might have a special act of prayer before we separated. Our host brought all his family together from their various abodes—three generations. I urged him to present our prayers; and it was well I did: I might have forgot him otherwise; I shall never forget him now. I think we all prayed; certainly we were all interested.

Other ministers and friends now arrived, expecting our stay; but our coach was ready, and our calls imperative; and at ten o'clock we left for Boston. Soon our beloved friends were out of sight; and soon Plymouth itself disappeared; but neither the one or the other will soon pass from memory.

From this time we stayed only a single day in Boston; but I shall have more to say of this important and interesting city. This I wish, however, to reserve for a subsequent visit, as it was a period of greater leisure, and will allow me to do so with more matured knowledge.

LETTER VIII.

My dear friend—The reason of quiting the metropolis of New England so soon, is to be found in some variation of plan. In consequence of the earnest representations made from Canada, we determined to visit that country; and this made it needful to resolve on staying over the month of September, instead of returning in that month, as at first proposed. Throughout, I had determined to visit the West; and it appeared that both visits might be more safely made at the commencement, than at the close of the summer. With these views, we prepared to move immediately in these directions; and to reserve the month of September for a revisit to these States. We have much cause to be thankful that we came to these arrangements, as, quickly after we had left the Canadas, the cholera swept over the whole territory; and the West, though dangerous to a foreigner when I was there, was becoming daily more so.

We left early on the morning of the 5th, after rather exhausting services on the previous day, for

Burlington, which was to be a journey of three days. The coach arrangements at present have little regard to the convenience of the passengers. At the office, on inquiring at what time we were to start, the answer was, "At four o'clock." "And the next day?" "At four o'clock." "And the third day?" Still, "at four o'clock." And to start at four, of course it was necessary to be up at three. And all this was without advantage. We travelled on an average about seventy miles a day; and arrived each day in the afternoon. For us to have been two hours later, would have been no inconvenience; and to have started so much later, a great accommodation.

Most of the way we had a soaking rain. The coach was of the ordinary kind, such as I have described it; and though it is open and cheerful in fair weather, when it is closed on account of cold or heavy rain, it is dark and confined, and prison-like beyond any thing we know. However, these occasions took one out of more select circles, and allowed you to look on the world in this country as it is, and from this circumstance they were desirable. The present was by no means an unfruitful occasion; if we were shut up greatly from the objects on the road-side, the companions of our journey supplied us, if not with edification, certainly with some entertainment. First of all, our coachman was a very saucy fellow; he evidently thought himself better than one half of his passengers, and as good as the other half. I complained to him, when we stopped, that my luggage was getting wet. "Why," he exclaimed, "you don't expect to keep it dry such a day as this, do you?" "Why," I replied, "it is the very sort of day in which it is your duty to keep it dry!" "Ha, ha, it will be all right," he cried, and left me. In the end, I found that it was soaked through. He did, indeed, give some directions on the subject; but the care of the luggage has little attention here.

When we stopped at Lowell, to change horses, a female wished to secure a place onward. We were already, as the phrase is, more than full; we had nine persons, and two children, which are made to go for nothing except in the waybill. Our saucy driver opened the door, and addressing two men, who, with us, would have been outside passengers, "Now, I say, I want one of you to ride with me, and let a lady have your seat." The men felt they were addressed by a superior, but kept their places. "Come, I say," he continued, "you shall have a good buffalo and *umbrel*, and nothing will hurt you." Still they kept their places, and refused him. His lordship was offended, and ready to lay hands on one of them; but, checking himself, exclaimed, "Well, if I can't get you out, hang it, if I'll take you on till one of you gets out." And there we stood for some time; and he gained his point at last, and in civiller terms, by persuading the persons on the middle seat to receive the lady; so that we had now twelve inside. I name this as it occurred; not as a sample of this class of men. Generally, they feel that they owe you nothing; but if they offer you few attentions, they seldom offend you. This was the worst instance I met with, I think, at any time.

Then within, crowded and almost suffocated as we were, we had an old lady who did not fail to amuse us. She sat opposite me, and would force a conversation; and as her voice was sharp and shrill, what was meant for me went to all, and diverted all. "As for religion, she thought one as good as another, if we did our duty; and her notion of duty was, to mind our own business. For her part, she had always done so—she ridiculed those who employed others to do it for them—she could always do hers best for herself—she could make fifteen per cent. of money—had small sums out now at fifteen per cent." She felt that this was not approved. "Oh, she was not hard with the poor creatures—if they were pressed, she waited, and lent them a little more, so that they could pay at last. She had always been unmarried, not for want of offers, but she liked her independence, and would resent the offer of any man who would want to get her property." I remarked, that she had done well not to marry; as a person like herself, who could do every thing so well, could have no need of a husband. "Right, right, sir," she cried, laughing. Then, getting thoughtful, she continued, "But I have a great deal of care; and I often think I should like to retire, and be quiet; and then I feel as though I could not be quiet—and then I should have no friend. I should want a friend if I retired—else I could afford it, you know." "O, I had no doubt of her having a handsome property." "O, no, sir, your joke is very pretty; but I did not mean to say I was rich. I have somewhere or other about 7,000 dollars; but I guess you have more money than all of us put together." And thus she continued through the journey, never embarrassed, always prepared to meet you in reply, and always satisfied with her own shrewdness. She was really a character—person, features, dress, all—but a most pitiable one. A great usurer on a small scale; the love of money had become in her the root of all evil; it made her indifferent to a future world, and destroyed all that was feminine, tender, and benevolent.

We reached Concord in the afternoon. Many of the brethren had arrived here to take their place in the meeting of the Pastoral Association. We took our repast with them, and united in prayer, and then retired to our inn, as we had to start again early in the morning.

The next day we left for Royalton. It was a fine day, and we had a most delightful ride. I could perceive that the previous ride offered some fine scenery to the eye, but it was now evidently improving, and to enjoy it, I took my seat with the driver. The views on the borders of the Connecticut, and the Black and White rivers, are full of picture, and will compare with some of the good things on the Rhine and the Bangor road. The objects are brought closer together than is common in this country, and give force to each other. They are, too, just what you could desire; but I must not dwell upon them. Conceive of yourself running along the margin of a sweet river, sometimes in quiet, sometimes in gushing motion; of undulating land, of green corn-fields, of pretty cottages, of hill rising above hill, clothed with verdant and olive fir-trees, and of the Green Mountains of Vermont, lying in the distance, all placed in their best relations to each other; and you will, in some degree, participate in the actual scenes and pleasures of this ride.

We passed through some interesting towns and villages. Hanover is one of them; pleasantly situated, and reputed for its college. Montpelier is a young and thriving town, and is raising to itself a very handsome court-house. One office that we should deem considerable, however, remains on its old scale. It is a wooden room, not a house, with its gable-end to the street; the door was standing open, exhibiting a desk, table, and chair of the plainest kind. Over the door was the label, *Secretary of State*. A small plate with the word "Mutual" on it, now began to make its appearance over or on the doors. At first it might be taken for the name of the resident; but we soon found that there was an insurance company bearing that designation. I was pleased to observe, that most of the detached dwellings had on them, or near them, raised on a pole, a bird-cote for the use of the marten, the wren, and the blue-bird. They were frequently a miniature representation of the house itself; and they were a grateful assurance of the kind-heartedness of the people. Such habits are beautifully illustrative of that religion, which teaches us that God cares for the lowest work of his hands, and which commands us to be the cheerful ministers of his mercy towards them.

Sharon and Canterbury, also, are delightful locations. The latter is a Shaker settlement. I will not now detain you by setting down the extravagances of this people. Their great peculiarity is, that they repudiate marriage, and the intercourse of the sexes; they can, therefore, only exist as an excrescence on society. They are a sort of Protestant monastery; and their settlements are fed by similar causes. But, apart from their religious views, their economy, in its effects, is admirable. I have seen several of their establishments, and all of them, like this, are finely situated, finely cultivated, and in the best state of preservation. There are no farms like theirs; and in the market their articles go by their name, and fetch a higher price in consequence. Their dwellings have the same character; they are neat, clean, well painted and kept. The eye was refreshed by the spectacle, standing, as it did, in contrast with all around it; and there was nothing to abate the satisfaction, except that the people did not look happy, and that—there were no children.

We began now to meet with the wooden bridge, which abounds in this country. It is usually sustained on stone or wooden uprights, and composed of trussed girders, with loose boarding, and mostly with a roof to protect it from the weather. A notice is put up at each end, of *No trotting over this bridge;* a most needful provision, for certainly a good trot would bring some of them down. A few of the more important ones have been constructed recently on an excellent principle, and are very steady. They say you should "speak well of the bridge that carries you safe over;" and certainly I never felt so much disposition to do a set of bridges justice, for while they always discharged their duty, they often left me wondering how they were able to do it.

We met on this route with a great many Irish, who were passing from Canada to Lowell and Boston for employment: many of them very poor, and suffering much. Those who still had some means, clubbed together and hired a cart, and this took the women and children; the weaker men getting relief in turn. One poor fellow, with bare and blistered feet, and haggard look, cast a very imploring eye on me. I felt he was a countryman, and that we were both strangers in a strange land; I cast him what little silver I had; and his "God bless your honor" touched my heart, for it spoke to me of home.

The next day we were to reach Burlington. We had been charged to go by the Gulf road, as presenting some extraordinary scenery; and I was rejoiced to find, that on this day the coach took that course. With high expectations, I took my seat again outside, much to the surprise of the coachman, as no one sits with him by choice. The early ride resembled what occurred yesterday; but differently circumstanced. Heavy mists hung over the landscape, as if unwilling to be compared with what was to follow. Then, as the day advanced, the sleeping mists began to expand and separate, to curl and sail over the picture, veiling and unveiling all by turns, so as to clothe it with a bewitching loveliness.

At length the features began to heighten and concentrate, and indicated that something greater was to come. As we ran down an inclined plane, the scene continued to thicken and rise about us, till we found ourselves in the very crevice of the gulf, shut up from every thing beside, and with only room for our carriage and a small slow stream, to make their way through the surrounding brushwood. The gulf is three miles through; it is composed of precipitous hills, running twice the height of those at Clifton; they are much closer and finer clothed. At one point, especially, it is most striking. The sluggish water gathers life and tumbles over a rocky slope on which you stand, with sweet gushing sounds. You occupy a dell into which the sun never shines. You look up on surrounding galleries of bold and beautiful hills, clothed all over with the bursting green foliage of spring, and mingled with the dark hues and grand forms of the primitive pine. The sun has risen in all his effulgence on the upper world; and his vivid lights shoot across the picture, so as to cover its higher parts with all his brilliancy, and to leave you in a state of distance and darkness which is felt and visible. It is, as a scene, perfect of its kind. But I know not that it is now what it was then. As we began to ascend, we found the hand of man busy in indiscriminate destruction.

But I will not trouble you with unavailing lamentations. On getting free of the gulf, the scenery was still good. One view especially was in contrast with it, and at that time of a very novel character. The hills still stood about you in grandeur. The forests had some years since been fired.—Young timber had grown up in their stead; but the blasted and black firs rose above all on the rocks and heights, as of other generations, and gave, in an eminent degree, an air of wild sublimity to the scene. It was the hour of noon, and every thing supported the general impression. The indolent river seemed to sleep on the greensward. The woodman's cot was deserted; the door open; the axe and billet lying on the threshold. Nor man, nor child, nor beast, nor bird, was to be seen or heard. Nothing broke on the wild silence of that hour, but the distant cry of the bull-frog.

We arrived at a small place called Waterbury, to dinner, and were supplied with the plainest accommodations. I was greatly surprised to find, in this old country, districts of such wild aspect, and *clearings* going on so extensively. But they prevail here as much as in the new countries, and from the following cause. Parties take possession of the land, and clear it by firing all but the stump, for they are sure to be rewarded for one or two seasons with good crops. By this time the land, which is poor, is exhausted, and will only repay them on condition of being well cultivated. Rather than go to this expense or labor, they abandon it, and move elsewhere, mostly to the west, where they find a soil more grateful for less exertion. The land is no sooner abandoned than a new forest springs up; and thus the processes of destruction and renovation are continually succeeding each other. The methods of removing the timber are by felling, by firing, and by girdling. The first is used if it is wanted, or will fetch a price; the second method consists in setting fire to some of the trees in the dry season; it will quickly spread to any extent you desire, and sometimes beyond it. A small plot in this vicinity was fired, and the fire ran over a district of twelve square miles, consuming every thing in its way. The third method, of girdling, is by cutting a ring in the bark of the tree, which prevents the sap from rising, and kills it. When the methods of firing and girdling are adopted, the trees remain a long period leafless, withered, blasted, and in every stage of ruin; and they give to the scene, on some occasions, an air of grand deso lation, unlike every thing I had beheld. So far as husbandry is concerned, the great expense lies in extracting the prodigious roots; and if you see this operation going forward, you may know that the party has determined on a permanent settlement.

On reaching our dinner station, I concluded that my sights were over for the day, and was quite willing to ruminate on what the eye had seen. To my astonishment, however, we had not got two miles from the inn, before we reached what are called the Waterbury Falls; and a view was opened before us, surpassing all that had been previously exhibited. But how shall I make you see it? Let us try. A sweet smiling river is gliding along, like a bed of quicksilver, at your feet. A little below you, its quiet course is obstructed by a rock, which springs suddenly from its bed, and which is, in place, form, and color, among the finest I have seen; and it is crowned with dark and primitive firs. One half the river runs off to the left with quickened motion, but in friendly channels; while, on the right, the other half has cut its passage through the rock, and is dashing down the ruin it has made. Beyond this obstruction, you see the two streams hastening to embrace each other, like sisters who have been separated and in trouble, but are one again. This is the foreground. Then, on the one hand, close on the Fall, rises abruptly rather a mountain than a hill, presenting you with a ledge of rock-work, by which you are to pass, overhanging the waters, overshadowed with trees, and supplying you with a loop-hole to look out on the distant scenery. On the other hand, tiers of hills form themselves into receding and rising galleries, adorned with forests of the brightest and darkest hues. Before and beyond, others still spread themselves in the distance, in rival forms of loveliness, till at length the picture is closed by the fine outline of the camel-backed mountain. The distant openings supply the picture with all the advantages of perspective; the striking foreground is thrown up with surprising power; while the eye reposes beyond it in fields of softened brightness and beauty.

But I must have done with descriptions; at least, of this class. Did I not know that you have strong tastes for the beauties of nature, and that they contribute so delightfully to the innocent gratifications of life, I should fear I had utterly wearied you. But I really want you to become acquainted with this people and with this country; and these sketches may possibly assist you to that acquaintance better than means of more imposing pretensions.

Early in the afternoon we came in sight of Burlington; and below it lay the Lake Champlain, expanding in all its glory. Had I wished for another scene this day to compare with the previous ones, and yet of an entirely new character, I could hardly have had a better. The town is excellently situated, for health, for appearance, and for business; and it is in a very thriving and advancing state. The boat by which we were to cross the lake to St. John's, would not arrive till ten o'clock. We joined the evening meal at the *table de hote;* and having looked over the town and the bookstore, took a seat under the piazza of the inn, and watched for the boat. The scene immediately before me was animated and interesting, but it hardly agreed with the quiet joys of the day. I found myself on one side of a square, which was the centre of bustle and parade to the good town of Burlington; and being the last evening in the week, it was specially occupied. The inn itself was very noisy. Numbers of youth who boarded here, had closed their labors, and were full of frolic. The boys were engaged in some of their stormy plays. One auctioneer had just finished, to his satisfaction, his mountebank sale before the door; and another had just begun his noisy gibberish in a distant sh
Though distant, I could distinctly hear. His
in the first instance, answered the purpose of a
to call the people together, and it did it effect
To hear him cry as he did! "Six cents and a
—only six cents and a half! What! shall it
six cents and a half?—shall it go for nothin
Nobody bid any more—not another cent!"
ever man should crack his voice, and emit a
of noise, about six cents and a half!

One person—a gentleman of this district—
sporting a tandem about the square, and had
started several times to go home, but could n
courage, poor man! I do not wonder. At
he could not exhibit either his tandem or him
how, then, could he part with the admiration
square? All were engaged; but they seemed
engaged. One of the finest lakes in the worl
under their eye in the last lights of eveni
no one saw it! The bright and lovely stars
walking in silence over their heads, throug
paths of heaven—no one admired them!
must check myself. The day had not dispose
to noise and bustle, and it was Saturday eveni
a period usually given to serious objects and
friends; and I was in danger of being seve
this work-a-day world—so full of itself, an
much without God!

From Burlington we passed into the Canad
As the excursion into this country will be sepa
ly noticed, I shall pass forward to Niagara
point at which we again entered the Ame
territories.

LETTER IX.

My dear friend—Now for the Falls. The
of Niagara has no connection with the Fal
Niagara; they are fifteen miles apart. We le
town, therefore, on the morning of the 24th, d
ing the time lost which kept us from the grea
ject of pursuit. The ride is very pleasant, b
side of the river, which is here narrow and
compressed by hills on both sides, and finely f
ed by forest trees. The land is good in this vic
and some of it in good keeping; the roadsi
verdant, and is made fragrant and cheerful
abundance of sweet-brier, which is growing
and was then in bloom. We passed through Qu
town, the heights of which are made memo
and interesting by the gallant defence and la
ed fall of General Brock, in the last unhappy
There is a monument erecting to his memory
is about 120 feet high, and must supply a fine
of the country. But *onward* was our word
and we were eagerly looking out for some in
tions of the great wonder which we were so ra
approaching.

At length we saw the spray rising through
trees, and settling like a white cloud over th
and then we heard the voice of the mighty wat
a voice all its own, and worthy of itself. Have
never felt a trembling backwardness to loo
what you have intensely desired to see? If
you will hardly understand my feeling. Whil
were now searching for some glance of the o
itself, I was disposed to turn aside, lest it sh
surprise me. This, no doubt, was partly cause
the remark I had so often heard, that the first
disappoints you. I concluded, that this arose
the first view not being a fair one, and I was d
mined to do justice to the object of my revere
In fulfilling this purpose, I reached the Pav
without seeing any thing; disposed of my af
there, and hastened down towards the Falls;

found myself actually on the Table Rock to receive my first impressions.

Let any one pursue the same course, and he will not talk of first impressions disappointing him; or if he should, then he ought to go twenty miles another way. Niagara was not made for him.

From the Table Rock I descended to the base. There I clambered out on the broken rocks, and sat—I know not how long. The day was the least favorable of any we had. The atmosphere was heavy; the foam hung about the object and concealed one half of it; and the wind blew from the opposite side, and brought the spray upon you, so as to wet you exceedingly. The use of cloak and umbrella were troublesome; you could not wholly forget your person, and think only of one thing. However, had I not seen it in this state of the atmosphere, I should have wanted some views which now occupy my imagination. The whole is exceedingly solemn when nature frowns; and when much is hidden, while yet the eye has not marked the outline, there is a mysteriousness spread over the object which suits your conceptions of its greatness, and in which the imagination loves to luxuriate. I can scarcely define to you my impressions on this first day; I can scarcely define them to myself. I was certainly not disappointed; but I was confounded. I felt as though I had received a shock, and required time to right myself again.

I returned to the Pavilion, which is about half a mile from the Falls, and retired to my chamber, which overlooked them. I mused on what I had seen, and was still confounded. I sought rest that I might be fresh for the morrow; but rest did not come so freely. The continuous deep sounds of the waters would have sung me to sleep, but the tremor of the house and ground, which shook the windows like those of a stagecoach, kept me wakeful; and when I fell into slumbers, the flitting dreams of what I had seen, would trouble and break them.

Notwithstanding all disturbances, I rose on the next morning in good spirits. The day was all that could be wished. The sun shining, the heavens transparent, garnished with bright and peaceful clouds. The wind, too, was gentle and refreshing; and had shifted to our side, so as to promise the nearest points of sight without the discomfort of getting wet through.

I now looked fairly on the scene as it presented itself at my window, in the fair lights of the morning. It is composed rather of the accompaniments of the fall than of the fall itself. You look up the river full ten miles, and it runs in this part from two to three miles in breadth. Here it has formed, in its passage, beautiful little bays; and there it has worked through the slips of mainland, putting out the fragments as so many islets to decorate its surface; while, on either hand, it is bounded by the original forests of pine. At the upper extremity you see the blue waters calmly resting under the more cerulean heavens; while nearer to you it becomes agitated, like a strong man preparing to run a race. It swells, and foams, and recoils, as though it were committed to some desperate issue; and then suddenly contracts its dimensions, as if to gather up all its power for the mighty leap it is about to make. This is all you see here; and it is enough.

I left the hotel, and went down to the Table Rock. This is usually deemed the great point of sight; and for an upper view it undoubtedly is. It is composed of several ledges of rock, having different advantages, and projecting as far over the gulf below as they can to be safe. But how shall I describe the objects before me? The mysterious veil which lay heavily yesterday on a large part of it, was now removed; and the outline of the picture was mostly seen. An ordinary picture would have suffered by this; but here the real dimensions are so vast, and so far beyond what the eye has measured; that to see them is not to fetter, but to assist the imagination. This fall, which is called the Horseshoe Fall, is upwards of 2,000 feet in extent, and makes a leap, on an average of about 200 feet. Now just enlarge your conceptions to these surprising dimensions, and suppose yourself to be recumbent on the projecting rock which I have named, as near the verge as you dare, and I will assist you to look at the objects as they present themselves.

You see not now above the cataract the bed of the river; but you still see the foaming heads of the rapids, like waves of the ocean, hurrying to the precipice; and over them the light clouds which float on the horizon. Then comes the *chute* itself. It is not in the form of the horseshoe; it is not composed of either circular or straight lines; but it partakes of both; and throughout it is marked by projections and indentations, which give an amazing variety of form and aspect. With all this variety it is one. It has all the power which is deriv from unity, and none of the stiffness which belongs to uniformity. There it falls in one dense awful mass of green waters, unbroken and resistless; here it is broken into drops, and falls like a sea of diamonds sparkling in the sun. Now it shoots forth like rockets in endless succession; and now it is so light and foaming that it dances in the sun as it goes, and before it has reached the pool, it is driven up again by the ascending currents of air. Then there is the deep expanding pool below. Where the waters pitch, all is agitation and foam, so that the foot of the fall is never seen; and beyond it and away, the waters spread themselves out like a rippling sea of liquid alabaster. This last feature is perfectly unique, and you would think nothing could add to its exquisite loveliness; but there lies on it, as if they were made for each other, "heaven's own bow." O never had it, in heaven itself, so fair a resting place!

Besides, by reason of the different degrees of rarity in the waters and the atmosphere, the sun is pervading the whole scene, with unwonted lights and hues. And the foam which is flying off in all directions, is insensibly condensed, and forms a pillar of cloud, which moves over the scene, as it once did over the tents of Israel, and apparently by the same bidding, giving amazing variety, and sublimity, and unearthliness to the picture. Then there is sound as well as sight; but what sound! It is not like the sea; nor like the thunder; nor like any thing I have heard. There is no roar, no rattle; nothing sharp or angry in its tones; it is deep, awful, one!

Well, as soon as I could disengage myself from this spot, I descended to the bed of the fall. I am never satisfied with any fall, till I have availed myself of the very lowest standing it supplies; it is there usually that you become susceptible of its utmost power. I scrambled, therefore, over the dislocated rocks, and put myself as near as possible to the object which I wished to absorb me. I was not disappointed.

There were now fewer objects in the picture; but what you saw had greater prominence and power over you. Every thing ordinary—foliage, trees, hills—was shut out; the smaller attributes of the fall were also excluded; and I was left alone with its own greatness. At my feet the waters were creaming, swelling, and dashing away, as if in terror, from the scene of conflict, at the rate of twenty miles an hour. Above and overhanging me was the Table Rock, with its majestic form, and dark and livid colors, threatening to crush one. While immediately before me was spread in all its height and majesty—not in parts, but as a whole, beyond what the eye could embrace—the unspeakable cataract itself; with its head now touching the horizon, and seeming to fall direct from heaven, and rushing to the earth with a weight and voice which made the rocks beneath and around me fearfully to tremble. Over this scene the cloud of foam mysteriously moved, rising upward, so as to spread itself partly on the face of the fall, and partly on the face of the sky; while over all were seen the beautiful and soft colors of the rainbow, forming almost an entire circle, and crowning it with celestial glory. But it is vain. The power, the sublimity, the beauty, the bliss of that spot, of that hour—it cannot be told.

When fairly exhausted by intensity of feeling, I strolled away towards the ferry, to pass over to the American side. The Falls here, from the distance, have a plain and uniform aspect; but this wholly disappears on approaching them. They are exceedingly fine. They do not subdue you as on the Canadian side; but they fill you with a solemn and delightful sense of their grandeur and beauty. The character of the one is beautiful, inclining to the sublime; and that of the other, the sublime, inclining to the beautiful. There is a single slip of the Fall on this side, which, in any other situation, would be regarded as a most noble cataract. It falls upwards of 200 feet; it is full 20 feet wide at the point of fall, and spreads itself like a fan in falling, so as to strike on a line of some 50 or 60 feet. It has great power and beauty.

I found that there was a small ledge of rock behind this fall, and ventured on it to about the centre. You can stand here without getting at all wet; the waters shoot out several feet before you; and, if you have nerve, it is entirely safe. I need not say that the novelty and beauty of the situation amply reward you. You are behind the sheet of water, and the sun is shining on its face, illuminating the whole body with a variety proportioned to its density. Here, before you, the heavy waters fall in unbroken columns of bright green. There, they flow down like a shower of massy crystals, radiant with light, and emitting as they fall all the prismatic colors; while there, again, they are so broken and divided, as to resemble a shower of gems sparkling in light, and shooting across the blue heavens.

I passed by what is called Goat Island to the extremity of the Horseshoe Fall on this side. There is carried out over the head of this fall a limb of timber, with a hand rail to it. It projects some 12 feet over the abyss, and is meant to supply the place of the Table Rock on the other side. It does so in a great measure; and as, while it is quite as safe, it gives you far less sense of safety, it disposes you the more to sympathize with objects of terror. Indeed, when you fairly get to the extremity, and find yourself standing out in this world of waters on a slip of wood only large enough for your feet to rest on, and which is quivering beneath you; when the waters are rushing down under you; when the spray is flying over you; and when the eye seeks to fathom the unfathomable and boisterous gulf below; you have, perhaps, as much of the terrible as will consist with gratification. Very many of the visiters never think of encountering this point of view: those who do and have a taste for it will never forget it. It is among the finest of the fine.

In returning, I wandered round the little island. It is covered with forest trees of a fine growth, and is full of picturesque beauty. Days might be spent here in happy and deep seclusion; protected from the burning sun; regaled by lovely scenes of nature, and the music of the sweetest waters; and in fellowship, at will, with the mighty Falls.

The next morning was the last; and it was given wholly to the Great Fall. I prepared, in the first instance, to go behind it. This is the chief adventure; and is by most writers described as dangerous. There is no danger if the overhanging rocks keep their places, and if you have moderate self-possession. I made use of the oil cloth dress provided by the guide, and was quarrelling with it as damp and uncomfortable; but that grievance was quickly disposed of. I had not made my entrance behind the scenes before I was drenched, and the less I had on the better. However, it was an admirable shower bath; and there was an end to the question of wet or dry. "Take care of your breath," was the cry of the guide; and I had need, for it was almost gone. On making a further advance, I recovered it, and felt relieved. "Now give me your hand," said the guide; "this is the narrowest part." Onward I went, till he assured me that I was on Termination Rock; the extreme point accessible to the foot of man.

As the labor of the foot was over, and there was good standing, I determined on making the best use of my eyes. But this it was not so easy to do. The spray and waters were driving in my face, and coursing down my sides most strangely: a strong wind from the foot of the fall was driving in the opposite direction, so as to threaten not to blow me down, but to blow me up to the roof of the vault. However, I soon ascertained that we were at the extremity of a cavern of large and wonderful construction. It is in the form of a pointed arch; the one span composed of rolling and dense water, and the other of livid black rocks. It was some 50 feet from the footing of the rock to that of the water, and I had entered about 70 feet. On the entrance, which is mostly of thinner waters, the sun played cheerfully, and with glowing power; but within it was contrasted by the dim light and heavy obscurity which are generated by the density of the fall, to which the whole power of the sun can give only a semi-transparency. What with this visible gloom, the stunning noise of the fall, and the endless commotion of wind and waters, the effect is most singular and awful. It is a scene that would harmonize with the creations of Fuseli; and it has, I will venture to say, real horrors beyond what the cave of old Æolus ever knew.

On returning to my dressing room, I received a certificate from the guide that I had really been to Termination Rock; a ridiculous device to give importance to his vocation, but in the success of which he does not miscalculate on human nature. The rest of the morning was employed in taking peeps at the Falls from favorite points of observation; but chiefly on the Table Rock, and at the foot of the Great Fall. The day was exceedingly fine, and every feature of the amazing scene was lighted up with all its beauty; and I now communed with it as one would with a friend who has already afforded you rich enjoyment in his society. I was delighted —was fascinated. Every thing, apart or together, seemed to have acquired greater power and expression. I studied all the parts; they were exquisite, lovely, noble; I put them all together, and it overwhelmed me, subdued me, fixed me to the spot. Long I stayed; but all time was short. I went; and returned; and knew not how to go.

I have been thus particular in my account of these Falls, because the world knows nothing like them; and because I wished you to participate in my pleasures. I have seen many falls, and with unspeakable delight; but nothing to be named with this. It would in parts present the image of them all; but all united would not supply a just idea of it. It is better to see it than a thousand ordinary sights; they may revive sleeping emotions, and so bring delight.

but this creates new emotion, and raises the mind a step higher in its conceptions of the power and eternity of Him whom "to know is life eternal." The day on which it is seen should be memorable in the life of any man.

I am sorry, in closing, that I cannot say much for the taste either of the visiters or inhabitants of this spot. The visiters seemed to regard the Falls rather as an object of curiosity than otherwise; and when they had satisfied their curiosity (which in most cases was very quickly done,) and could report that they had seen them, the duty was discharged. Such persons drove in on the morning, explored for a couple of hours, dined, and hurried away. Or, if they stayed, they had had enough of Niagara, and they made an excursion to see the burning springs. The album here, too, is full of miserable trash; it is a sad contrast to the album at Chamouni.

With the residents I am half disposed to be angry. On the American side they have got up a shabby town, and called it Manchester. Manchester and the Falls of Niagara! A proposition has been made to buy Goat Island, and turn it into a botanical garden, to improve the scenery—and such scenery! On the Canadian side, a money-seeking party have bought up 400 acres, with the hope of erecting "The City of the Falls;" and still worse, close on the Table Rock, some party was busy in erecting a mill-dam! One has hardly patience to record these things. The universal voice ought to interfere, and prevent them. Niagara does not belong to them; Niagara does not belong to Canada or America. Such spots should be deemed the property of civilized mankind; and nothing should be allowed to weaken their efficacy on the tastes, the morals, and the enjoyments of all men.

LETTER X.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Having paused so long with you at the Falls, we must move forward with the greater celerity. We left on the 26th for Buffalo. The ride is still along the Niagara, and is very pleasing. On coming opposite the Black Rock, we had to cross the river by the ferry boat. This boat was constructed on the principle of the steam boat; but the moving power was obtained from horses, as more economical on a small scale. The water wheels were driven by a horizontal wheel, which was impelled by four horses. It was provided with an upward face large enough for the horses to stand on; they were fastened by traces to a fixed bar, so that when they were in motion, instead of advancing, they thrust the wheel backward.

Buffalo is a beautiful town, situated on rising ground, at the junction of the river and Lake Erie; and it is thriving almost beyond example. In the year 1814, it was entirely destroyed by the British forces; so entirely that it is said only one house was left standing; and this was saved by a remarkable adventure on the part of an old woman, who is still living. Seeing every thing in ruin and in flames around her, and made desperate by the thought of her dwelling meeting the common fate, she resolved to enter the camp of the adversary, and plead her cause. In fulfilling this determination, she supplied herself with a broomstick, tied a white handkerchief to it, made her way to the centinels, and demanded an audience of the commanding officer. She was not in a temper to submit readily to denial; and at length she succeeded. She represented to him, with the feeling and tears which the occasion awakened, that she was a poor widow; that she had many fatherless children; that the house was all that the father had left to them; that it had hitherto sustained them; but that if it were destroyed, they were all utterly ruined. The house was spared at the prayer of the importunate widow.

On the close of the war, the Congress voted 80,000 dollars to atone for the losses suffered. This gave, in union with the indignation natural to the sufferers, great life to the efforts for restoring the town; and it quickly rose, like another phenix, from the flames. Advancing commerce, however, has done more for it than any other cause. In 1825, it had only a population of 2,300; now it amounts to 12,000! The Eagle Hotel, at which we stayed for the night, is excellent. The Rev. Mr. Eaton, with whom we had met at the public meetings, showed us kind attentions.

The morning of the ensuing day we left by the steam boat. We had no sooner got on board than we found that there was a strong opposition between this and another boat. Our boat actually stayed an hour and a half after time, to get the other out, that it might race with it. Some of us remonstrated; but the general impression was that it would be futile. At last our vessel was compelled to start first; but still not to abandon its purpose. It moved quietly down the creek, and beyond the pier, with the other boat in its rear; it then described a fine circle in the water, and thus brought itself fairly alongside of its antagonist, and thus gave it challenge on equal terms. Great and hazardous effort was now made on each side, the advantage being on ours. The other boat, after running us close, though still falling behind, either feigned to have or had an accident with her machinery, and suddenly stopped in the waters. We had no reason to think the occurrence serious to the passengers; and were not sorry to pursue our path on the waters unattended by this troublesome spirit of rivalry. My wonder was that the passengers, including judges and governors, should have been such mute witnesses of these liberties in public conveyances.

We were now advanced some thirty miles on the bosom of Lake Erie. On the one side land was not visible; on the other it was from two to four miles distant. The dimensions of these larger lakes are often quoted by travellers as pledges sufficient of their interest and grandeur; but, as you know, these properties are often in the inverse proportion to the dimensions. These waters, for instance, are too vast to supply you with the picturesque, and they are too small to supply you with the grandeur of the ocean. They are invaluable, however, as the highways of commerce; or rather, they have become so since the use of steam as a motive power. The average voyage to Detroit used to be three weeks; it is now four days. Six years ago there were only five steamboats on this lake; there are now thirty-five. In the last year, 1833, 100,000 persons were transported across these waters; and, what is remarkable, two-thirds of that number were natives.

The boat which was conveying us, is one of the best I have seen. Provisions, accommodations, and attendance, all excellent. Mr. Pratt, a proprietor, was on board. He was very obliging. He allowed no spirits to be on the table; and requested me to implore a blessing on our repast. This was the first occasion in which I had known it done at a public meal. Our company was very miscellaneous, but, on the whole, agreeable. We had, particularly, some interesting conversations with Judge Wilkinson on important subjects, and the Western country. There were some tradesmen on board, who, on reaching home, would have made a journey of from 2,000 to 3,000 miles to go to market.

After a run of about forty miles, we came to Dunkirk, a small town on the left bank, where we were to deposite passengers and take in wood. Mr.

Stillman, a worthy and discreet minister of the Baptist communion, who had been lately settled here, came on board. I embraced the passing opportunity to learn something of the religious state of the place. It was interesting. The population was about 600. There were three places of worship; Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist. When the settlement was much smaller, and before they could get churches erected, it was found that the people's morals were relaxing, and that many who came to settle refused to do so. Those, therefore, who had a worldly interest in the place, united with the religious in building churches. In this way, six persons of worldly habits and views had agreed at first to sustain him. They had, in the last winter, which was a season of revival, been converted, and were at this time building him a church. Thus it is that "the earth" is made to "help the woman," and in doing so becomes less earthly.

In the evening of the day we reached Erie; the place at which, by previous agreement, Mr. Matheson and myself were to separate. He thought this the best opportunity of visiting a relative in Pennsylvania; and as he had been several times indisposed, he was apprehensive of a more trying region. Indeed, the reports from the West had been discouraging; and under the circumstances, I did not feel at liberty to urge him when it might have been to his injury. For myself, my mind was fixed. It was indispensable to our duty, not that both, but that one of us should see as much of the West and South as possible. We parted, therefore, in the expectation, if life were preserved, of meeting at Pittsburgh.

As the night shut in, we passed by Portland, a still younger settlement, but very promising. It is chiefly remarkable for a lighthouse, brilliantly lighted from a burning spring, full three quarters of a mile from the spot.

In the morning we paused at Cleaveland. This is a great thoroughfare for the West: and it was here that I originally intended to debark. But on finding I should still be sure of conveyances by going on to the head of the lake, I determined on that course, as it would supply me with better opportunities of seeing the State of Ohio. The remainder of the passage was made pleasant by the conversation of a minister of that State who was returning to his charge. There had been recently two revivals in his and other congregations. Generally, they occurred in the following way.

In the first, concern came over the minds of a few Christians for a better state of religion. They met with him for prayer; and agreed to visit, and converse, and pray with the people. While thus feeling and acting, the monthly conference of ministers and elders came round to this place. Report was made of the state of the churches; and the awakened state of the people at the place of meeting was in turn reported. All were much impressed. The preaching and prayers received their character from it. The effect was very general and very good. Many became truly serious then; and for six months afterward, there were some instances of religious decision every week.

The second occasion was connected with the death of an aged woman, a member of the church, and "a mother in Israel." She had seven children: they were now grown up and settled in life; but, notwithstanding all her instructions and prayers, they had become exceedingly worldly, and during her lifetime, disregarded serious religion. Her death, however, did what her life failed to do. Her eldest daughter was much affected by the event, and by the painful reflections it brought with it. She was visited and conversed with. Her husband came in at the time; and the conversation, without changing its character, naturally turned to him; and the season justified a pointed address, and he also fell under the force of salutary conviction.—Another son, who was brought from New-York to the funeral, and who had been conspicuous in the infidel club of that city, became fearfully convicted of sin, and was driven to temporary despair; but in the end he confessed his sins, and professed Christ with great earnestness and decision. In such a rural population these things would not be done in a corner, but would be known to all. They had a very beneficial effect on many; and the good minister sought a careful improvement of the dispensation. The effect on this family was, that five of the seven children were united to the church; and the effect of the two seasons of revived influence was, that about one hundred persons gave good "reason of the hope that was in them." No peculiarity of method was adopted here; and the anxious seat was not used. At present, I merely record facts.

In the middle of the day we reached Sandusky, at which place I separated from the boat. It is prettily situated on the margin of a small bay; and the country lies well and quietly around it. It has not more than 700 or 800 inhabitants; but it is nevertheless a city, with its corporate rights and officers. Of course there are only small materials here for the composition of mayor and council, and they are, therefore, small men; but they are in keeping with the place and people, and that is more than one could say of the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, if they should be here. It is truly a city in a forest; for the large stumps of the original pines are still standing in the main street, and over the spots that have been cleared for settlement, the new wood is springing up with amazing vigor, as if to defy the hand of man.

I went to the best inn in the town. It was not such as one could boast of; but it had been better, had it been cleaner. It was, however, welcome to me, as a heavy thunder-storm was just beginning to put forth its tremendous power. When seated at the table of the refectory, in search of refreshments, I congratulated myself on my safety; but my confidence was quickly moderated, for the rain soon found its way within the house, and came spattering down the walls of the room in strange style. By-the-by, few things seem to be water-proof here. A second time my luggage has been soaked through. I had placed it *under* the upper deck of the vessel as a place of perfect security; but it was vain. A searching rain came on in the night; the deck leaked, and my portmanteau suffered. However, I had made up my mind, in starting, not to be disturbed by any thing that might be injured, lost, or stolen on the way: a precaution that had certainly more wisdom in it than I was aware of; for, without it, I might have had a pretty good share of disturbance. Already much was injured and some was stolen: of the future I could not speak; but, if things went on in the same promising manner, I had the prospect of being returned to New-York in a coatless, shirtless, and very bootless condition.

There are two places of worship here; one for the Presbyterians, and the other for the Episcopal Methodists. The first is without a minister; and neither of them in a very flourishing state. They stand on the greensward; they are about thirty feet square, and for the want of paint, have a worn and dirty aspect. The good people here reverse the Dutch proverb; it is not "Paint costs nothing," but "Wood costs nothing;" and they act accordingly. They will, however, improve with the town; and at present they offer accommodation enough for its wants; but half the adult population certainly go nowhere.

Indeed, the state of religious and moral feeling was evidently very low here. For the first time I overheard obscene conversation; and I heard more swearing and saw more Sabbath-breaking than I had before witnessed. There were many *Groceries*, as they call themselves, here; *Groggeries*, as their enemies call them; and they were all full. Manners, which are consequent on religion and morality, were proportionally affected. I felt that I was introduced to a new state of things, which demanded my best attention.

Having rested here over the Sabbath, I arranged to leave by coach early in the morning for Columbus. We were to start, I was told, at three o'clock; I rose, therefore, at two. Soon after I had risen, the bar-agent came, to say that the coach was ready, and would start in ten minutes, as the rain had made the roads bad. This was rather an ominous as well as untimely intimation. But there was no remedy; so I made what haste I could in dressing, and went down to take my place. I had no sooner begun to enter the coach, than splash went my foot in mud and water. I exclaimed with surprise. "Soon be dry, sir," was the reply; while he withdrew the light, that I might not explore the cause of complaint. The fact was, that the vehicle, like the hotel and the steamboat, was not water-tight, and the rain had found an entrance.—There was, indeed, in this coach, as in most others, a provision in the bottom, of holes, to let off both water and dirt; but here the dirt had become mud, and thickened about the orifices so as to prevent escape. I found I was the only passenger; the morning was damp and chilly; the state of the coach added to the sensation; and I eagerly looked about for some means of protection. I drew up the wooden windows; out of five small panes of glass in the sashes, three were broken. I endeavored to secure the curtains; two of them had most of the ties broken, and flapped in one's face. There was no help in the coach; so I looked to myself. I made the best use I could of my garments, and put myself as snugly as I could in the corner of a stage meant to accommodate nine persons. My situation was just then not among the most cheerful. I could see nothing; everywhere I could feel the wind drawn in upon me; and as for sounds, I had the calls of the driver, the screeching of the wheels, and the song of the bull-frog for my entertainment.

But the worst of my solitary situation was to come. All that had been intimated about bad roads now came upon me. They were not only bad; they were intolerable: they were rather like a stony ditch than a road. The horses, on the first stages, could only walk most of the way; we were frequently in to the axletree, uncertain whether we should ever get out; and I had no sooner recovered from a terrible plunge on one side, than there came another in the opposite direction, and confounded all my efforts to preserve a steady sitting. I was literally thrown about like a ball. How gladly should I have kept fixed possession of that corner, which I at first occupied with some degree of dissatisfaction! Let me dismiss the subject of bad roads for this journey, by stating, in illustration, that, with an empty coach, and four horses, we were seven hours in going twenty-three miles; and that we were twenty-eight hours in getting to Columbus, a distance of 110 miles. Yet this line of conveyance was advertised as a "splendid line, equal to any in the States."

At six o'clock we arrived at Russell's Tavern, where we were to take breakfast. I was quite as glad of the respite as of the meal. This is a nice inn; in good order, very clean, and the best provision. There was an abundant supply; but most of it was prepared with butter and the frying-pan; still there was good coffee and eggs, and delightful bread. Most of the family and the driver sat down at table, and the two daughters of our host waited on us. Mr. Russell, as is commonly the case in such districts, made the occupation of innkeeper subsidiary to that of farming. You commanded the whole of his farm from the door, and it was really a fine picture; the soil so good, the ground so well kept, and the young crops so blooming and promising in the midst of the desert. From the good manners of this family, and from the good husbandry and respectable carriage of the father, I hoped to find a regard for religion here. I turned to the rack of the bar, and found there three books; they were, the Gazetteer of Ohio, Popular Geography, and the Bible; they all denoted intelligence; the last was the most used. This was as I expected, and as it should be.

Things now began to mend with me; daylight had come; the atmosphere was getting warm and bland; I had the benefit of a good breakfast; the road was in some measure improved; it was possible to look abroad, and every thing was inviting attention. We were now passing over what is called the Grand Prairie; and the prairies of this western country are, as you know, conspicuous among its phenomena. I will not burden you by my speculations on the subject, except to say they are certainly of vegetable formation; and it may, I conceive, be readily determined by what processes. The first impression did not please me so much as I expected. The soil when recovered is rich, and the staple strong; but in its natural state much of it is inclined to be wet and boggy. It is flat; it is covered with a thick, coarse, knotted grass, and in the near view is prettily colored by the bright colors of the rose, the flag, the marigold, the dwarf willow, and the lupin, which is here a little shrub. It rather interests by its singularity, than otherwise. If there be any other source of interest, it may be found in its expansion over a wide region. In this respect it has been compared with the sea; but it can only suffer in the comparison; it has neither the movement nor the capacity of the ocean.

Specimens of the real log-hut, with its proper accompaniments, were beginning to appear. It is composed of stems of timber unbarked, and in their rough state, of from six to nine inches in diameter. These are notched at the extremities to receive each other, and are laid on till they get ten or twelve feet above the ground; they then shoot off to form the gables. The roof is composed of loose boarding (not amounting to shingle,) and it is kept in its place against wind and rain by stems, similar to those already used, laid lengthwise, at about two feet apart. They commonly afford two small rooms, and show a door and window in front. At one end there is a projection for a fire-place; it is carried up distinctly from the base, and is mostly constructed of a rude sort of lath, and coated with clay. In case of fire it can be instantly knocked down, so as to save the cottage. The best specimens do not look amiss in the picture, although they are far behind Switzerland. But where shall we find any thing of its class so picturesque as the Swiss cottage?

These huts, such as I have described, cost, in the erection, about twenty-eight dollars. Let me also add as an assistance to your judgment, that land here is worth about two dollars and a half per acre; and you may get a piece of five acres cleared, and a good eight-railed fence around it, for forty dollars.

Most of the recent settlers along this road seem to be Germans. We passed a little settlement of eight families, who had arrived this season. They were busily engaged in clearing their land and getting up a shelter for the winter. The log-house is the only description of house in these new and scattered settlements. I passed one occupied by a doctor of medicine; and another tenanted by two bachelors, one of them being a judge.

But the most interesting sight to me was the forest. It now appeared in all its pristine state and grandeur, tall, magnificent, boundless. I had been somewhat disappointed in not finding vegetation develop itself in larger forms in New England than with us; but there was no place for disappointment here. I shall fail, however, to give you the impression it makes on one. Did it arise from height, or figure, or grouping, it might readily be conveyed to you; but it arises chiefly from combination. You must see it in all its stages of growth, decay, dissolution, and regeneration; you must see it pressing on you and overshadowing you by its silent forms, and at other times spreading itself before you, like a natural park; you must see that all the clearances made by the human hand bear no higher relation to it than does a mountain to the globe; you must travel in it in solitariness, hour after hour, and day after day, frequently gazing on it with solemn delight, and occasionally casting the eye round in search of some pause, some end, without finding any, before you can fully understand the impression. Men say there is nothing in America to give you the sense of antiquity; and they mean that as there are no works of art to produce this effect, there can be nothing else. You cannot think that I would depreciate what they mean to extol; but I hope you will sympathize with me, when I say that I have met with nothing among the most venerable forms of art, which impresses you so thoroughly with the idea of indefinite distance and endless continuity; of antiquity shrouded in all its mystery of solitude, illimitable and eternal.

The clearances, too, which appeared in this ride, were on so small a scale as to strengthen this impression, and to convey distinct impressions of their own. On them the vast trees of the forest had been girdled to prevent the foliage from appearing to overshadow the ground; and the land at their feet was grubbed up and sown with corn, which was expanding on the surface in all its luxuriance. The thin stems of Indian corn were strangely contrasted with the huge trunks of the pine and oak, and the verdant surface below was as strangely opposed to the skeleton trees towering above, spreading out their leafless arms to the warm sun and the refreshing rains, and doing it in vain. Life and desolation were never brought closer together.

It appeared, in this morning ride, that the storm which passed over Sandusky had spent its power chiefly on this road. I passed by a spot where it had been very destructive. A man had been killed by the lightning, and two cottages crushed by the falling timber. A road crossing ours was entirely stopped by the fallen trees; and along our course they were lying great in ruin. This variety in the scene has a surprising effect upon you in such circumstances. In travelling through these dense and elevated forests, you are awed by a deep sense of their power and majesty; but here was a Power, to which their resistance was as nothing, that struck them, crashing, groaning, to the ground. Like Niagara, it puts you surprisingly near to Deity.

The storm in the forest is not only awful; it is very dangerous. Even in a full wind there is considerable danger. A great portion of the trees are always in different stages of decay. They creak and groan in the wind, and with every gust they come dashing, like the avalanche to the earth.

About noon we arrived at a little town, and stopped at an inn, which was announced as the dining place. My very early breakfast, and my violent exercise, had not indisposed me for dinner. But when I inquired for it, I was told that none was prepared, as it was not often wanted. This was modified by an offer to "get something ready," which I willingly accepted. It took some time, but it was a very poor affair. The chief dish was ham fried in butter—originally hard, and the harder for frying; I tried to get my teeth through it, and failed. There remained bread, cheese, and cranberries; and of these I made my repast.

While here, a German woman, one of the recent settlers, passed by on her way home. Her husband had taken the fever and died. She had come to buy a coffin for him, and other articles of domestic use at the same time. She was now walking home beside the man who bore the coffin; and with her other purchases under her arm. This was a sad specimen either of German phlegm, or of the hardening effect of poverty.

Here also was a set of Mormonites, passing through to the "Far West." They are among the most deluded fanatics; and profess to be obeying a prophecy, in quitting the East, and seeking their millennium beyond the Mississippi. A gentleman inquired of one of them, why they left their own country? "O," he said, "there is ruin coming on it." "How do you know?" "It was revealed to him." "How was it revealed to you?" "I saw five letters in the sky." "Indeed! what were they?" "FAMIN," was the reply; a reply which created much ridicule, and some profanity.

We now took in three persons who were going on to Marion. I had the benefit of a better balanced coach; but this was all the advantage arising from the change. One was a colonel; though in mind, manners, and appearance, among the plainest of men. Another was a lawyer and magistrate; and the third was a considerable farmer. All of them, by their station and avocations ought to have been gentlemen; but, if just terms are to be applied to them, they must be the opposite of this. To me, they were always civil; but among themselves they were evidently accustomed to blasphemous and corrupt conversation. The colonel, who had admitted himself to be a Methodist, was the best, and sought to impose restraints on himself and companions; but he gained very little credit for them. I was much grieved and disappointed, for I had met with nothing so bad. What I had witnessed at Sandusky was from a different and lower class of persons; but here were the first three men in respectable life with whom I had met in this state; and these put promiscuously before me—and all bad. It was necessary to guard against a hasty and prejudiced conclusion.

On reaching Marion I was released from my unpleasant companions. I had to travel through most of the night, but no refreshment was provided. I joined in a meal, that was nearly closed by another party, and prepared to go forward at the call of the driver. I soon found I was to be in different circumstances. We were nine persons, and a child, within. Of course, after having been tossed about in an empty coach all day, like a boat on the ocean, I was not unwilling to have the prospect of sitting steadily in my corner: but when I got fairly pinned in—sides, knees, and feet—the hard seat, and the harder ribs of the coach, began to search out my bruises, and I was still a sufferer. However, there were now some qualifying considerations. The road was improving, and with it the scenery. I had come for fifty miles over a dead flat, with only one inclination, and that not greater than the pitch of Ludgate-hill; the land was now finely undulated. My company, too, though there was something too much of it, was not objectionable; some of it was pleasing.

There were among them, the lady of a judge and her daughter. The mother was affable and fond of conversation. She was glad that we had such agreeable society in the stage, as "that did not always happen." She talked freely on many subjects, and sometimes, as became a judge's lady, of refinement and education; but she did it in broken grammar, and in happy ignorance that it was broken. As the night shut in, and her daughter appeared to be getting drowsy, she challenged her to sing.—Mary was not disposed to comply. It made little difference to mamma; for she, without the least embarrassment, struck up and sang off, very fairly, "Home, sweet home." This was all unasked, and before strangers; yet none were surprised but myself. I name this merely as a point of manners. The lady herself was unquestionably modest, intelligent, and, as I think, pious.

At nearly one o'clock, we arrived at Delaware. Here I was promised a night's rest. You shall judge whether that promise was kept or broken. There was no refreshment of any kind prepared or offered, so we demanded our lights to retire.—The judge's lady and daughter were shown into a closet, called a room. There was no fastening to the door, and she protested that she would not use it. I insisted that it was not proper treatment. All the amendment that could be gained was a proposition "to fetch a nail, and she could nail herself in, and be snug enough."

I was shown into a similar closet. There were no dressing accommodations. I required them, and was told that those things were *in common* below. I refused to use them; and at length, by showing a little firmness and a little kindness, obtained soap, bowl, and towel. I dressed. By this time it was nearly two o'clock. I was to be called at half past two; and I threw myself on the bed to try to sleep, with the soothing impression that I must awake in half an hour.

At half past two I was summoned; and having put myself in readiness, and paid for a *night's lodging*, I was again on my way. The day broke on us pleasantly, and the country was very beautiful. We forded the Whetstone, a lively river, which ornamented the ride; we passed through Worthington, a smart town, prettily placed, and having a good college; and arrived at Columbus, the capital, at nine o'clock.

LETTER XI.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Columbus has a good location in the heart of the State; it contains about 4,000 persons, and is in a very advancing condition. This indeed is true of all the settlements in this State; and you will hardly think it can be otherwise, when I inform you, that forty years ago there were only 500 persons in the whole territory, and that now there are above a million.

The inn at which we stopped is the rendezvous of the stages. Among others there were two ready to start for Cincinnati. Our coach, by arriving at nine instead of eight, deprived me of the hour which should have been given to dressing and breakfast. If I went on, I must of necessity go on immediately. Time was precious, and I resolved on going. On seeking to engage my place, the enquiry was, "Which will you go by, sir; the fast or the slow line?" Weary as I was of the slow line, I exclaimed, "O, the fast line certainly!" I quickly found myself enclosed in a good coach, carrying the mail, and only six persons inside. In this journey we had but three.

In demanding to go by the fast line, I was not aware of all the effects of my choice. It is certainly a delightful thing to move with some rapidity over a good road, but on a bad road, with stubborn springs, it is really terrible. For many miles out of Columbus the road is shamefully bad; and as our horses were kept on a trot, however slow, I was not only tumbled and shaken as on the previous day, but so jarred and jolted as to threaten serious mischief. Instead, therefore, of finding a lounge, or sleep, as I had hoped, in this comfortable coach, I was obliged to be on the alert, for every jerk; and after all I could do, my teeth were jarred, my hat was many times thrown from my head, and all my bruises bruised over again. It was really an amusement to see us laboring to keep our places.

About noon we paused at the town called Jefferson. We were to wait half an hour; there would be no other chance of dinner; but there were no signs of dinner here. However, I had been on very short supplies for the last twenty-four hours, and considered it my duty to eat if I could. I applied to the good woman of the inn; and in a very short time, she placed venison, fruit-tarts, and tea, before me; all very clean, and the venison excellent. It was a refreshing repast, and the demand on my purse was only twenty-five cents.

"How long have you been here?" I said to my hostess, who stood by me fanning the dishes to keep off the flies. "Only came last fall, sir." "How old is this town?" "Twenty-three months, sir; then the first house was built." There are now about 500 persons settled here; and there are three good hotels. There is something very striking in these rapid movements of life and civilization in the heart of the forest.

On leaving Jefferson, we plunged again into the forest; and towards evening we got on the greensward, or natural road. This was mostly good and uncut; and we bowled along in serpentine lines, so as to clear the stumps with much freedom. The scenery now, even for the forest, was becoming unusually grand. It repeatedly broke away from you, so as to accumulate the objects in the picture, and to furnish all the beauties of light, shade, and perspective. The trees, too, were mostly oak, and of the finest growth. Their noble stems ran up some hundred feet above you, and were beautifully feathered with verdant foliage. There, they ran off in the distance, park-like, but grander far, in admirable grouping, forming avenues, galleries, and recesses, redolent with solemn loveliness; and here, they stood before you like the thousand pillars of one vast imperishable temple for the worship of the Great Invisible. Well might our stout forefathers choose the primitive forests for their sanctuaries. All that art has done in our finest Gothic structures is but a poor, poor imitation!

I passed, in this day's ride, the Yellow Springs, and Springfield. The former is a watering-place. There is a fine spring of chalybeate waters; and an establishment capable of receiving from 150 to 200 visiters; it is resorted to for the purposes of health, hunting, and fishing. Springfield is a flourishing town, built among the handsome hills that abound in this vicinity. It is one of the cleanest, brightest, and most inviting that I have seen. But all the habitations of man were as nothing compared with the forest. I had been travelling through it for two days and nights, and still it was the same. Now you came to a woodman's hut in the solitudes; now to a farm; and now to a village, by courtesy called a town or a city; but it was still the forest. You drove on for miles through it unbroken; then you came to a small clearance and a young settlement; and then again you plunged into the wide, everlasting forest, to be with nature and with God.

This night I had also to travel, and, weary as I was, I was kept quite on the alert. I had longed to witness a storm in the forest, and this was to happen earlier than my anticipations. The day had been hot, but fine; the night came on sultry, close, and silent. The beautiful firefly appeared in abundance; summer lightning began to flash across the heavens. All this time clouds were moving from every part of the circumference to the centre of the sky. At length they formed a heavy, dense, black canopy over our heads, leaving the horizon clear and bright. The lightnings, which at first seemed to have no centre, had now consolidated their forces behind this immense cloud, and were playing round its whole circle with great magnificence and brilliancy. Continually the prodigious cloud was getting larger and darker, and descending nearer to us, so as powerfully to awaken expectation. The splendid corruscations which played round its margin now ceased, and all was still. In an instant the forked lightning broke from the very centre of the cloud; the thunder, deep and loud, shook the earth, and rolled and pealed through the heavens; the heavy rain dashed in unbroken channels to the ground; and the mighty winds burst forth in their fury, and roared and groaned among the giant trees of the wood. There were we, in the deep forest and in the deep night, and in the midst of a storm, such as I had never witnessed. O it was grand! God's own voice in God's own temple! Never did I see so much of the poetic truth and beauty of that admirable ode, "The voice of the Lord," &c.

It ceased as suddenly as it began. The winds, which bore the cloud away, left all behind calm; and the firefly, which had been eclipsed or affrighted, re-appeared, and sparkled over us on the profound darkness; and presently the stars of a higher sphere looked forth benignantly on the lower elements, and all was peace.

The early morning found me still travelling, and getting seriously unwell. I thought I must have remained at Lebanon, a town about twenty miles from Cincinnati, to sicken and suffer without a friend; and then all the loneliness of my situation came over me. The stage halted here an hour; this allowed me some time to recover; and I resolved, if it was possible, to go forward to what I might regard as a resting-place.

Happily, every thing was now improving. The road was not unworthy of M'Adam; and we bowled over it at the rate of nine miles an hour. The country was covered with hills, finely wooded, and all about them were spread farms, in a handsome and thriving state of cultivation. Many ornamental cottages now appeared, and the whole suburbs put on a cheerful and beautiful aspect; so that, when you were expecting to reach the extremity of civilized life, every thing was rising into higher civilization. At last we drove into the western metropolis. I had travelled three days and nights; and was so wearied, bruised, and hurt, that I could not, with comfort, sit, lie, or walk. The remainder of this day I spent in my chamber.

Cincinnati is really worthy to be styled a city; and it is a city "born in a day, and in the wilderness." It has a population of 30,000 persons, and is not more than thirty-six years old. Its streets are composed of transverse lines, and are named a good deal after the manner of Philadelphia, but it has none of its formal aspect. The straight lines are broken by the undulating surface of the ground; the surrounding hills stand up beautifully at the head of all the streets; and the Ohio runs off finely at its feet. There are several good streets; some enlivened by business, and others ornamented by comfortable dwellings and the spreading acacia: but there are no very striking objects.

Some of the churches are good, but not remarkable, except the old Presbyterian Church in the main street, which is large and Dutch-built, with a brick face, with two brick towers projecting on it, which towers have turrets as heavy as themselves, and which turrets are chiefly remarkable for two dials which exactly agree. When I saw them they both wanted three minutes to six, and I doubt not if I could see them now they still want just three minutes to six. Besides this, there is, as it is called, "Trollope's Folly," an erection in which that lady, thus complimented, exhausted her means, and certainly did not show her taste. I was struck by the number of barbers' shops and groceries, or grogshops; it should seem that no man here shaves himself, and that Temperance has not yet fulfilled its commission. I believe there are not less than 200 grogstores in Cincinnati.

While I was seeking for my friend, Mr. Brainard, I fell in with Dr. Beecher, who insisted on my being at his disposal, and immediately found for me a very friendly reception in a family resident in the town; but considering that I should have a better chance of health, he proposed that I should go with him to the Walnut Hills, two miles distant. For the reason kindly named, as well as for the pleasure of enjoying his society, I availed myself of the proposal, and became, during my stay, the guest of his family.

It happened that I was here on the 4th of July, the anniversary of the Independence; almost the only holyday kept in America; and I was glad to have a good opportunity of witnessing its observance. The previous evening gave note of preparation, by the continued report of firearms and small guns. In the early morning the young men met at the Mechanics' Institute, to enact in miniature what their fathers were to perform on a larger platform. There was an Ode, and the Declaration, and an Oration, and Yankee Doodle.

The grand fete came afterward. All the trades were to meet, and go in procession to the Fourth church, to join in a semi-religious service. The question of precedence, however, here as elsewhere, is found to be of no easy solution; and some of the companies, in dudgeon on this subject, had refused to take the place assigned to them. There were the butchers, and the carpenters, and the coopers, and few besides. The coopers had a temporary stage, and as they were drawn along they wrought at their business. The butchers, who could not well be so employed, were at liberty to display themselves, and they made the most of it in their way. They were full sixty in number, and were all mounted on good steeds. Some decorations were given to the horse, but many more to the man. It was a sight to see these men dressed out in purple and fine linen. They all had fine frocks on, some muslin; ornamented by silk sash, and scarf, and rosettes. These, with the usual accompaniments of a band of music, and showy colors waving in the air, with the insignia of the company on them, together with the holyday dresses of the spectators, who lined the pathway, composed the exhibition, and gave it a cheerful character.

As the service was to be at Dr. Beecher's church, he was the chaplain for the occasion. I went with him to secure a good sitting; but declined going into the pulpit, or engaging in the exercise, for obvious reasons. The spectacle was singular for a place of worship. There were in the pulpit, the chaplain, the reader of the Declaration in a fustian jacket, and the orator. On their right and left were seated the ensigns, bearing the national colors; and beyond these were resting the flags of the several trades. The companies occupied a large portion of the area, and the band possessed the gallery.—The church was quite full.

A national air was played by the band. An ode was then sung by the choir, sustained by instruments. Dr. Beecher offered prayer. Then came the Declaration. It was read by a tradesman, who looked intelligent; but he read badly, and what was worse, rather bitterly; and in trying to give those terms which hit the Father Land, a hard and angry expression, he contorted his face so as to be very ridiculous. Another ode followed. Then the oration. It was written; but freely delivered. It showed good parts, manly thinking, and was, on the whole, composed in good taste. There was a reference to the past; a tribute to our common fathers; a eulogy on the constitution; a warning on the danger of disunion, on the one hand, and consolidation on the other; and, finally, an apostrophe to La Fayette. It was national, but not prejudiced. Dr. Beecher admitted, that they seldom on these occasions, had any thing so good. The ode, "Glory to God on high," &c., the music by Mozart, followed, and the exercises closed by a short prayer.

There was in the novelty of this service some gratification; and in its substance, I found no cause of offence. For the Declaration, I knew its contents, and prepared my nerves for invectives, which were, perhaps, natural at the time they were written; and for my good friend, Mr. Churchman, the reader, I could not smile and be unkind. I confess, to speak seriously, and to give you, as I always seek to do, first impressions, I was somewhat startled at the extraordinary mixture of the secular and the spiritual; and it was a question whether the tendency was not to make religion worldly, rather than the worldly religious. But when I reflect on the improved character given to these occasions, by not abandoning them to the irreligious, I am disposed to think that the ministers and friends of religion, are acting a wise part in employing that degree of influence, which they can legitimately exert in its favor. Nor if one could have all one wished, would I desire, as some do, to make the exercises of such a day purely religious. Our true wisdom, in consulting the good of the people, lies, not in excluding their secular concerns and pleasures from religion, but in diffusing religion through the whole of them.

There is one thing, however, that may justly claim the calm consideration of a great and generous people. Now that half a century has passed away, is it necessary to the pleasures of this day, to revive feelings in the children which, if they were found in the parent, were to be excused only by the extremities to which they were pressed? Is it generous, now that they have achieved the victory, not to forgive the adversary? Is it manly, now that they have nothing to fear from Britain, to indulge in expressions of hate and vindictiveness, which are the proper language of fear? Would there be less patriotism because there was more charity? America should feel that her destinies are high and peculiar. She should scorn the patriotism which cherishes the love of one's own country, by the hatred of all others. This would be to forego her vocation; and to follow vicious examples, which have already filled the world with war and bloodshed. She should carry out her sympathy to all men, and become the resolved and noble advocate of universal freedom and universal peace. O, how would the birthday of her own liberties be hallowed and blessed if it were devoted with wisdom and ardor to such an issue!

On the day succeeding the anniversary I was taken unwell, and confined to the house for three days. My journey might have accounted for this; but I ascribe it also in a measure to the atmosphere. This city, from all appearances, ought to be very healthy; there is reason, however, to think that the immense forest prepares for it a peculiar atmosphere, which, at this season of the year especially, is dangerous to strangers, and trying to all. Dr. Beecher and all his family had the fever on arriving here. For me, my indisposition was light, and it was made the lighter by the kind attentions of the family which had received me to its bosom, and of Dr. Drake, an excellent physician of the place, who obligingly insisted on my acceptance of his services.

On the Monday I was so far better that I could go to town and attend an Association of ministers. I had some interesting conversation with them.—The subject of slavery came under discussion, and I trust not unprofitably. I afterward had considerable communications with Dr. Beecher on that subject; and we agreed to renew it, and with others, when we should meet in New-England. In the evening of this day I was to attend a concert for prayer, and to address the congregation; but a thunder-storm came on, and prevented the service altogether. The thunder here, you must still remember, is not "our thunder," nor the lightning "our lightning;" and it is not less frequent than it is awful. I had been ten days in Ohio, and this was the seventh storm.

The next day I was to proceed on my way. In the morning I visited the Lane Seminary, and at the request of the professors, addressed the students. We had a pleasant devotional exercise. There were about sixty students and several visiters present. The college will receive one hundred; and it is nearly full. It is a manual labor institution, and I shall refer to it in this character hereafter.

Before I quit this place, let me throw a few particulars together. You may have concluded, from what I have said, that religion is in a low state here In one sense it is; but, when you consider the rapid increase of the people, and the character of that increase, it is in a remarkably advanced state. The population has grown at about 1,000 per year; and this great influx has been nearly all of a worldly and unpromising nature. Yet there are twenty-one places of worship, and they are of good size and well attended. When it is said that of 30,000, 4,000 are Catholics, mostly Irish Catholics, it may be thought, without a breach of charity, to account for the existence of many low groceries.

There is a great spirit of enterprise in this town; and, with an ardent pursuit of business, there is a desire for domestic comfort, and a thirst for scientific improvement, not equalled in such circumstances. They have libraries, and good reading societies; they have lectures on art and science, which are well attended. They sustain a "Scientific Quarterly and a Monthly Magazine," with a circulation of 4,000; and they have newspapers without end. Education is general here; the young people, and even the children, appear to appreciate it. They regard it as the certain and necessary means of advancement. I overheard two fine children, in the street, remark as follows. The younger one, about nine years old, speaking of her sister, said with concern, "Do you know, Caroline says she will not go to school any more?" "Silly girl!" replied the elder, about thirteen; "she will live to repent of that!" It must be admitted that, this is a very wholesome state of feeling.

If there be a real inconvenience in the state of society here, and throughout this region, it is undoubtedly to be found in the want of good servants. There is no such class of servants as there is in Europe. If any give themselves to it, they consider it is only for a short time; all this short time they are disposed to scorn the duties of their vocation, and are eagerly looking to something better. Hence it is that there are few servants; that they demand high wages; that they afford but little "help," and give less satisfaction. Two dollars a week are commonly given here for a female help; and a lady of this city told me that, in twelve months, ten persons were in one situation. It was not uncommon for them to disappear from the family, either in the early morning or the evening, without the least notice. On these accounts, the mistress of the family does more than with us; and establishments that would seem to require three servants, are often found only with one.

Much has been said, and with some ill-nature, on the circumstances of the servants claiming to sit at the same table with the family. It should be observed, in the first place, that this is no more true of the principal towns and cities of America, where wealth and occupation have created distinctions of classes, than it is with ourselves; and that it should occur in the newly-settled and farming districts, where all are of one class, cannot be deemed remarkable, unless we unwisely judge of it through the prejudiced medium of our own conventional habits. If a young woman engages herself to help a tradesman's wife, she is the daughter of a man who lives on his own farm in the vicinity, and who is equal to the tradesman. The only difference is, the one has land, and the other ready money; and the girl seeks to obtain some money, either to improve her education or her dress, or, as she hopes, perhaps, to prepare for her wedding. If a youth engages to work at a farm, he is most likely the son of a neighboring farmer, who has more children than the one who engages him, and he is equal with the family he enters, both in rank and in employment. Would it not be absurd, in such a state of society, when equality prevails in every other particular, to create, at the social board, an invidious and artificial distinction? We all remember the time when, with real distinctions between master and man, the servants on our farms claimed their place in the common hall, and at the common table; and we may well question whether the interests or happiness of either party have been advanced since the alteration.

As, in leaving this city, I shall also leave the state, I may as well set down any closing observations that occur to me. There are in Ohio, notwithstanding its rapid progress, not less than 500 ministers; excepting those who may, in different places, advocate heretical or Anti-Protestant opinions. The people, in many parts, are so desirous of the means of religion, that they have erected the little church, and have to wait for the pastor. There are, at least, twenty places now in this predicament.

Some of the new made towns present a delightfully religious aspect. Of these I might name Columbus, Zanesville, and Granville. The first has 3,000 persons, and it has three churches and five ministers. The second has 3,200 persons, and six churches. And Granville is a small town, which, I believe, is wholly religious. As a settlement, it deserves notice. It was made by a party of ninety persons from New-England. On arriving at this spot, they gave themselves to prayer, that they might be directed in choosing their resting place in the wilderness, and enjoy the blessing of God. At first, they rested with their little ones in the wagons; and the first permanent building they erected, was a church for divine worship. The people retain the simple and pious manners of their fathers. They all go to church, and there are 400 in a state of communion. They give 1,000 dollars a year to religious institutions. One plain man, who has never allowed himself the luxury of a set of fire-irons, besides what he does at home, gives 100 dollars a year to religious objects. The present pastor is a devoted man, and very prosperous in the care of his flock. Some of his little methods are peculiar, and might be either objectionable or impracticable elsewhere. He meets his people in districts, once a week, in turn, for instruction. He keeps an alphabetical list of the members; and places each name opposite a day of the month throughout the year; and on that day all the church are to pray for that member. He has overseers in the districts, who are to make an entry of all points of conduct, under separate heads, during the year; and to furnish a full report to him at its close. This report, and the names of the parties, he reads from the pulpit, with rebuke or commendation, and the year begins afresh. Every one knows, therefore, that he is subject to report; and, in a small community, where there is neither power nor will to resist, it must act as a strong restraint. Of course, the drunkard, the fornicator, the Sabbath breaker, are not found here; and, what is yet better, on the last report there was only one family that had not domestic worship.

LETTER XII.

My dear friend—After meeting the students and professors of Lane Seminary, on the morning of the 8th of July, I went to town with Dr. Beecher, in search of a boat to Louisville. There are usually ten or twelve steamboats lying off the quay; and there was one that would start in the afternoon. I caught a dinner at a hospitable table, took leave of my kind friends, and went on board. These vessels are well adapted to the rivers they have to navigate; and mostly offer more accommodations to the passenger than can be granted when exposed to more troubled waters. The cabins being erected above the hulk of the vessel, is a decided advantage in light and ventilation; and especially valuable in the hot seasons, as no places are so hot as the bosoms of these rivers.

I had a nice little state-room to myself, with lock and key; and our company was small, and none of it disagreeable. But there were some deductions. The weather was very hot, raging from 90° to 94°. The cholera had prevailed, and raged in some places on these rivers, and had caused them to be nearly deserted. The disease was certainly in Cincinnati, and the apprehension of it was evidently on most of the passengers. Our vessel, which in ordinary circumstances would, I suppose, have carried some 150 persons, now had only seven; one of the seven was a lady, and she sickened from fear. Depression and nausea still attended me; but, as the evening was fine and the temperature not so high, I sat out on the deck, and did pretty well.

I had now a fair sight of the Ohio; and it is worthy, fully worthy, of its French name, La Belle Riviere. It has a quick current, and is subject to great variations. It will rise and fall from forty to sixty feet. Where the eye is shut up to a near view, its precipitous and rugged banks, its turbid waters, its abundant driftwood, its uprooted trees, and its dark, overhanging forests, give to it an air of desolate grandeur. But, more frequently here, it runs in serpentine lines; appears to the sight a succession of beautiful small lakes; spreads open before you the distant prospects, and offers to your admiration most exquisite hill and river scenery, dwelling in the brightest and softest colors. It is certainly the finest river of America. The Mississippi has more hold on the imagination, but not half so much on the eye.

About noon on the following day we reached Louisville, having made a trip of 150 miles. I instantly found, on landing, that we had indeed entered a slave State. A man of color had offered himself to take my luggage and guide me to the inn. He was running his light barrow before me on a rough pathway. "Remember, Jacob," said a severe voice, "there are twenty-one stripes for you—twenty-one stripes, Jacob!" I asked an explanation. He said he was liable to punishment for wheeling on the path. The person who threatened him was a colonel, and I believe a magistrate; and poor Jacob was evidently concerned at being detected by him, for, he said, he owed him a grudge. I do not answer for the correctness of Jacob's statement; I merely report what occurred.

On arriving at my hotel, I found its master, Mr. Throckmorton, who is a colonel as well as a tavern-keeper, busily engaged in making and distributing his mint-julap. It is a favorite mixture of spirits, mint, sugar, and water, and he has a high character for the just incorporation of the ingredients. Others were making a free and dangerous use of iced water, a luxury which is provided in great abundance throughout the States. Indeed, the disposition to drink now became intense—we had only to consider how we might safely gratify it. The thermometer rose this day to 100°, and the heat and perspiration were intolerable. I was compelled to relieve myself of my upper garments; to throw myself on a naked mattress; and with the windows open, and remaining perfectly still, the perspiration rose on my skin in globes, collected in my hair, and coursed down my face and hands. The discomfort is unspeakable. Every thing you have on feels wet; and if you change your cravat and shirt, they become quickly like wet rags hanging about you. You wonder, at first, to see the men and boys without cravats, and without either waistcoat or coat, and wearing mostly white linen; but when you really get at this temperature you understand it all. This was the hottest week we had; many persons were said to have died on the public ways, and twenty-five persons died at New-York from drinking cold water.

I used here, for the first time, the moscheto bar, as it is called; and it was not before it was needed. It is a gauze-like curtain, made to enclose completely every side of the bed. I thought it would produce, in hot weather, the sense of suffocation, but this is not the effect. On the contrary, when you really know what the bite of this insect is, and hear it singing about your bed, while it is unable to reach you, you have a grateful sense of security from your enemy. On the whole, I suffered but little from this source of annoyance; the common fly was a much greater evil, it is in such abundance, and is so much more obtrusive. It frequently bites and settles on your person and food in a very tormenting way. The refectories, in consequence, are provided with large fans, which are hung over the tables on pivots, and are connected by cords and pulleys, so that they may be worked by a little slave during the period of meals.

The accommodations given to the slaves now came under my notice. Where the family is of any consideration, they have usually a distinct, though attached, dwelling. At our hotel, they had at the end of the court-yard a large house, for they were numerous. The house, however, had but few rooms, and there were several beds in each room, so as to show that they were crowded, and that their habits of life were not very favorable to its decencies. I was struck too, perhaps the more, because I had just travelled through Ohio, with the attentions these people offer you. They are trained to do more for you than others, and they mostly do it with a readiness which shows kindness of heart. This certainly affords you personal gratification, and it is only checked when it is remembered that it is the price of liberty, or when it approaches to the tameness of subserviency.

It became necessary for me now to determine on my course. My considerate friends at Cincinnati had required a promise that I would not go farther by water. I found that to go to St. Louis, and accomplish my objects, would consume a fortnight of my time, which was more than I could spare. Besides this, I was still much indisposed, and disease was prevailing in these regions. I determined, therefore, to quit the vicinage of the rivers, and make my way across Kentucky, in an easterly direction, towards Virginia.

On the following morning I left for Lexington. I inquired when the stage would start. "O, between day-break and sun-rise," was the reply.—"And when is that?"—"O, between four and five o'clock." So that I was obliged to be ready at four, and we did not start till half past five. The morning was cool, though the previous day had been so hot. I was refreshed by the air, and got ready for breakfast. Accommodations were made for us in a very primitive cabin, and in a very primitive style. We had, however, a large supply—milk, eggs, coffee, and hot corn-bread, and all was good and clean. The husband and wife presided at each extremity of the table, making us welcome, not indeed with kind words and smiling faces, but with a considerate regard to our wants.

Soon after breakfast we passed through Selbyville, a stirring, busy village, at which there had recently been a considerable revival. We took in here a Mr. Franklin, who was much disposed to conversation, and who really had much to communicate. He had been the longest settled in that region. His father came with him when a child, and was employed by government to survey and let the land. He was shot by the Indians in the very act of surveying; they could bear any thing better than to see the lands enclosed. He referred me also to an old man in the village, who had killed six Indians in one affray. One would think he had killed them all; for they have all disappeared, and the land is all settled and generally in good keeping. It is worth, on an average, twenty dollars an acre; and, as he remarked, it is cheaper now than when it was bought at two dollars, considering the labor, and blood, and hazard which it had cost. The change was very great to his mind, and he delighted to dwell on it; but it was not always with congratulation. Even of these primitive and rude settlers around him, he was disposed to take up the old complaint of degeneracy. "O, sir!" he would exclaim, "the men are nothing, the women nothing now to what they used to be. I can recollect when the women would do more than the men do now. Every Saturday they devoted to firing at a mark; and they could handle a musket with the best of us."

We dined at a tavern, which is also a post-house, and is kept by "a 'squire." The 'squire, however, was not much of the gentleman; he made a very sorry provision for his passengers, and blustered with them a good deal about politics. My companion took occasion to remark, that he had been put in for the purpose, and that post-houses had been needlessly multiplied with this intention. Certainly the number is enormous; and he remarked, that between Louisville and Orleans there are no less than 126: you must not connect in your ideas the post-horse with the post-house, for here they have no connection. By-the-by, there is no such thing as posting throughout the States.

Early in the afternoon we arrived at Frankfort, and were told that we should go no further till ten the next morning. We had come fifty miles, and this was deemed excellent work. Of course I had no choice; and I might have been called to give up a few hours to a less interesting place.

Frankfort is indeed a pretty town, situated on the banks of the river Kentucky, and surrounded by handsome hills. The erections are scattered over the small plain which is the site of the town, and are relieved by the luxuriant acacia, so as to give the whole a rural and pastoral appearance. This is greatly increased by the quantity of fine cows which are found here, and which really seem to be a part of the family. Most families have one or two, and towards evening they move about the streets like human beings, perfume the air with their sweet breath, and find their way to their resting place, frequently through the entries of the houses, in company with the children.

All the sights were not quite so rural as these. In moving about the town, I observed a fair supply of accommodation for religious services. There were also two schools. One was large, and for common purposes. The boys were, at the time, making a little use of their American liberties; they were coursing, not only over the desks, a very English trick, but over the roof also. There were five windows on this side of the structure, and there was not one pane of glass unsmashed: but this was all the better, in such a climate, for the present; and what have boys to do with the future?

Of the other school I had rather a curious notice. The shades of the evening were coming on, and as I suddenly turned the angle of a street, I saw a dark object projecting on my path from a window at a little distance. I soon perceived that it was the booted leg of a human being; and on coming nearer, I found it belonged to a pedagogue in class with some dozen youths, who, if not learning manners, were digesting Latin syntax as they could. This sort of trick is so peculiar, and so common, as to be almost an Americanism. I certainly never saw legs so strangely used as by many men in this country. To be on the fender, the jambs of the stove, the chair, the mantelpiece, is nothing; it is, perhaps, European. These aspirants seem never satisfied till their heels are on a level with their head; and at one hotel the feet have attained to the height of the door-way, and it is a point of serious ambition with young men to see who shall score the highest mark. This is certainly turning the world upside down, and inventing a new field of aspiration. The old strife among men has been to see who should carry his head the highest: it is now to be seen what distinction a man's heels may bring him; and this experiment, for aught I can see, is to be made in America.

In what will be the centre of this little town, there is just erected a Court-house; and in its immediate neighborhood are a number of little wooden offices for the accommodation of the lawyers who attend the court. They frequently sit out on nurses' wicker chairs, beside their offices; and, to a perverse imagination, look like the spider waiting to insnare the silly fly. The Court-house is built of marble, in the Grecian style, with a good portico. As is often our own case, it shows that the architect had no real taste. Where every thing is done by ancient rule, it is well; but when a deviation is made, or the artist is left to himself, what a falling off is there! All windows were suitably kept from the portico; but then the single door was miserably small; and over the portico was placed a cupola in lantern fashion!

I learned that this evening there was to be, in apartments adjoining my inn, what is called a *squeeze*. Now a Kentucky squeeze is meant to correspond with a London rout; and though not desirous to be of the party, I had some desire to know how it would be managed. Several rooms were put into a hasty state of preparation. A lady and her daughter, who were staying at the inn, were gliding about to direct the ceremonial. Articles of furniture were borrowed or hired from all quarters for the occasion; and, in the end, there was certainly a strange medley of the new and the old, the best and the worst. Over all the many lights shed their brilliancy, and the potted flowers shed their beauty; and the party providing were so satisfied with these arrangements, as told you that they had nothing to fear from the fastidious tastes of the visiters.

The company began to assemble as I was retiring to my chamber. There were about sixty ladies and forty gentlemen present. They came with little noise, for the doors were open to receive them, and carriages they had none; nor attendants, except the firefly, which sparkled beautifully about their path and their persons. The following morning, I inquired of my friend Franklin if he had been. "O yes," he said, "part of the time." "And what did you do?" I continued. "Dancing, cards, and music, I suppose?" "O dear no! it was quite a Presbyterian meeting, I assure you. It was all conversations and such like, as sober as possible—quite religious. It would not have suited me once—but now it does well enough—things are greatly altered now, and perhaps for the better. Dancing! Why, at Selbyville you could not get a couple of girls in all the place who would run down a dance—they are all converted!" This Presbyterian meeting, however, kept rather late hours, as I learned from the return of two or three young men, who had engaged the room next to mine. Their noisy conversations also told me that they had come into town to attend it, and undoubtedly with no religious intentions. I proceeded, at the time specified, on my journey. We went by way of Versailles, and were seven hours in making twenty-five miles. The country, however, was interesting; the farms large and park-like, and many of them showing good cultivation. The fine clear, grazing land beneath the forest-tree is a peculiarity here, and is very grateful to the eye. Generally, the best farms, in comparison with ours, want exceedingly the animation of stock.

Our passengers also supplied some entertainment. They were mostly plain persons, but of good sense and behavior; several of them were evidently professors of religion, and were free to converse on the subject. You meet frequently, however, with persons in these districts, who, with circumstances all against them, pique themselves on fashionable display. A lady of this class was to go on with us, and complete the number. She wore silks, with hooped sleeves and petticoat. The difficulty was to get her into her seat; and when in, she was literally pressed into half her original dimension, with the exception of a large bonnet, which still projected on the faces to her right and left. The amount of mischief was not seen till she alighted, and she then presented truly a most ludicrous figure. The wire hoops in the sleeves had been flattened and bent upwards, and looked like two broken wings; the lower hoops had undergone a similar process, and the petticoat stood out before her as though it did not belong to her. She was confused, and tried to adjust her dress, but could not; while the spectators were not concerned to conceal their diversion.

Lexington is a good town of 6,000 persons, and for situation and promise, worthy to be the metropolis of this fine State. It must, one would think, be very healthy; it is surrounded by inviting country, and abounds in comforts to its inhabitants; yet it suffered fearfully by cholera. No less than 500 persons were cut off by it; and what was painfully remarkable is, that a family, consisting of nineteen members, actually lost seventeen.

The streets of this town are laid down on a large scale; but two-thirds of their width is at present overgrown with grass from the want of adequate use. The main street offers a nice promenade to the inhabitants; and the churches, Court-house, and University, decorate the whole, while the acacia, with its abundant foliage, softens the outline, and gives to it the appearance of a city in a wood. Many of the residents here are evidently wealthy; the people generally are bland in their manners, and have warm and generous feelings. It is not uncommon for a stranger to meet with a friendly and smiling inclination of the head as he passes, and to the heart of a stranger it is grateful.

At sundown, as it is called, a bell began to toll. I concluded that there was to be a meeting of some sort and somewhere; and as my object was to mingle with the people, I followed its voice, and soon found myself at the Court-house. It was a meeting of the friends of Temperance. There was a poor promise of attendance when I arrived; but at last there were nearly a hundred persons assembled; they were all men. An individual moved to the chair. He had no speaking powers, and simply called on the Secretary to read the minutes. It appeared from these that monthly meetings had been resolved on, at which questions should be discussed; and that this was the first meeting. The question before them was, "Whether, in the last one hundred years, intemperance had not done more harm to the human race than murder, disease, war, and all other evils?"

When the subject was thus announced, there was a pause. The chairman solicited remark. Still there was a pause; and nothing to relieve it. The lights were few; the room looked heavy and dull; and those who occupied it looked heavy also and dull. All was sombre and silent; except that spitting was engaging the interval, and was so continuous as to be like rain pattering from the roof, and so universal as to make you feel that you must get wet. I had a man sitting next to me who kept me constantly on the look-out; but while he often made me jump, he did me no harm. These men have surprising cleverness in spirting their tobacco-juice; and, like good drivers, they seem to have pride in showing how near they can run to an object without touching it.

But to return to my company. By this time you are to understand that a worthy clergyman arose, and had the boldness to take the affirmative of the question. Another pause occurred, with the same interlude. At length a person advanced, who, by his rough manner and bad expression, I took for a mechanic of the town, delivering himself honestly, but unused to the exercise. However, he quickly showed that he was an agent, and he made in the end a very indiscreet speech, in a most unwinning style. His statements relative to Lexington provoked some remarks. He hailed them—he hoped that he should be opposed—he delighted in it. A lawyer, of repute at the bar, spoke, but so strangely, that none could tell whether he was friend or foe. Some one expressed a fear that they should do no good without opposition; and proposed that they should adjourn to get up an opposition; he really feared that nobody would come again without it. And so it ended. It reminded me forcibly of a manœuvre played by one of our minor theatres lately. It had failed to get attention by other means; so it gave notice, by large placards, of *A Row at the Cobourg*, trusting in this as a last remedy for an empty house.

A principal object with me in visiting Lexington was to become acquainted with Mr. Hall of this place, who had seen much of revivals in his own connections, and who had lately contributed by his labors to those which had recently occurred in Cincinnati. He very kindly communicated with freedom on the subject. The most considerable which he had witnessed was at Lexington about six years since. At that time vital religion was in a very low state, and infidelity and Unitarianism were becoming fearfully predominant among the people. He, as a faithful pastor, felt it deeply. It happened that he and some other clergymen met in the street, and what was most on his mind became, very naturally, the subject of remark. They had similar feeling, and joined in the admissions and lamentations. What was best to be done? A camp-meeting was proposed. It was too late in the season for this. Mr. Hall advised a protracted meeting of four days. They fell in with his views. He took the sense of his people on it, and they were like minded. Steps were taken in the town and the surrounding country to give it publicity and importance. It was the first of the kind in that region, and great excitement was created; and on the day of meeting there was a large influx of people.

On the first day, they began at eleven o'clock, with the usual order of worship, the sermon being suited to the occasion. The afternoon and evening were occupied in a similar way, and with good effect. On the second day, a prayer-meeting was held at sunrise. At nine o'clock there was an inquiry-meeting, which was well attended. The usual services were sustained at eleven and three o'clock. The third day, much the same engagements, with improved effect. The fourth day, the Sabbath, was a remarkably solemn day. Many sinners, hardened in infidelity or worldliness, fell under the power of conviction, and great fear came on the whole assembly. The exercises closed by an inquiry-meeting on the Monday morning, which was of a very affecting nature.

The brethren had this week to attend the Synod, and they went under the impressions of the recent services. Their temper was communicated to others, and every thing was delightfully interesting. The pastors renewed their affection to each other, and their covenant with God; and exchanged pledges to retire at a given time, to pray for the revived state of their churches.

When Mr. Hall returned home, he found his own people and those of other congregations the subjects not of less, but of far greater religious anxiety than before he left them. They were earnestly desirous of another protracted meeting, and he thought the peculiar state of the people would justify it. Within three weeks of the time, therefore, they held another meeting. It was conducted in the same manner, and by the same ministers, as on the earlier occasion; and, as might be expected, from the existing disposition of the people, with greater benefit. The total result of these meetings was, that about 500 persons made profession of religion, and were admitted, at their expiration, to different fellowships, according to their place of residence.

The general effect on the town was very good. "From that time," Mr. Hall emphatically remarked, "infidelity and Unitarianism broke down." He admitted, however, that some, and perhaps not a few, who had thus professed religion, afterward fell away; and that since, "neither revivals, nor cholera, nor any thing, had touched them."

Perhaps I had better add to this account, for the purpose of regulating your opinion of this revival, and of the general state of religion, a sketch of congregations in figures. There are two Presbyterian places, with about 1,200 attendants and 300 communicants. Mr. Hall's is one of these, and by far the largest. Two Baptist, with about 1,000 attendants, and 200 communicants; two Methodist, about 1,100 attendants, and 400 communicants; two African, Methodist and Baptist, 1,000 attendants; one Episcopalian, about 500 attendants.

I found the people at this time under some uneasiness in relation to the spread of Romanism. The partisans of that system are greatly assisted from Europe by supplies of money and teachers. The teachers have usually more acquired competency than the native instructers; and this is a temptation to parents who are seeking accomplishments for their children, and who have a high opinion of European refinements. It appeared that out of four schools provided for the wants of the town, three were in the hands of Catholics. I heard a sermon by a young clergyman on this subject. It showed a good acquaintance with the subject, and a pious and affectionate regard for the welfare of his flock; but it did not awaken much attention. There was too much of Jove, and Minerva, and Penelope in it, and too little of pointed appeal and Christian obligation.

I had many attentions here from kind friends, and they would have been increased had I been able to tarry and receive them.

LETTER XIII.

My dear friend—On renewing my journey, I had again to sacrifice my rest; the coach by which I was to travel left at ten o'clock at night. But as we got on higher ground, my health was beginning to improve, and I was more able to contend with fatigue than I had been. Towards day-break we drew near Owensville. The forest, which had lately stood off in the distance, gathered round me, and demanded, with the confidence of an old friend, my admiration. Like ourselves, it was the same, and yet not the same. Every region presents you with its favorite species; and as they approach the line of separation, the species run into each other, and place before you every variety of combination, growth, and beauty. It is one of the wonders of the forest, that with such simple elements it supplies you with such endless variety. The kinds most prevalent now were the maple, the sugar-tree, the vine, the hickory, the beech, and the oak, in all its varieties. The first two are very abundant, and they yield large supplies of sugar to the inhabitants. Everywhere you see the sugar-tree subjected to the process of tapping. This is of course done when the sap is rising in the stem; the saccharine juice then oozes out, and running through a little wooden trough made to project from the side of the tree, it falls into a vessel below, which is placed to receive it. These molasses are very fine, and are much preferred by the people to those of the sugar-cane.

Owensville, when we reached it, was full of life. It was market-day. The people from the country far round were present, and were busy chapping, chatting, eating, drinking. It was a picture of its kind. We paused at the inn, and I alighted for the sake of seeing the persons assembled. Those in the bar-room were men from the country, with stick or whip in hand, swinging on their chairs, or driving their bargains. A couple of pedlers, too, had found entrance, and were trying to obtain customers for some pictures and showy books of a very *vile* edition. The day was hot, and it was an excuse for drinking; and most of them were availing themselves of this excuse by the use of some of the many mixtures which are prepared at these bars. Here, as everywhere, mint-julap was the favorite draught, and two of them had certainly drunk too freely. You would have been chiefly surprised to find yourself among such very plain persons; most of whom were, nevertheless, addressed, and addressing each other by sounding titles. Here was Captain Gray, and Colonel Ball, and Colonel—his name has slipped me—dressed in fustian, and dwelling in log-houses. But the Americans, while they repudiate titles, are certainly fond of them. Nowhere do you meet with so many; in some districts, every sixth man seems to be either captain, or colonel, or judge, or doctor.

In this instance, the captain, an aged man, determined that I should not hear all and say nothing. He drew his chair nearer to mine, twirled his stick about his boot, and looking inquisitively, but with good-humor, said, "Well, squire! you have travelled far, I guess?"—"Yes, pretty far," I said. "You are a stranger, may be?"—"I came," I said, "from New-York."—"Ay, a Yorker, or a New-England man, I took ye for," he exclaimed, pleased with his sagacity. "Clever men be they," he continued; "I knew ye could not be of these parts. And where be ye going?"—"I am going," I replied, "into Virginia; I shall afterward return to New-York; and I really do not know exactly where I shall go afterward." I said so much, on Franklin's principle, hoping to get rid of my catechist. But I did not, as I suppose Franklin did not, wholly succeed. It is said of him, that when travelling, he would often anticipate the inquisitiveness of the people, by answering all they might wish to know, thus—"My name is Benjamin Franklin—I am going to Boston—I came from Philadelphia—My business is so, and so—My wife is with me, and three children—their names are so and so, and their ages so and so."

As we advanced on our journey, we came into solitary ways; and the land rose, and the forest thickened around us, so as to indicate that we were getting away from human habitation, and among mountain scenery. We arrived at about seven o'clock at a lone house, and were told that we were to go on at eleven. This was very provoking; but there was no remedy. I took, therefore, my tea, which is both tea and supper here, and dressed myself, and laid down on a clean bed, to slumber till half past ten. When summoned, I was some time before I could get my eyes fairly open, and persuade myself to leave a comfortable bed, at an hour when most persons were looking towards it; but necessity was on me, and I was more refreshed than I expected to be. In fact, we were ascending among the mountains; and I doubt not that the air of the higher ground was imparting renovation. By eleven at night, then, we quitted our comfortable cabin, and began to ascend the gorges of the mountains. We were only three persons; the driver, myself, and another man, who was connected with this line of stage. I had regretted that I had not day-light, to see and admire the wild and noble scenery around me; but the night had its charms. The dark forms of the hills gathering about you; the forest-trees doubling their immense size by their local elevation, and casting their heavy shadows on you; the utter absence of all signs of life and cultivation; the perfect silence which reigned unbroken, except by the rumbling of the coach and the barking of the wolves; and the obscurity and indefiniteness of every object on which the eye fell; acted together as powerfully on the mind as any thing I have known, and frequently left it difficult to decide between the actual and the imaginary.

While I was indulging my imagination, and had certainly no sense of danger, I found that my companions in travel were under real alarm for the safety of the mail. It appeared from the driver's statement, that, twice in the past week, when he was driving the mail alone, he was threatened with attack. On one occasion, his wheel was locked by some unknown hand; and the second time he saw two men, who had concealed themselves behind a plane-tree, which projected on the passage of the coach. This, of course, gave additional zest to our midnight adventure; and I began to fear that my luggage, which was lashed behind, might disappear before morning. As we drew near to the spot where the coachman had seen the men, he was evidently much excited; he put his horses at better speed, and made us, by exclamations, understand where and how they had appeared. We gazed earnestly on the immense tree, and tried to penetrate into the dark copse-wood beyond it; but no robbers were to be seen. However, we had still the benefit of thinking that they might appear, and this gave the last touch of interest to this wild and romantic region, and kept us effectually from slumber and ennui.

The following morning, at eleven, we arrived at a shabby house, which was used as an inn. Here I broke my fast, after travelling twelve hours and fasting sixteen. There was a small settlement here, connected with some iron-works. I found the cholera had made its way into these fastnesses of nature. Two persons had died, and one was dying. I saw a man who was reported to have it, and who was avoided by every one from terror. But, in his case, the rumor was the mere effect of ignorant fear; he had the sciatica, and no sign of the cholera. He was very grateful that I had confidence to enter his room and speak with him. He was one of those many persons who, living or dying, must chew and spit; sick as he was, he had a mound of sand raised on the floor, on which he might indulge his propensity.

The remainder of the ride to Guiandot was highly interesting; but mostly such as I have described. The last stage was on a line with the Ohio, on a fine piece of road; and it presented us with a change of scenery highly beautiful. The wild vine became here a prominent feature. In the thicker forests, it frequently shows a dozen or a score of large naked stems, running up into the tallest trees, and quite detached from the trunk, and strangling it in its growth, leaving you to wonder how it could ever get there, and presenting rather a curious than a beautiful object of sight. But here it grew on the margin of the forest, and luxuriated in light and air; and the effect was often most pleasing. It ran up the shorter trees: used them as a mere skeleton; covered their heads with its luxuriant foliage; and threw out its dishevelled arms and tendrils to the ground, so as to form the most inviting canopies and alcoves.

Guiandot is a small but advancing town, placed at the confluence of two rivers, and forming a point of communication between three States—Kentucky, Ohio, and Virginia. It is itself in Virginia; and before we enter on a new State, it may be desirable to offer a few general remarks on that which we are quitting. From what has already been delineated, you will deem this to be an interesting and beautiful State, with many attractions to settlement. But it suffers as a slave State; many leave it for Ohio on this account; and that State, though more remote, and of much more recent settlement, exceeds this in population by 300,000 persons. The population of Kentucky is 700,000. There are about 100 Presbyterian congregations; about 300 Methodist clergymen, including local preachers; about fifty Catholic priests; about twelve Episcopalian; a few Shakers; and some other sects which, in numbers, however, are very insignificant. Besides these, the Baptists are very numerous. They are spoken of as having the largest number of any in this State; but it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain their strength; and it is yet more so to determine on the number of their pastors; for the offices of minister, elder, and deacon, are made to run into each other, so as to confound distinction. Their educated teachers are very few; their uneducated and self-constituted teachers are surprisingly numerous. In this disorganized state, Mr. Campbell came among them with his new lights; and now nothing is heard of but Camelism, as it is called. The people of this denomination, and especially the teachers, had made too much of their peculiarities as Baptists. Campbell came among them and made every thing of them, and has succeeded to an alarming extent. He denounces every body; he unsettles every thing, and settles nothing; and there is great present distraction and scandal. But his ministrations, I believe, will be overruled for good. They are of the nature of fire: they will try and consume the hay, wood, and stubble, and there was much to be consumed. The pious of the people will see their error, and rectify it; and those of the denomination elsewhere, will perceive the importance of securing to them a well-trained ministry.

The colleges of public instruction in this State, bear a good proportion to those of other States.—Besides these, so far as the ministry is concerned, something considerable is done. It is not uncommon, I found, for the pastors to receive and train young men for pastoral labor; one minister I met with had prepared twelve; and it was generally admitted that those who were thus prepared were among the most pious and successful. The University, too, which had languished in infidel hands, was renewing its strength, and promising to become a valuable focus of light, truth, and moral energy. The Medical School is now spoken of in the highest terms.

LETTER XIV.

My dear friend—On reaching Guiandot, I determined to rest a day or two, that I might get some refreshment after my fatigue, and have time to look around me, and preserve the images of the things I had seen. But what we determine, and what others determine for us, are often different things. The coach proprietors here had determined that their stage should leave at three o'clock the following morning; that none other should start for three days to come; and that then those who came on in the line would have the preference. There was literally no other mode of conveyance, so that I had no choice; and when I found that, from the arrival of company, it was doubtful whether I could secure a place, I hastened with desire to obtain what I had deemed very objectionable.

Of course, my rest, though I sought it early, was short and imperfect; and by candle-light I found myself, half asleep, packed most tightly in the heavy vehicle, making one of ten persons. One of these persons was indeed an infant; it had a female slave for its wet-nurse. It was the first time I had seen a woman of color act in this capacity, and I confess it shook a little my philosophy. Our company was made up of the better class; fashionables from the south who were on their way to the springs. One was an Englishman and a merchant; he had come out to Orleans twenty years ago, with fifteen others, and he was the only survivor. Then there were a captain; a major; a consumptive in chase of life, which was fleeting from him; and a reclaimed rake with his young wife, child, and servant. They supplied a good study; but I must not detain you.

On stopping to breakfast, we found our repast prepared out of doors, but in the shade, and beneath a veranda. It had a light and rural effect. Our ablutions, too, were to be performed under the same circumstances, and with utensils in common;—though you might generally have, if you claimed it, your own towel. It was considered quite enough if exceptions were made to this course in favor of ladies.

Our dining station was Charleston; a thriving and pleasant town on the banks of the Kenhawa. It depends chiefly on the salt-works which abound in this neighborhood. The handsome Catalpa appears here, and affords the shade of its broad and thick foliage to the cottages. The scenery was evidently improving; after dinner I took my seat outside for the sake of commanding it; and not less to relieve myself from the heat and pressure within. We now passed the salt-works. There are not less than one hundred; and sixty of them are in work. They bore for the water, and usually get a large supply, rising above the surface from a depth of 200 feet. It is said that as much as a million and a half of barrels are manufactured here annually. The works stretch about two miles along this beautiful valley, and greatly disfigure it.

But you soon get clear of them, and the slip of land in a line with them, and along the river, is verdant with grass and corn. Every thing continues to improve. The little plain below you disappears; the banks of the river become sharp and bold, and are ornamented by pendent woods; the hills get up into mountainous forms, and run out before you into the finest picture; and as you pass them in succession, they reveal to your separate admiration the sweetest dells imaginable. Still, as evening came on, every thing was changed and improving. The river was becoming more animated; its sides more abrupt. The hills opposite you still rose, hill after hill, in soft and lovely forms; while those on this side of the river split away in the centre; stood on your path; almost refused you passage; rose in massive, broken forms above you; and hung beetling over your head, presenting to the eye some of the finest rock-work, for shape and color, that was ever beheld. All this was taken, for it continued long, in the last lights of day, and under the more fascinating lights of the rising moon. I must leave you to judge of the effect. I had not expected it, and I was quite refreshed and elevated by it. It doeth good like a medicine.

We reached the hotel at which we were to pause about midnight. It is near to the Kenhawa Falls; and from the beauty of the neighborhood, has many visiters. I took a hasty cup of coffee, and weary, as I was, went with another gentleman to see the Falls. We could hear them in the distance; but we had to go round in order to reach them. The chief of our way was over shattered rock, offering a good access by day, but requiring care at night, from the sharp pitches of some parts, and from the numerous circular holes bored in them by the eddies of the water. They are not to be spoken of with Niagara, or even with Shauffausen, but the whole scene was striking and interesting, the more so, undoubtedly, in the still hour of night. I seated myself on a shelf of rock, whence the waters made their principal leap. Darkness had spread its curtain on the sleeping objects in the distance. The pale moon had run her race, and was just falling behind the hills; her last lights fell faintly on my face and the head of waters, but left the precipices and pools below me in heavy shadows. At my feet the river was dashing down, and lifting up its voice from the deeps beneath to Him who holds the waters in the hollow of his hand. It had done so for ages past; it would do so for ages to come. Here the poor Indian had stood, but will never stand again, thinking he heard in those waters the voice of Deity, and gazing on the face of that orb with wonder, till the spirit of worship was stirred within him. Here also I stood, and shall never stand again, wistfully looking through the visible and audible, to the unseen but present object of adoration and praise.

We returned to the inn. I had an hour and a half of rest; and was found with my companions on the way, soon after three o'clock. Most of the company showed that they had only been awakened, like a child, to be put in a new position, and their heads were nodding about in all directions. About seven o'clock, however, we approached a spot which is of great reputed beauty, and we pledged the coachman to stop that we might have a fair sight of it. You leave the road by a little by-path, and after pursuing it for a short distance, the whole scene suddenly breaks upon you. But how shall I describe it? The great charm of the whole is greatly connected with the point of sight, which is the finest imaginable. You come suddenly to a spot which is called the Hawk's Nest. It projects on the scene, and is so small as to give standing *to only some half dozen persons*. It has on its head an old picturesque pine, and it breaks away at your feet abruptly and in perpendicular lines, to a depth of more than 200 feet. On this standing, which, by its elevated and detached character, affects you like the Monument, the forest rises above and around you. Beneath and before you is spread a lovely valley. A peaceful river glides down it, reflecting, like a mirror, all the lights of heaven; washes the foot of the rocks on which you are standing; and then winds away into another valley at your right. The trees of the wood, in all their variety, stand out on the verdant bottoms, with their heads in the sun, and casting their shadows at their feet; but so dimished, as to look more like the picture of the things than the things themselves. The green hills rise on either hand and all around, and give completeness and beauty to the scene; and beyond these appears the gray outline of the more distant mountains, bestowing grandeur to what was supremely beautiful. It is exquisite. It conveys to you the idea of perfect solitude. The hand of man, the foot of man, seem never to have touched that valley. To you, though placed in the midst of it, it seems altogether inaccessible. You long to stroll along the margin of those sweet waters, and repose under the shadows of those beautiful trees; but it looks impossible. It is solitude, but of a most soothing—not of an appalling character; where sorrow might learn to forget her griefs, and folly begin to be wise and happy.

Most of my companions, I am sorry to say, though eager to see this sight, had no taste for it when seen. Happily for me, they did not choose to remain at so dizzy a point of sight as I had chosen, and so they employed themselves at a distance. Their employ was to throw stones across the river, and their astonishment was to find that no stone they could cast would reach it! All excepting our merchant: he remained with me; and we grasped the stunted pine, and in deep silence enjoyed the scene.

The early sight of the Hawk's Nest was only a good introduction to the ride of this day. It was spent in crossing the Allegany mountains, and others in alliance with them. Aware of what was to come, I took my station on the roof of the coach, that I might enjoy the exhibition without disturbance; and seldom have I had a day of such perfect and healthful exhilaration. To attempt a description of scene after scene, would only be to speak, as I have done, of rocks, and hills, and rivers, and trees, and dells, and valleys; the elements were the same; the combination was different—was endless.

The mountains here do not offer you that one commanding view which may be obtained elsewhere; but they present you with continued pictures, which charm the eye and regale the spirits. It is not, indeed, as if you saw one human face divine, which appears, and is gone, but will never be forgotten; but it is as if you had interviews in succession with a multitude of faces, intelligent, noble, and smiling, which, by their kind and friendly aspect, made the day among the most pleasant of your life. In descending into the gorges of the hills, you find all that is wild, and dark, and solitary; and at the fall of day you may hear the baying of the wolf, and see the rude huntsman go forth to encounter the bear; still, this is not the character of these regions. It is that of elevated cheerfulness. I attribute this principally to two causes. First, that the forest is nowhere on a level; it runs along the sides of the mountains in galleries bathed in the light of heaven, and while it towers over you on the one side, it leaves the more distant prospect on the other side always open to the eye. The second is, that at the feet of these majestic trees, the oak, the pine, the cedar, the beech, and the tulip, you find such an astonishing supply of the finest shrubs and flowers. The laurel, the sumach, the dog-wood, the rhododendron, the cranberry, the whortleberry, and the strawberry; the rose, the marigold, and the campanula, with a thousand wild plants and flowers, were all here, and gave a wonderful freshness and sweetness to the scene. It has all the grandeur of the forest, with all the beauty of the garden.

This delightful day's ride had not the most pleasant close. We arrived at Lewisburg late in the evening, and as all were more or less weary, we were eager in our inquiries after beds. It soon appeared that the court was in session here; and this gave us some alarm. On going into the bar-room of our inn, I saw two men fast asleep in a large box, and undisturbed by all the noise of our arrival; this was still more ominous. I hastened to require, as I always did, a single-bedded room, hardly hoping to obtain it. The landlord assured me he could not accommodate me. I begged to see what accommodation he could offer. He took me to a room with five or six beds in it; there was one bed unoccupied, which he assured me I should have to myself; the others had already an occupant each, and they were liable, if necessary, to have another person introduced to them. This kind of room is deemed common; and the guest who cannot find a bed to himself, seeks to participate with some other party; so that it is not very uncommon for the man who went quietly to sleep in sole possession of his couch, to find, on waking, that he has acquired a companion. I turned away from the spectacle, and expressed my resolution to sit up till the coach started. My landlord, seeing me firm, disappeared to make some arrangements, and then returned to say that he was able to let me have a double-bedded room, if I would not object that one of my companions by the stage should occupy the second bed; I might rely on it we should have it quite to ourselves. I consented to this; but as the good landlord was evidently much pressed, I chose to place my reliance on having the key on the right side of the door. To such an arrangement I had been obliged to yield twice before: but generally, even in these unfrequented regions, you may procure the luxury of a private chamber.

If inconveniences arose at these houses, they were, as we travelled, of very brief duration. We started again at daylight on our way to Lexington, in Virginia. Most of our company, however, were to part from the conveyance at the White Sulphur Springs, and it was still the early morning when we reached them. These springs are finely situated, and are among the most popular in the States. The accommodations here are all provided by one person, and are chiefly composed of one erection. The rooms and refectories, which are in common, are large and imposing, but every thing else is on a most confined scale. Rumor had said, as we came along, that the place was over full; and our party, after coming so many hundred miles, were anxious lest they should be rejected. One of them, on inquiry, found that, as a favor, he might be one of five to share a small sleeping chamber.

While many were so eager to enter this temple of health and happiness, those who had established themselves did not impress you with the value of their acquisition. There were about sixty men under the verandas, picking their teeth, crossing their legs, scratching their heads, yawning, spitting; deep in the blues, if appearances did not wholly deceive me. There is a good deal of gambling and dissipation here; and dissipation, whatever may be its buoyancy and brilliancy at night, is a meagre, and cadaverous, and chapfallen thing in the light of morning. This, too, was aggravated, for the morning was wet; and a place devoted to gayety has, of all places, an air of sadness in bad weather. I was not sorry that I was going forward. I tasted the waters; saw Mr. Clay; and then joined the coach.

We took up three passengers here, and did not improve by the exchange; they were young men, and all of them, I fear, deeply versed in sin. One, a disappointed lover, and seeking his cure in dissipation; the others, of good connections and better taught, but flippant in infidelity, disrespectful of others, and shameless for themselves. All were pursuing pleasure in the gratification of their passions, and were mortified to find themselves still displeased and miserable. Two of them, I could learn, were a living sorrow to their parents. I made the best of my situation; and received, at parting, an apology from one of them, who, in the midst of his freedoms, still wished to have the reputation of a gentleman.

My attention, however, was still engaged with the delightful scenery; and had the weather allowed, I should have suffered no deduction on the part of my company. We were still among the mountains, and quickly, on leaving the springs, began to ascend them. These are, I believe, strictly of the Allegany family; but they are not so considerable as the Sewell mountains which we had passed. The scenery was very similar to that of yesterday; if any thing, it is even more picturesque, and is greatly assisted in its effect by the Jackson river. The lover of nature might spend weeks here, and still lament that he had not weeks and months to spend.

Early in the evening we came to a cottage, which, because it receives the few persons who travel this road, is called an inn. It has the appearance of a private dwelling, which is so little used, that no pathway is worn to it across the verdant sod; and you are received into the bosom of the family with a pleasant confidence. The dwelling was respectable and clean; its fore-court made cheerful by the beautiful althea and other flowers. I secured a parlour, which had a very comfortable bed in it; and was gratified with the prospect of something like a night's rest.

Tea or supper, as you choose to call it, was prepared for us. The husband and wife took the ends of the table, and the daughter waited as occasion required. All was plain; but all was good, and there was an abundance of it; fowl, bacon, corn-bread, hot wheaten bread, bilberry-tart, honey, milk, and coffee. But the young men had a quarrel with it. It was a temperance house, and there was no mint-julap, nor spirits, nor wine of any kind, to be had; nor, in fact, any chance of sport or mischief. I judged from the manners of these people that they were religious, and was not deceived. I had some pleasant conversation with the father; and, on retiring to my room, found several good books in the case which adorned it; and among them Scott's Family Bible.

With a good bed, a weary body, a room to myself, and the key turned on it, I had the prospect of a refreshing sleep; but I was to be again disappointed. Just as I was sinking into unconsciousness, I was assailed by all sorts of scratching, tumbling, squeaking noises; which were renewed from time to time, till my summons came to join the coach. I soon found that the disturbance was in the chimney; and afterward discovered, that the whole of it, from the floor upwards, was sacred to the house-swallow, and that many hundreds had made a lodgment in it. Some of these lodgings must have been insecure, and have given way, to have created all this annoyance. I did not wish the innocent things to be dispossessed; but perhaps I had a passing wish that their dwellings had been more lasting—were it only by a single day.

We had not more than about twenty miles to reach Lexington; but still, as the custom is, we started very early. This distance was to be filled in mostly by the ascent and descent of the North mountain, which stands at the head of the western valley of Virginia. I was led to expect that the scenery was first rate; and I took my seat with a civil driver, in order to command it. Every thing in the approach to this mountain is beautiful; as you ascend it, it becomes grand; and when you come to the highest parts of the passage, you have indeed a most commanding station. The morning would have been deemed unfavorable; yet it assisted you with such a picture as you can seldom see, and as you most desire to see. The atmosphere was heavy and humid, and threatened rain; but the eye could reach over the whole mountain scenery. The thick mists of the night found no sun to exhale them; and they lay on all the valleys like a sea of sleeping waters. The breasts of the mountains rose above these mists, and appeared like so many rocky islands; while the lighter mists, attenuated by the mountain breeze, floated gracefully about their heads. It was very peculiar and fascinating; and reminded me very pleasantly of my last visit to Snowden, which at break of day was in a similar condition. I had wished that before we began our descent, the sun might rise on this world of vapors, and present to one all those bewitching forms of unearthly, aerial, and ever changing beauty, which entranced us in Wales; but instead of this, the mists thickened into rain, and hid much of what we had seen from our sight.

Let me observe, however, that I had afterward an opportunity of seeing this noble picture in an opposite condition; illustrated by the presence of a powerful and glorious sun. Now every thing was to be seen, and was worth seeing. The great point of sight is called the Grand Turn. It is an angular projection from the side of the mountain, and is supplied with a low parapet of loose stones, to protect you from the precipice below. The old jagged pine of the forest, which has braved the tempest age after age, stands up in its clustered grandeur behind you. The lone and ravenous vulture is wheeling over your head in search of prey. The broken rock-work falls away abruptly, some eighty feet immediately beneath your standing, and then runs down in softer lines to the glens below. You look to the left, and there stand, in all their majesty, the everlasting mountains, which you have traversed one by one, and sketching on the blue sky one of the finest outlines you ever beheld. You look to the right, and there lies expanded before you one of the richest and most lovely valleys which this vast country boasts. You look opposite to you, and the great and prominent mountains just break away so as to form the foreground to a yet more distant prospect, which is bathed in sunlight and in mist, promising to be equal to any thing you see. Everywhere, above, around, beneath, was the great, the beautiful, the interminable forest. Nothing impressed me so much as this. The forest had often surrounded and overwhelmed me; I had never before such command of it. In a State so long settled, I had expected to see comparatively little of it: but there it was, spreading itself all around like a dark green ocean, and on which the spots that were cleared and cultivated, only stood out like sunny islets which adorned its bosom.

On the whole, I had, as you will see, been travelling for three days over most delightful country. For 160 miles you pass through a gallery of pictures most exquisite, most varied, most beautiful. The ride will not suffer in comparison with a run along the finest portions of the Rhine, or our own drive from Shrewsbury to Bangor. It is often indeed compared with Switzerland; but that is foolish; the best scenery in that land is of another and a higher class. I was not at all aware that I should be thus gratified; and therefore perhaps had the more gratification. I am thankful that I have seen it; and for the same reasons that I am thankful to have seen something of the west; because they contribute greatly to form just conceptions of America.

Before I dismiss this portion of my excursion, let me observe, that there is an excellent road recently cut over this mountain, and into Lexington. It embraces altogether an extent of forty miles, and is no small achievement; and the praise of it is due to the spirited inhabitants of the town. Perhaps I should not say this without referring to the share the Government takes in it. If, generally, a plan for local improvement is acceptable to the government, it agrees to take two-fifths of the responsibility, while the residents take the remaining three-fifths. The government also receives its proportion of the profits; and these profits replenish a fund for general improvement. I have frequently referred to the roads, and with complaint; but let me not be misunderstood. It is true that many of them are very bad, and bring much suffering to the traveller; but the real wonder is, that, under all circumstances, they are so good and so numerous. Never, in any other country, was there so much done in so short a period. Rail-roads and steam-boats are now come to their help, and perhaps to their salvation; for certainly it has not been sufficiently considered, that it is a source of national weakness, and not of strength, to have a spare population scattered over an immense territory.

About eleven o'clock in the day we drove into Lexington. Mr. Carruthers, whom I had known at the General Assembly, saw me as we passed, and kindly followed the stage to the inn, to request that I would consider his house my home. I had travelled a week without a fair night's rest. This is the great source of exhaustion here, and it is wholly the fault of the stage proprietors. With the same roads, and with the same cattle, you might go the same distance in the same time, and save all your nights; and, of course, most of your fatigue.

LETTER XV.

My dear friend—I had no sooner arrived at Mr. Carruthers's than my esteemed friend, the Rev. J. Douglas, called on me. He was pastor of the Presbyterian church here, and we had formed a friendship when he visited England as an invalid, and spent some time in my family. I now expected pleasure and information in his society for a short period. As the ensuing day was the Sabbath, he very considerately excused my preaching, on condition that I would, on a following day, allow myself to be announced for an extra service. I was the more obliged for this, as it would supply me with an opportunity of hearing, which I always coveted.

On the morning of the Sabbath, I attended an interesting service at my friend's church. It was placed at the head of the town, on elevated ground; commanding a pretty view of it, and of the fine blue mountains in the distance. It had a paddock attached to it for the use of the horses during the time of worship, and there were from forty to fifty now occupying it. All the persons who came in from the vicinity came on horseback; and the horses are nearly as numerous as the people of these parts. The church has five doors, and these and all the windows were open in consequence of the heat of the weather. This created some distraction to the congregation. Besides, there were fans in motion everywhere, and small kegs full of water, with ladles, were placed in the window-seats and beneath the pulpit, which were used by the children, not only before, but during the service, and this caught the attention of a stranger, but did not seem much to discompose the people. The galleries were mostly occupied by blacks. The general attendance was good; the congregation wore a serious complexion; but there were not wanting some instances of negligent and irreverent manners.

A recent attempt to produce a revival here had been made by an itinerant revivalist; but it had failed. I took pains to acquaint myself with it. My conclusion was, that it was a harsh and indiscreet affair; not producing even the effects it sought, and working to the disadvantage of religion, both with its friends and enemies. This was certainly Mr. Douglas's opinion.

I learned that in the afternoon there would be worship at the African Church, and I resolved to go. My obliging friend, Mr. Carruthers, attended me. The building, called a church, is without the town, and placed in a hollow, so as to be out of sight; it is, in the fullest sense, "without the gate." It is a poor log-house, built by the hands of the negroes, and so placed as to show that they must worship by stealth. It is, perhaps, 20 by 25; with boarding and rails breast-high, run round three sides, so as to form galleries. To this is added a lean-to, to take the overplus, when the fine weather should admit of larger numbers. There were three small openings, besides the door and the chinks in the building, to admit light and air. The place was quite full, the women and men were arranged on opposite sides; and although on a cold or rainy day there might have been much discomfort, the impression now was very pleasing. In the presence of a powerful sun, the whole body were in strong shadow; and the light streaming through the warped and broken shingle on the glistening black faces of the people, filled the spectacle with animation. I had taken my place by the door, and was waiting the commencement.

By the law of the State, no colored persons are permitted to assemble for worship, unless a white person be present and preside. On this account, the elders of Mr. Douglas's church attend in turn, that the poor people may not lose the privileges they prize. At this time, two whites and two blacks were in the pulpit. One of the blacks, addressing me as their "Strange master," begged that I would take charge of the service. I declined doing so. He gave out Dr. Watts's beautiful Psalm, "Show pity, Lord; O Lord, forgive," &c. They all rose immediately. They had no books, for they could not read; but it was printed on their memory, and they sang it off with freedom and feeling. There is much melody in their voice; and when they enjoy a hymn, there is a raised expression of the face, and an undulating motion of the body, keeping time with the music, which is very touching.

One of the elders then prayed; and the other followed him, by reading and exposition of Scripture. The passage was on relative and social duties; and I could not avoid observing how it reflected on the conduct of the white, and pleaded for the poor slave. They sang again, "Come, ye that love the Lord," and with equal freedom and pleasure. The senior black, who was a preacher among them, then offered prayer, and preached. His prayer was humble and devotional. In one portion of it, he made an affecting allusion to their wrongs. "Thou knowest," said the good man, with a broken voice, "our state—that it is the meanest—that we are as mean and low as men can be. But we have sinned—we have forfeited all our rights to *Thee*—and we would submit before *Thee* to these marks of thy displeasure."

He took for the text of his sermon those words, "The Spirit saith, come," &c. He spoke with connection of our original distance; of the means provided for our approach and redemption—of the invitation as founded on these—and closed by an earnest and well-sustained appeal to them to act on the gracious Invitation. "Ah, sirs!" he exclaimed, "do you ask, what it is to come? Oh, it is to know your own weakness; it is to know your own unworthiness; it is to know that you are sinners, and ready to fall into hell for your sins; it is to fly to Jesus Christ as your help and your Saviour; and to cry, 'Lord, save, or I perish!'—To come! Oh, it is to fall down at his feet—to receive him as your new Master—to become new creatures—and to live a new life of faith and obedience," &c.—"O, sirs!" he continued, "that you would come! How can I persuade you to come! I have seen the good and the evil. I have seen the Christian dying, and I have seen the sinner dying." He spoke of both; and then referred to his own experience—the change religion had made in him—the happiness he had had since he knew it—the desire he had that they should be happy likewise. It was indeed a very earnest and efficient appeal.

Mr. Carruthers kindly reminded me, as he paused, that it was time to leave, if I fulfilled my intention of going to the Presbyterian Church. But I felt I could not leave before the close. I could have done so in ordinary circumstances; but I could not bring myself to do any thing that might seem disrespectful to this band of despised and oppressed Christians.

The other man of color followed with a spontaneous address, meant to sustain the impression. He had some conceit and forwardness in his manner, but much point in what he said. He concluded by noticing what had been doing among them lately; and by calling on those who were really concerned to come to the Saviour, to show it by occupying the anxious seat. They sang again; and, while singing, some forms before the pulpit were cleared, and about twelve persons knelt down at them with great seriousness of manner. There was no confusion, and the act of coming out does perhaps less violence to their feelings, as they are a small body, and are on an equality. One of the elders now took the matter into his hands, and offered prayer. Had he sought to cool down the state of feeling, it could not have been better done. But there was no need for this; for there was no extravagance. They then rose, and sang, and separated. This was the first time I had worshipped with an assembly of slaves; and I shall never forget it. I was certainly by sympathy bound with those who were bound; while I rejoiced, on their account, afresh in that divine truth, which makes us free indeed, which lifts the soul on high, unconscious of a chain.

Much has been said, and is still said, about the essential inequality of the races. That is a question which must be settled by experiment. Here the experiment was undoubtedly in favor of the blacks. In sense and in feeling, both in prayer and address, they were equal to the whites; and in free and pointed expression much superior. Indeed, I know not that while I was in America, I listened to a peroration of an address that was superior to the one I have briefly noted to you.

On leaving, we found we were too late for our first purpose; but as the Methodists were just assembling for service, I expressed a wish to unite with them. There were few persons present: not more than 150. A gentleman, one of their local preachers, took the duties of the pulpit. The services in his hands were very uninteresting. He had much conceit, poor wit, and many words; and all he said was gabbled and uttered seemingly by rote. His address abounded with such plumed and wise expressions as—"I put it to your rationality—white-robed angels of light—your spirit shall flutter before God in never-ending bliss"—and "when you hear the clods of the valley tumbling on your coffin." It was a sorry affair, and in contrast with what I had just witnessed. This, however, is no specimen of the average means possessed by this people.

On the Tuesday afternoon, I preached, as had been arranged, to a considerable and attentive congregation. I baptized also two children, by Mr. Douglas's permission, and at the request of the parents. One was the infant son of the Rev. James Payne, who was named after Henry Martyn. Mr. Payne has labored with much success in this vicinity.

I had much pleasing and profitable intercourse with the Christian friends here; and it must be considered that the state of religion among the people is good. The population of the town is not above 1,000, yet there are three places of worship. The Presbyterian reckons about 500 attendants and 300 members; the Methodist about 300, and 200 members; and the African, about 150, and 60 members. In the Sunday schools, there are about 250 children. A lady told me, I think, that there was no mother of a family who was not a member of some church. The Temperance cause has worked beneficially here. There were nine spirit stores, now there is only one; indeed, it was the custom to have water and spirits on the counter of every store, to be used at pleasure; this custom has now disappeared.

The town, as a settlement, has many attractions. It is surrounded by beauty, and stands at the head of a valley, flowing with milk and honey. House rent is low; provisions are cheap, abundant, and of the best quality. Flowers and gardens are more prized here than in most places; and by consequence the humming-bird is found in larger numbers. That beautiful little creature has much the habits and appearance of the bee; and the trumpet honey-suckle seems to be a favorite plant, on account of its cell being enriched with honey.

At the request of Mr. Douglas, I made an excursion to visit his friends, and to inspect Weyer's Cave. This cave is esteemed one of the greatest natural curiosities; occasionally, it is lighted up by some 2,000 or 3,000 candles, for the accommodation of visiters; and this was to happen just at this time. We were a party of five, and started early in the morning, with a four-wheeled chaise and two saddle-horses. We halted at Colonel M'Dowell's, hoping to bait both ourselves and cattle there. The colonel is a man of large property and high connections; he has a son in the House of Representatives, and a son-in-law in the Senate. We were most kindly received.

The day was hot, about 90 deg.; and we were in the hall. It had, as is frequently the case, the dimensions of a room, and was supplied with sofa, chairs, and table. It is preferred at this season, because of its greater coolness; and it is not uncommon to see the whole family occupied in it and the porch, or portico, on a fine evening. This, with the naked foot, the fan, and the lighter dress, illustrate some of the eastern manners and historical descriptions of sacred Scripture. We partook of an excellent repast; and, refreshed in body and spirit, proceeded on our way, after having given a promise that we would use their house in our return. The colonel's lady, addressing me as the stranger, "could not consent to an Englishman passing their door."

In the evening, we sought to shorten our way, and lost ourselves in the woods. This gave us some perplexity and some amusement. It made us, however, late, and our cattle weary; and, as we had still to ford a river, it gave us some concern. At nightfall, we reached it; but at the wrong place. We attempted it; it was almost unfordable. The waters were high, and they ran over the horse's back, and into the carriage, so that our feet and luggage were standing in water. We urged the horse to the utmost, and we succeeded; but, with a tired animal and a heavy carriage, the experiment was full of hazard.

In our wet condition, and in the dark night, we came to Captain Hall's to solicit hospitality. It was not asked in vain. The captain is a farmer; and, as he was expecting no one, his principal room was converted into a carpenter's shop; but we were offered the best that circumstances allowed. I retired early to rest. My attendant was a little slave. The child was distant at first; but was quickly encouraged by a kind word or look. He was very anxious to explore my dressing-case, and to get the names of things. The watch was familiar to him; but he could not understand what the compass was, and seemed afraid of it. He was inquisitive to know, but very careful in touching things. I found him at my bedside in the early morning, still seeking to obtain information, and to show some attentions. My rest would, I doubt not, have been fair, but for one source of interruption. I had left my window open for the sake of air, expecting no evil; but the cats must have used it for their gambols, for they were coursing about my chamber all night most disagreeably. If in no other way haunted, it was certainly a strange, and, I suppose, accustomed haunt of the cats.

Once out of the path, how difficult it is to return! We started again very early, but we still lost our way, and expected to arrive at the cave, after all our pains, too late for the spectacle. We reached the spot about one o'clock. The party of visiters had been, and were just sitting down to dinner. But the lights were burning, and the guides were willing; and this was, to my taste, the very time to see it, free from the noise and confusion of two hundred visiters. So, turning our back on the dinner, away we went.

The cave is found in a ridge of limestone hills, running parallel with the Blue Ridge. In going to it, you pass by Madison's cave, which was once an object of much interest, but is now neglected, from the greater attractions of the one we are about to explore. You ascend the side of the hill by a zigzag path of about 150 yards long, and then find yourself opposite a wooden door, which is the entrance, and having a bench, on which you rest, to get cool, or to prepare otherwise for ingress. Having passed the door, you find yourself in a small cave, which may be regarded as a lobby to the whole apartments. With raised expectations, you look about you, by the aid of the daylight, which is struggling to enter, for some openings more considerable. All that you see, however, is the mouth of what appears a dark recess about four feet square; and you are told this is your passage onward. You have no alternative, but to double yourself up into the smallest possible dimensions, and move along, after the lights of your guides, as well as you may, by the assistance of your hands.

Having scrambled along for about twenty-five feet, you come into some larger openings, which allow you the free use of your person. You look upward and around you, and find yourself surrounded by the most grotesque figures, formed, through ages, by the percolation of the waters, through the heavy arches of rock-work over your head; while the eye, glancing onward, catches the dim and distant glimmer of the lights—some in the deeps below, and some in the galleries above. On quitting these smaller rooms and galleries, you enter an ascending passage, of easy access; and on coming to its extremity, you see the opening of a large cavern spread before you, and the commencement of some steps by which you are to descend. Your care is engaged in getting safely down; but when you have obtained your standing on the floor, you are delighted to find yourself in a large cavern, of irregular formation, and full of wild beauty. It is about thirty by fifty feet, and is called Solomon's Temple. The incrustations become finer here. At your right hand, they hang just like a sheet of water that had been frozen as it fell. There they rise before you in a beautiful stalactitic pillar; and yonder they compose an elevated seat, surrounded by sparry pinnacles, which sparkle beautifully in the light. The one is called Solomon's Throne, and the other his Pillar.

On leaving the Temple, you enter another room more irregular, but more beautiful. Besides having ornaments in common, it spreads over you a roof of most admirable and singular formation. It is entirely covered with stalactites, which are suspended from it like inverted pinnacles. They are of the finest material, and are most beautifully shaped and embossed.

You now make an ascent of several feet, and move along a passage, and through two or three lobbies, and come to what is called the Twin-room, and find your way is just on the verge of a dark cavern, which is yawning at your feet, and is named the Devil's Oven. A descent is now made of some difficulty, and from an elevation of about forty feet; and you enter a large room, which is called the Tanyard. This, like some of the rest, is an absurd name; but it has been adopted from the force of association. There are in the rocky floor of this room large cavities, which may be thought to resemble the tanpits; and from the ceiling are suspended large sheets of beautiful stalactites, which resemble the tanner's hides. You advance to an upper floor in this room, which has chiefly one ornament, and that is sufficient. There is, extending along the room, and from roof to floor, an immense sheet of the finest stalactite. When it is struck with the hand, it emits deep and mellow sounds, like those of a muffled drum, and is called the Drum-room.

You now rise by some natural steps to a platform, which you have again to descend, and then find yourself in what is named the Ball-room. It is a handsome and large apartment, about 100 feet long, 36 wide, and 26 high. Its floor is so level as to admit of dancing, and it has been used for this purpose. There is in the centre of it a large calcareous deposite, which has received the name of Paganini's Statue; the whole room is relieved by grotesque concretions; and the effect of the lights burning at every elevation, and leaving hidden more than they revealed, is exceedingly fine.

From the Ball-room you make an ascent of 40 feet. This is named Frenchman's Hill; from the circumstance that a visiter from France, with his guide, had their lights extinguished at this spot.—Happily, the guide had such an accurate knowledge of the locality, that after much difficulty, they got safely back, a distance of more than 500 feet. You wind your way through passages, and make a descent of nearly 30 feet, by what is known as Jacob's Ladder, with pits and caverns opening about you, and come into the Senate Chamber, and afterward to Congress Hall. The last is a fine room, very like the Ball-room, but with an uneven floor. As you leave it, an immense cavern spreads itself before you, with the dim lights gleaming over its mouth, so as to make its unfathomed darkness horrible. You gaze on it with amazement, and instinctively long to pass on, lest it should drink you up. It has received the name of "Infernal Regions." By another lobby, and another descent, you enter Washington Hall. This is the most wonderful opening of the whole. It is 250 feet long, and 38 feet high. There is a fine sheet of rock-work running up the centre of this room, and giving it the aspect of two separate and noble galleries, till you look above, where you observe the partition rises only 20 feet towards the roof, and leaves the fine arch expanding over your head untouched. There is a beautiful concretion here standing out in the room, which certainly has the form and drapery of a gigantic statue; it bears the name of the Nation's Hero, and the whole place is filled with those projections, appearances which excite the imagination by suggesting resemblances, and leaving them unfinished. The general effect, too, was perhaps indescribable. The fine perspective of this room, four times the length of an ordinary church; the numerous tapers, when near you, so encumbered by deep shadows as to give only a dim religious light; and when at a distance, appearing in their various attitudes like twinkling stars on a deep dark heaven; the amazing vaulted roof spread over you, with its carved and knotted surface, to which the streaming lights below in vain endeavored to convey their radiance; together with the impression that you had made so deep an entrance, and were so entirely cut off from the living world and ordinary things; produces an effect which, perhaps, the mind can receive but once, and will retain for ever.

On leaving these striking apartments, you pass through a passage in which is standing some grand formations, named Cleopatra's Needle, and the Pyramids; and then enter a room called the Church. The appearances in this instance suggest the name. It has about the dimensions of a church, and has an elevation of about 50 feet. There is at one end an elevated recess, which has the air of a gallery. At the back of this gallery there are a number of pendent stalactites, of an unusual size and beauty. They are as large as the pipes of a full-sized organ, and are ranged similarly. They emit, when struck, mellow sounds of various keys; and if a stick is run over them, as we run the finger over musical glasses, they make pleasant music. There is nothing forced in giving this instrument the appellation of organ; it is one of the best that nature ever made; and the most remarkable that I ever beheld.

At the other extremity there rises from the ground (not stuck on a roof, as we frequently see) a beautiful spire of considerable height; and this is the steeple.

You pass by the steeple, and come into an apartment which has the name of the Dining-room. It has similar dimensions to the Church; and on its left side there is a continued elevation, resembling a table. You now enter an immense gallery, about 10 feet wide, and some 121 feet long, and from 80 to 100 feet high. You turn aside to visit a small apartment, but of exquisite beauty. Here the most singular sparry concretions hang pendent from the roof, while an equal number are growing up from the ground in several degrees of progress, many of them meeting in the centre, and becoming one.—Winding passages are left among them, which make a sort of labyrinth; and as they are semi-pelluced, the passing of the lights through the several alleys has a very singular effect. This has the name of the Garden of Eden.

You return to the Dining-room, and pass by a dark opening at your feet, which is the mouth of a cavern, into which the foot of man has never been. It can only be explored by rope ladders; and it is supposed, though I think without sufficient reason, to be charged with mephitic gases, fatal to life.—You may now make an ascent of some 50 feet, if your nerves allow, and your reward will be adequate to your pains. You must climb over the face of the rock, which has nearly a perpendicular pitch, and you will then find yourself on an elevated platform, and surrounded by loopholes and striking figures. You may now look down from your eminence, which is the Giant's Causeway, into the large illuminated rooms you have left, and perhaps see a small party moving over the floors in misty shadow. Here stands out in relief before you, and on the very verge of the platform, a fine group of stalagmites, white as alabaster, and suggesting to the fancy the figures of a small party of horse moving over high and dangerous precipices. They are Bonaparte and his Guards. There is a fine arch expanding before you over the scene below; you may with caution, ascend on its head, and by this means gain a more commanding view of the objects so far beneath you.

But we must hasten on. When you have made your descent to the ordinary level, and move on your returning course, you pass by an enormous and most beautiful concretion. It is a tower, about 30 feet each way at the base, and rising in diminished squares to the height of 30 feet. It is a stalagmite; nearly as white and clear as alabaster, and dazzles you by its capacity to reflect lights.

You pass, also, some fine springs, at which you may refresh yourself on the way. There is one I must distinguish before we leave. You ascend, in getting to it, a steep of 12 feet, by a ladder, and then, by a little hard climbing, attain to the end of the recess, and stand before what is named the Source of the Nile. It is a fine transparent spring, and is very remarkable for being covered with a thin pellicle of stalagmite. It is strong enough to bear you; and has a hole cut in the centre, which gives you access to the water.

I hope you will not think you have been detained too long on this spectacle. My regret is, that I have only described one half of what it unfolds, and that with haste and imperfection. It is, in my judgment, one of the great natural wonders of this new world; and for its eminence in its own class, deserves to be ranked with the Natural Bridge and Niagara, while it is far less known than either. Its dimensions, by the most direct course, are more than 1,600 feet; and by the more winding paths, twice that length; and its objects are remarkable for their variety, formation, and beauty. In both respects, it will, I think, compare, without injury to itself, with the celebrated Grotto of Antiparos.

For myself, I acknowledge the spectacle to have been most interesting; but, to be so, it must be illuminated, as on this occasion. I had thought that this circumstance might give to the whole a toyish effect; but the influence of 2,000 or 3,000 lights on these immense caverns is only such as to reveal the objects, without disturbing the solemn and sublime obscurity which sleeps on every thing. Scarcely any scenes can awaken so many passions at once, and so deeply. Curiosity, apprehension, terror, surprise, admiration, and delight, by turns and together, arrest and possess you. I have had before, from other objects, one simple impression made with greater power; but I never had so many impressions made, and with so much power, before. If the interesting and the awful are the elements of the sublime, here sublimity reigns, as in her own domain, in darkness, silence, and deeps profound.

On emerging from this subterrene world, our first concern was to perform our ablutions and rectify our dresses. This done, we hastened to the inn in search of refreshments. Here we were presented with a singular contrast to the scenes just contemplated. The inn-keeper had advertised his show over all the welkin; and his invitation had been fairly responded to; but he had not provided adequate accommodation. His inn was a little frame building, only fit for a small family; and had the day been wet, the company had been in a wretched condition. The two upper rooms were crowded with females, who were waiting in succession to enjoy the use of a single looking-glass, that they might arrange their dresses, and put themselves above ridicule. Below, the two rooms were equally thronged with men, who were making way to the bar for their potion of mint-julap, and other favorite mixtures. Many preferred rather to rely on the pure spirit, than on mixtures of any kind. All, perhaps, thought that the occasion, which is one of much fatigue and of exposure to great difference of temperature (not less than 30°) would justify the use of some potion; but many were not contented with a little; I never saw, at any other time, so many persons the worse for the use of spirituous liquors.

In front of the house, on the greensward, a table was prepared, with a wooden awning, which would receive about one third of the company. It was completely surrounded, and mostly by ladies, who were certainly discussing the matters before them with great earnestness; while their friends, lovers, and servants—young farmers, smart collegians, and blacks—were in bustling attendance behind, supplying their plates, fanning their persons, and passing the merry joke and joyous laugh around. Apart from these were a multitude who had already partaken of the feast, reposing on chairs, or expanding themselves on the turf, talking, smoking, or listening to the squeaking fiddle of an old merry slave, who was doing his best to gather up the loose halfpence of the company. It offered to one an interesting specimen of the people for thirty miles round. It was composed chiefly of the young; and most of them seemed to have come rather to enjoy a frolic than to gratify an intelligent curiosity. One of their greatest faults was that of doing so much wanton mischief to the more delicate ornaments of the cave.

All who went to the cave paid for the refreshments; but as they were not easy to get at, and not very tempting when obtained, we partook of our sandwiches, and, admonished by approaching evening, prepared to leave. The black, who had attended our horses, and who had been recompensed by Mr. Douglas, thinking that I was not aware of this, came up to me, and taking hold of my stirrup, said, in a plaintive voice and look, "Massa, it's been bad day to me! It 'most breaks my heart, to do so much and get so little. Massa!" I have no doubt that Massa made a very good day of it; but these men are very insinuating; and bondage and cunning go together.

We endeavored to return by a nearer and better course. From the advancing state of the day, and the wearied state of ourselves and horses, it was necessary that we should accept the first accommodations on the road. At a distance of five miles from the cave, we arrived at a village named New Hope, and at a tavern with the sign of "Plain Dealing Hotel." Now, as I have no relish for terms of cant, either in civil or religious life, I thought this sign somewhat ominous. On a nearer survey, some of us maintained that it could not contain us; but Mr. D. thought its capacities greater than its appearance; and so we alighted. The sleeping-rooms, as they were called, were in the angles of the roof, and were more like dove-cotes than bed-chambers; moreover, others were to have access to them. We determined, therefore, to have the beds down stairs, and to sleep on the floor of the sitting and eating-room.

When the time for this arrangement came, I was consulted by my hostess on my preference for a straw-mattress or feather-bed. Now, unused as I was to sleep on the boards, and harboring, as I did, from my weary and bruised state, a special dislike to all hard sounds, I hastily resolved on the feather-bed. For me, this was a fatal choice. My friends had the mattresses, and, therefore, preserved between themselves and the floor a substance of some elasticity; but as for me and my feather-bed, whenever I thought to place myself upon it, and however softly, away went the feathers on either side, and left me just to the blank and knotted boards. It was a weary night, relieved only by two circumstances. The first was, that my friends were sleeping fairly; and the second was, that at midnight, some one opened the window, entered the room, and passed away to his place of slumber without ceremony. We had secured our door to prevent such intrusion; but this was done in simplicity. Doors are the only mode of entrance to some; they are only one of many to others. However, the people of this house, though of the plainest, gave us all the accommodation in their power; and plain dealing with them seems to have prospered, for they are carrying up a much better house for their own and the public use.

We rose with the sun, and hastened on our way before the heat of the day. We paused at the "Tinkling Springs," where we found a church, a school-house, and a burial-ground, in the heart of the woods; at Granville, where we left Mr. Douglas, at the dwelling of his mother; and at Colonel M'Dowell's, as we promised, where we had the same kindnesses repeated; and at length reached Lexington, after an excursion which was very gratifying at the time, and which will, I doubt not, be pleasant to recollection always.

I had only half a day remaining to see the Natural Bridge; and to have left Lexington without seeing it, would have been a piece of Vandalism which the good people would not have forgiven. Colonel Reid, and two other gentlemen, accompanied me; Mr. Carruthers had become unwell by the heat of the weather in our previous trip. On this occasion it was worse; the glass was at 95° and we had to ride on horseback in the presence of an intolerable sun. I perspired almost equally to what I had done at Louisville. But the sight leaves you neither weariness nor regret.

This famous bridge is on the head of a fine limestone hill, which has the appearance of having been rent asunder by some terrible convulsion in nature. The fissure thus made is about ninety feet; and over it the bridge runs, so needful to the spot, and so unlikely to have survived the great fracture, as to seem the work of man; so simple, so grand, so great as to assure you that it is only the work of God. The span of the arch runs from 45 to 60 feet wide; and its height, to the under line, is about 200 feet, and to the head about 240! The form of the arch approaches to the elliptical; and it is carried over on a diagonal line, the very line of all others so difficult to the architect to realize; and yet so calculated to enhance the picturesque beauty of the object!

There are chiefly three points of sight. You naturally make your way to the head of the bridge first; and as it is a continuation of the common road, with its sides covered with fine shrubs and trees, you may be on it before you are aware. But the moment you approach through the foliage to the side, you are filled with apprehension. It has, indeed, a natural parapet; but few persons can stand forward and look over. You instinctively seek to reduce your height, that you may gaze on what you admire with security. Even then it agitates you with dizzy sensations.

You then make your way some fifty feet down the bosom of the hill, and are supplied with some admirable standings on the projecting rock-work, to see the bridge and all its rich accompaniments. There is, 200 feet below you, the Cedar river, apparently motionless, except where it flashes with light, as it cuts its way through the broken rocks. Mark the trees, of every variety, but especially the fir, how they diminish as they stand on the margin of its bed; and how they ascend, step by step, on the noble rock-work, till they overshadow you; still preserving such delicacy of form and growth, as if they would not do an injury, while they lend a grace. Observe those hills, gathering all around you in their fairest forms and richest verdure, as if to do honor to a scene of surpassing excellence. Now look at the bridge itself, springing from this bed of verdant loveliness, distinct, one, complete! It is before you in its most picturesque form. You just see through the arch, and the internal face of the farther pier is perfectly revealed. Did you ever see such a pier—such an arch? Is it not most illusive! Look at that masonry. Is it not most like the perfection of art; and yet what art could never reach? Look at that coloring. Does it not appear like the painter's highest skill, and yet unspeakably transcend it?

This is exquisite. Still you have no just conception of this masterpiece until you get below. You go some little distance for this purpose, as in the vicinity of the bridge the rocks are far too precipitous. A hot and brilliant day is, of all others, the time to enjoy this object. To escape from a sun which scorches you, into these verdant and cool bottoms, is a luxury of itself, which disposes you to relish every thing else. When down, I was very careful of the first impression, and did not venture to look steadily on the objects about me till I had selected my station. At length I placed myself about 100 feet from the bridge, on some masses of rock, which were washed by the running waters, and ornamented by the slender trees which were springing from its fissures. At my feet was the soothing melody of the rippling, gushing waters. Behind me, and in the distance, the river and the hills were expanding themselves to the light and splendor of day. Before me, and all around, every thing was reposing in the most delightful shade, set off by the streaming rays of the sun, which shot across the head of the picture far above you, and sweetened the solitude below. On the right and left, the majestic rocks arose, with the decision of a wall, but without its uniformity, massive, broken, beautiful, and supplying a most admirable foreground; and, every where, the most delicate stems were planted in their crevices, and waving their heads in the soft breeze, which occasionally came over them. The eye now ran through the bridge, and was gratified with a lovely vista. The blue mountains stood out in the back ground; beneath them, the hills and woods gathered together, so as to enclose the dell below; while the river, which was coursing away from them, seemed to have its well-head hidden in their recesses. Then there is the arch, distinct from every thing, and above every thing! Massive as it is, it is light and beautiful by its height, and the fine trees on its summit seem now only like a garland of evergreens; and, elevated as it is, its apparent elevation is wonderfully increased by the narrowness of its piers, and by its outline being drawn on the blue sky, which appears beneath and above it! Oh, it is sublime—so strong, and yet so elegant—springing from earth, and bathing its head in heaven! But it is the sublime not allied to the terrific, as at Niagara; it is the sublime associated with the pleasing. I sat, and gazed in wonder and astonishment. That afternoon was the shortest I ever remembered. I had quickly, too quickly, to leave the spot for ever; but the music of those waters, the luxury of those shades, the form and colors of those rocks, and that arch—that arch—rising over all, and seeming to offer a passage to the skies—O, they will never leave me!

LETTER XVI.

My dear friend—At four the next morning I left Lexington in the carriage of a friend, having made it one of my few resting places. My intention was to join Mr. Douglas at a four-day sacramental meeting, at which he was attending. The congregation in which it occurred was in a state of revival, and it was among the most prosperous of this country. I had a strong desire to commune with the assembled Christians on the solemn occasion, and to make myself acquainted with the appearances of religion among them.

We had about fifteen miles to go, and partly from the heaviness of the roads, and partly from the heat of the day, we did not arrive till after the morning service had begun. The first indication of our approach to the church was in the appearance of an immense number of saddle horses, from 300 to 400, lashed to the trees; and, as we continued to wind our way along, we presently saw portions of the building through the clustering trunks and foliage. On reaching the place, we found it crowded to excess, and enlivened without by a great number standing in the open doorways, sitting on the steps, or reposing on the grass, where they might have the chance of hearing; and, in many instances, charged with the care of young and happy children, too gay to be quiet in a state of confinement. The associations were interesting; here was a large congregation, proper to a city, convened in the depths of the forest. The circumstances were striking; the day was exceedingly hot, but here people, cattle, church, and all, were thrown into most delightful shade by the overtopping trees, except where the sun shot down through an opening before the sanctuary, like a pillar of light and glory.

We managed to gain admittance. It was the sacramental service. Messrs. Morrison, Douglas, and Armstrong, were officiating. The pastor admitted twelve persons to the church, and three of them were baptized previously. The other services were in the usual order of the Presbyterian Church. The members came successively to the tables; the persons of color coming last. There must have been 500 persons communicating. There was the appearance of true seriousness on the whole assembly; and every thing was as quiet and solemn as it could be with a house so crowded, and the exchange of places which this method makes necessary. I gratefully united with them; we ate of one bread and drank of one cup, and were, I trust, of one spirit. In such circumstances, there was great power and sweetness in that promise, "I will be to them as a little sanctuary in the wilderness."

At noon a pause was made for half an hour, as a period of refreshment. Then you might have seen the family and friendly groups, in all directions, seated at the feet of the gigantic trees, partaking of their simple repast, and welcoming all to partake who were provided with less than themselves.

The afternoon service was renewed and sustained in like spirit. The birds, which had found a nest for themselves within and without this sacred habitation, flew in and out by the open windows, seeming to excite no observation except to myself, so rural were the habits of this people!

At the close of the engagements, I went with Mr. Morrison. His dwelling is about two miles distant. It was really a beautiful sight to see this people—men, women, and children—all mounted on their fine horses, and starting away, as from a centre, into every part of the forest, where you would think there was no way to be found. In our own line, we had quite a cavalcade, such as old Chaucer might have celebrated. As we advanced over glade, and brook, and dingle, our path forked, and we broke off to the right and left; and again it forked, and again we were scattered. My eye long rested on them. Now you might see a single horseman take his solitary path through the woods: now a family cluster, parent, child, and grandchild; and now an aged pair, who told you that they were closing life as they began it, alone. Now they thrid their way through the thickening forest; now they disappear in the dingle: now you see them again, but indistinctly, and far away; and now they vanish altogether. My eye searched for them in vain. Why should it have searched at all? I did not know these people—I had not spoken to them. Why, then, did a sentiment of regret steal over me, as they vanished, one by one, perhaps to be seen no more for ever? You can understand this.

The following day was the last of the four, and nothing would satisfy my brethren but that I should preach in the morning. There was an excellent attendance, and the people evidently heard with attention and seriousness. One circumstance gave me some surprise at the moment. Towards the close of the sermon, some twenty or thirty men rose, after each other, and went out, and in the course of three or four minutes returned to their places. It was evidently not the effect of inattention, for they were attentive themselves, and showed concern to disturb the hearing of others as little as possible. I could not imagine the cause; but it was afterward explained, that some rain had fallen, and they had gone out to cover the saddles, that they might not get wet. Apart from the unpleasantness and hazard of a wet saddle, the young people here are very chary of their horses and their accoutrements, as, more than any thing, these mark the respectability of the party.

I took my leave of the people, while yet assembled, and waiting other services, as I had to hasten on to Staunton that day. My esteemed friend also excused himself to his people, and kindly insisted that he would convey me so far on my journey. I was greatly obliged by this mark of friendship, especially as it allowed me an opportunity of free intercourse with him on subjects touching his charge.

I learned that this neighborhood had been long settled, though the population was so concealed; and that the present church is the third that has been built on the spot. The first was a mere log erection. The inhabitants were till a late period much annoyed by the Indians. There was a fort on the plantation where my friend resides; and most of the houses were fortified, and the people obliged to bring their rifles to church, to protect themselves from attack.

My friend had been settled here since the year 1819, and it was his maiden charge. When he came, he thought there was a good impression on the minds of the people, from the sudden death of a beloved minister. The church was comparatively small, but there was a large body of hopeful young persons who had not yet professed the Saviour. His labors for the first five years were very successful. After this, there was a pause in his usefulness, which gave him much distress. He could not avoid connecting this very much with the abundant production and use of distilled liquors throughout his parish. They had all, as farmers, fallen into the practice of converting their surplus corn and fruit into spirit. This, of course, was a great temptation. He made it the subject of consideration and prayer. He determined to press the claims of the Temperance cause on their consciences. He did it with firmness, but with equal prudence and temper. It had nearly unsettled him with his charge for a time; for some of the leading farmers resisted, and became adverse to him. However, some yielded, and others followed; and this was succeeded by a revived state of religion such as they have not known; and it has continued for the last four years. Before this effort, no less than 150,000 barrels of spirits were produced, and each family had a still; now not 5,000 are made, and but one person holds a still. The farmers, too, have found a better market for their surplus produce, and are every way more prosperous.

To assist your judgment on this interesting case, I will supply you with the additions to this church through a course of years, as taken from the register. In the year 1819, the year of his settlement, fourteen persons were added; in 1820, thirty; in 1821, eighteen; in 1822, sixty-eight; in 1823, forty-four; in 1824, five; in 1825, six; in 1826, nine; in 1827, six; in 1828, nine; in 1829, three; in 1830, six; in 1831, one hundred and four; in 1832, forty; in 1833, two hundred and seventy-four; and in the year 1834, up to August, twenty-five were added. In the first revival no means were used except preaching, and meetings for prayer. In the second, which includes the last four years, similar means were used with more frequency; and in a few instances, the serious were separated from the rest of the congregation. The persons impressed and converted on these occasions were, with very few exceptions, from fifteen to thirty years of age, inclining to the younger period. Those in respectable life were at least equally affected with others; and in the second revival, the work began in the more wealthy families, and passed downward to the poor and the servants. There was in neither case, nor at any time, the least noise or disorder; and the most useful seasons have always been characterized by deep stillness and solemnity. The first and chief sign for good, in every case, Mr. Morrison remarked with emphasis, has been an increased spirit of prayer.

The effects were very exhilarating. There are now about 600 members of the church, and nearly 200 of them are under twenty-five years of age, though scarcely any under fifteen. The family composing this church, cover a district of land about ten miles square. There is scarcely one that has not domestic worship. They have no poor to receive charity from the sacrament, and only one person needing help, who receives it through private channels; and they contributed 1,000 dollars last year to foreign religious objects. The pastor's salary, I think, is 800 dollars; and this my friend considers equal to 1,800 in New-York.

Interesting conversations whiled the time away. We halted to refresh, and to take leave of our friends, the Douglases; and then drove on to Staunton. We alighted at the principal hotel. It was kept by a religious family, and Mr. Morrison was known and esteemed by them. We were entertained in their private rooms. They had read of the Deputation in the papers, and soon learned that I must be a member of it; and were eager to show, as to a Christian and an Englishman, the utmost attentions. We had a room full to social worship, and had the sensation of being members of a private household, rather than of guests at a tavern.

In the morning I was up with the day, for I had to leave by the stage at four o'clock. My beloved friend (such I must now call him) had also risen to continue his kindness to the last moment. We spoke; we were silent; we separated.

I had, in this ride, to cross the Blue Ridge; and was quickly roused from my musings on the past, by hearing that we were about to make the ascent. It was full four miles, and consumes much time; but this was no matter of complaint under such circumstances. I must not, however, hold your attention with renewed descriptions of mountain scenery. Let me merely remark, that while, in the ascent, the nearer objects greatly resembled some things that have been described, there is considerable difference on attaining the full elevation. No single object stands out with prominence; but all that you have seen, and greatly more, is spread before you at once in grand, expanded, and mellowed harmony. There is before you a field of mountain heads, like to what may be seen in Wales or Scotland, beautifully colored, and bloomed by a blue mist which rests on them. And behind you is the valley you have left, now blended with other valleys, which together form only the raised foreground to the prodigious valley of the Mississippi, which stretches away and away, till it is lost in the horizon, and which might receive all the inhabitants of Europe, and ask for more. I knew not in which direction to look with most eagerness and continuity. Sometimes I preferred the mountain, and then the valley picture; and the enjoyment of either, I knew, must be very short. I gazed and admired again and again, so long as our driver would allow; and when we began to descend, I felt that I was about to separate from another friend, and to separate for ever.

My intention in crossing the Blue Ridge, was to make Charlottesville in my way to Richmond. The University of that place is considered foremost in the literary institutions of this people, and it was desirable that it should not be overlooked. The site for the town and University could not have been better chosen. It is composed of fine swells of land; is surrounded by beautiful open country; and the blue hills lie in the distance delightfully. If one may be governed by ordinary indications, it must be highly salubrious.

The town is small, and has an unfinished appearance. The inhabitants, however, are respectable, and have a measure of refinement not frequently met with in towns of this class; but literature has a tendency to humanize and refine all things where it comes. The only deduction on this impression is, that the stocks and the pillory stand in the court-yard, as a means of correction for the poor blacks.

The religious character of this place is too remarkable to be unnoticed. It will be understood that the University was promoted chiefly by Jefferson, and on avowedly skeptical and infidel principles. This gave the character to the town. It had no religious means; and the evil was increased from time to time, by the settlement of such persons only as were at least indifferent to means which it did not supply. This was the state of things till twenty-five years since, when a lady was brought, by her husband's engagements at the University, to reside in the town. She was a person of piety, and of course lamented greatly the moral and spiritual condition of the people. What she lamented, she sought to remove. She determined to commence, in her own house, a Sabbath school, for the religious instruction of the young. She persevered through many difficulties, and found reward in her work. The influence of her benevolent exertions, as well as of her excellent character, touched her husband: and he learned to honor the religion he had thoughtlessly despised. Strengthened by his concurrence, she proposed that their dwelling should be opened once on the Sabbath for divine worship, that the people might have some opportunity of separating that day from their common time. The work of faith and love was crowned with success. Various ministers gave their services; and the people attended, listened, were impressed, and converted from worldliness and ungodliness. There are now, in this town, of about 1,000 in population, four places of worship—Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Methodist. Upwards of 600 persons habitually attend them, and there are about 150 children in the Sabbath schools. The excellent lady who made the first movement in this change, still lives—a mother in Israel; and the contrast of the former with the present times, in the history of this community, must often supply her with pleasant and grateful recollections.

From the town let us make a transition to the University. It was the favorite object of Jefferson. He gave it great pains, and was disposed to rest his reputation with posterity upon it. So far as morality and religion were concerned, his intention was to found it, not merely on liberal, but on infidel principles. His opinions had been mostly formed in the French school of that day; and into his views of education, there entered something of the acuteness and malignity of Voltaire, with a portion of the speciousness and extravagance of Rousseau. This was styled philosophy; and this philosophy was to govern the establishment, or rather, it was to give the youths license to govern themselves. They were to bow to no authority; they were to be controlled by no law, but were to be left to their own honor as a sufficient principle of action. The fact was, however, that when the young men were fairly left to their honor, their honor left them. Disorder, dissipation, and folly, became predominant. The better class of pupils was withdrawn. The professors took disgust, and looked around them for stations where order and conscience were still regarded; and the whole frame of this University was threatened with dissolution. So far, then, as this was an experiment in favor of infidelity, like every other experiment, it has failed—completely failed.

What, then, you are ready to ask, is its condition now? For the sake of the cause of letters, I am happy to state, that it is one of renovation and great promise. All the professors saw and felt the evil which had come over this noble institution, and threatened its destruction; and generally they agreed in the remedy. They adopted a decided and vigorous system of discipline; they honored the name and institutions of religion; they subscribed at their own expense to support ministers, who should, in turn, conduct public worship within the University, and are now raising a subscription to build a church for this very purpose. The consequence is, that order is restored, and with it public confidence; and youth of respectable and pious connections are flocking to it from the surrounding States. The professorships are again sought by men of the first attainment; and it is likely to do honor to the expectations of an aspiring people. It is now an experiment in favor of education, still conducted on liberal principles, but with religious sanctions; and if it is steadily sustained, with a fixed regard to this issue, it will succeed!

The Rev. Mr. Bowman, Presbyterian minister of this place, though unwell, kindly attended me to the University, and introduced me to Professor Patteson. It was the vacation, and the professor regretted that most of the officers and pupils were away. He conducted me over the principal buildings, and took great and obliging pains to satisfy my inquiries. There is here an observatory, an excellent library, a good philosophical apparatus, and a rising collection of minerals.

Externally, the mass of erections have an imposing and grand effect, and they are much assisted to this by the ground which they occupy. With some slight variations since, the plan is wholly Jefferson's. He gave it very deep and close attention; and obtained, by his extraordinary influence, large grants from the State in its favor. But these grants were not well applied, nor these pains skilfully directed. The erection, as a whole, will not endure the touch of rigid criticism. He saw that diversity of line, figure, and position, often contribute to striking effect, but he saw no more. The principal figure is the Rotunda; answering to its name, while every thing else is as square as square can be. It is a very high circular wall, built of red bricks, with a dome on its summit, and with windows perforated round it. It stands naked and alone at the head of the picture. Running down from this, on either hand, are the dwellings for the professors, and the lecture-rooms, forming two sides of a handsome area. They are detached erections, with large columns rising their whole height; and they are united by a colonnade running over the ground story, so that a line of columns, that is meant to be one to the eye, supplies you, at intervals, with pillars fifteen and thirty feet high! The accommodations for the pupils are in the background, and are not meant to appear in the principal scene. Jefferson was proud of his success as an architect; so proud that, notwithstanding the glare of his red bricks, and of a scorching sun, he would not allow any trees to be planted, lest they should hide the work of his hands! Now that he is gone, the young trees are appearing; and, ungrateful as he was, are beginning to screen his defects, and to give a grace and a keeping to the scene which gratifies the eye, and harmonizes with the quiet pursuits of the place.

In quitting the University, let me, while I have spoken freely of Jefferson, do him justice in this particular. He was not an architect, and, unhappily, he was not a Christian; but he was a great man, and he sought with much pains to confer honor and benefit on his country, by the establishment of a great literary institution. When the evils of his system shall have been removed, his name will still be identified with it, and will command the respect of his countrymen.

On the same day I had to leave, by the stage, for Richmond. We had a fair night's rest at a comfortable inn on our way. The following morning we broke down, and were detained some hours without breakfast. Delay was also promoted by the heat of the season; this line of coaches had six horses fall and expire on the road during the week. It was late in the day, therefore, before we arrived at the capital.

Richmond is a fine city, with a population of about 15,000 persons. It has a commanding situation on the margin of the James river, from which it rises on the slopes of two fine hills. The main street is wide, handsome, and indicative of business; and the retired streets are occupied by genteel and commodious residences, agreeably shaded and ornamented by the althea, the honeysuckle, the locust, the catalpa, the pride of China, and the Taheitan mulberry. The ride into the town, from Charlottesville over the downs, is striking; and the distant view across the river is not less so. The buildings and streets are seen running up the sides of the hills, relieved and softened by the abundant and spreading foliage. The more important erections cluster round its summit; and on its head stands, above every thing, the State House, spreading its noble portico to the sun. Few spots can do more honor to a city.

I had designed to remain here over the Sabbath; but, on learning that a camp-meeting was about to be held on the Northern Neck, I resolved at once to move forward, as I might not find another opportunity. This left me only one clear day at Richmond; and I am indebted to many kind friends, especially to Mr. Burr, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, for assisting me to make the best use of my time here.

This place, like Charlottesville, has undergone a great change in the last thirty years. At that time there were only one or two neglected Episcopal places of worship. The people were all given up to worldliness or infidelity. The influence of Jefferson was felt also here, and it was felt as a blight on all religious sentiment. Slavery had, however, done a greater mischief. Now there are thirteen places of worship, and 1,000 children in the Sabbath schools. The blacks are not allowed their own places of worship; and the Baptist and Methodist congregations are mostly composed of them. A number of Jews reside here. They are not persecuted, nor any way disqualified on account of their religious persuasion; and the consequence is, that they forget their faith, intermarry, and are losing their personal distinctions.

I attended a prayer-meeting at the church, where my late esteemed friend and correspondent, Dr. Rice, labored successfully for many years. It was now without a pastor. The last minister, excellent as I know him to be, had pressed, in his great anxiety for usefulness, the subject of revivals too far; and it produced a re-action unfavorable to his comfort and continuance.

I visited also, with interest, the mother church of the town. It is Episcopal, and supposed to be the oldest in Virginia. It is a copy of one of our village churches, and is built of materials, and surrounded by a brick wall, which have been sent across from the father-land. Here is also what is called the Monumental Church; its portico is the sepulchre for nearly sixty persons, who perished in the conflagration of the theatre years since. By-the-by, the theatre has never flourished here from that time; I saw the existing one in circumstances promising to pass out of existence shortly. Here also was a striking evidence of the readiness with which the dogmas of the Unitarian and the Universalist will symbolize. They had a church here erected by them jointly, for a common act of worship; and the peculiarity of each party was attempted to be shown by the following inscription, that the public might not doubt the equality of the partnership:-

ERECTED IN 1831,
AND
DEDICATED
TO THE ONE GOD, AND TO JESUS CHRIST,
THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

Richmond, however, is still the great mart of slavery; and the interests of morality and religion suffer from this cause. Several persons of the greatest wealth, and therefore of the greatest consideration in the town, are known slave-dealers; and their influence, in addition to the actual traffic, is of course unfavorable. The sale of slaves is as common, and produces as little sensation, as that of cattle. It occurs in the main street, and before the door of the party who is commissioned to make the sale. The following is an advertisement of sale which appeared while I was there:—

"By J. & S. Cosby & Co.

"Trust Sale.

"By virtue of a deed of trust, executed to the subscriber by Hiram Chiles, I shall proceed to sell for cash, at the Auction Store of J. & S. Cosby & Co., on Monday, the 4th of August next, the following property, to wit:—Eliza, Henry, Nancy, Monarchy, Tom, and Edward, and six feather-beds and bedsteads, with furniture.

"Joseph Mayo, *Trustee*.
"J. & S. Cosby & Co., *Auctioneers*."

I had a desire to stay and witness this sale; but as I must have sacrificed the greater to the less in doing so, I kept by my determination to go forward.

I left, therefore, at two o'clock on the Friday for Fredericksburg. The road was flat and uninteresting; the weather very hot, and we had to travel all night. Moreover the coach was quite full, and not supplied with the most agreeable company. One of them was proud of telling us that he was an unlucky dog, and had lost 20,000 dollars by bad debts. Another was exclaiming against the brutes who would not be accommodating in a coach, that he might engross the accommodation to himself. There was a young woman with us, of decent but independent habits, and they had pleasure in bantering her. She, however, was a match for them. They thought, in one instance, they had got the laugh against her; and she exclaimed, without confusion, and with much shrewdness, "I should like to know what you are laughing at, for then I could laugh too." They were very desirous of knowing what I was; and at length they proposed that they should guess what each one was, and whence, with the hope of getting round to me. The guessing went round till all were disposed of except me. I was prepared for the attack, but it was not made. They looked at each other, and at me, but no one ventured on the question.

In the morning a most heavy thunder-storm came on, and attended us into the town. We had had several of these, and of wind-storms, lately. One of them, near a spot I passed, must have been a tremendous hurricane. It tore down numerous buildings, prostrated the trees in its course, and killed sixteen or twenty persons.

So soon as the storm permitted, I made my way to the house of Mr. Wilson, the esteemed Presbyterian minister of this place. He occupies the house that the mother of Washington lived in, and her remains lie in the garden attached. Here a bed, and every other domestic accommodation, were immediately placed at my use. My friend was very desirous that I should stay over the Sabbath, but when he found that my mind was otherwise, he was equally ready to help me on my way, except that he thought the direction in which I was going, was at the time very unhealthy; and he would only part with me on a promise that I would, by writing, assure him of my welfare. We spent a very pleasant, and to me profitable, evening together; and I have seldom parted with a friend in such haste, and with such regret.

LETTER XVII.

My dear friend—I had thought that I should be able to pass to the camp-ground at pleasure; but I found that if I went at all, I must leave by a boat that started the next morning. I had also concluded that I should arrive by it in time for the afternoon services, but in the event I was in this also disappointed.

Early in the morning I went on board the steamer to pass down the Rappahannoc. It is what is called a religious boat. There are Bibles strewed in the men's cabin, and a subscription-box for the Episcopal Tract Society; and in the ladies' cabin there are fancy articles on sale for missions. But this religious boat had not ceased to run on the Sunday, nor had the captain wholly broken himself of swearing. "He had wished," he said, "to avoid the Sunday; he had tried all days, and none would suit so well; and it saved a day to men of business;" a sort of reasoning familiar in more countries than one.

The day was fine and tranquil, and the atmosphere was lighter and cooler in consequence of the storm. There were but few persons on board, and they employed themselves in reading, singing, and conversation, while I sat mostly apart, enjoying the quiet of nature, and of my own thoughts. The sail down the river was beautiful. The stream was narrower than is usual, and winds in its course; the land swells and falls prettily, while the illimitable forest runs over its whole surface. We were, however, frequently stopping at different points of this forest to take in passengers, which assured us that there was habitation, though there were no appearances of it. Those, on this occasion, who were taken in, were religious persons; and at noon most of them left us. I afterward found that they had left for the camp-ground, and by a nearer course. As I was quite a stranger, and as wherever I landed I should still require to be conveyed to the interior, I judged it safest to adhere to my directions, even if they should not have been the best.

As we went onward, the Rappahannoc expanded beautifully before us, offering to our admiration a variety of creeks and bays, reposing in the glowing lights of the sun and the cool shades of the forest; while, on reaching deeper waters, an immense shoal of porpoises joined us, and for miles amused themselves by darting and plunging before the head of our vessel, with amazing velocity. At length we came to Merry Point, the place to which I had been directed, and which was occupied by Mr. Jesse, of whom I was assured I should readily receive any aid I might require. The dwelling, and two or three merry negroes, were all that appeared.

The captain, in my behalf, addressed the principal of them. "Is your master at home?"—"No."—"Is your mistress at home?"—"O, no—all gone to the camp."—"Well," said the captain, "here's a gentleman that wants him—can you take him in?" "O, yes," said the merry and assured fellow, "all as well as if master was here this minute, and give him all he wants." Notwithstanding this assurance, I was much perplexed. On the one hand, I must leave the boat here; there was no other house to which I could apply; and I could not get over to the camp-ground that evening. On the other hand, I shrunk from making free with a residence on the mere concurrence of the servants, and in the absence of the head of the family. However, I thought of Virginian hospitality, and reconciled myself to going on shore. I was quickly met by a young man, a relative of the family, who gave me welcome, and contributed to assure me in accepting the accommodations of the house.

When I had leisure to look around me, I felt interested in my place of sojourn. The dwelling was a neat cottage, having about six rooms, and kept nicely painted, with a few ornaments in the best room, such as sideboard and timepiece, imported from Baltimore, which indicated property, and a taste for improvement on the part of the possessor. Behind it was a small clearance, redeemed from the forest, and under good cultivation; before it, a grass-plot, enclosed with a hedge of the althea. On the one side was a cabin for the use of the slaves; and on the other a handsome walnut, overshadowing the warmer aspect of the cottage. The land fell away in slopes to the river, and was adorned by the oak, the acacia, the catalpa, and the woodbine; and the river here wound round the point, and formed a lovely creek, which ran into land and was lost in the woods. On the opposite banks of the creek was another cottage, surmounted by poplars, and surrounded by fruit-trees and corn-fields, which ran down the verdant banks, and dipped their feet in the placid waters. These were all the signs of human habitation; and all around you stood, in awful silence and majesty, the eternal forest. The declining sun gleamed athwart the scene, giving depth to the shadows of the woods, and illuminating the bosom of the waters. But all was still—perfectly still; except where the light canoe was gliding like magic over the creek, and leaving not a ripple behind.

I was called from this lovely picture by the announcement of supper or tea. A small clean napkin was placed on the table, and there were spread over it coffee, hot bread, butter, bacon, molasses, and a bowl of curds and whey. A female slave attended, to fan you, and to supply your wants.

On retiring to bed, I was introduced to a small room in the roof of the cottage, but very nicely provided with all I could want. My attendant was a little black girl. She glanced a quick eye on everything, to ascertain that all was right, and then stood in silence, looking to me for commands. She seemed surprised, and did not at first understand me when I dismissed her; from the circumstance, I suppose, that they are accustomed to render small attentions which we do not expect. My little slave was also the first thing that met my eye in the early morning. I had thought I had secured my door; but she had managed to enter, and when I awoke she was creeping, with shoeless foot, over the floor. Her duty then was to supply you with fresh water; as, by standing through the night, it becomes disagreeably hot.

My young friend had met my wishes, in providing for a movement towards the camp in the morning; and by six o'clock we had breakfasted, and had vaulted into our saddles. We were, however, scarcely on our way before we fell in with Mr. Jesse himself. He had heard of my arrival; had feared I should not be able to get over; and had left, at break of day, to fetch me. This was, indeed, very kind; it put me at my ease, and made the way plain and pleasant to me. But how it could have happened that they should hear of my coming, greatly surprised me. Mr. Jesse explained, that some person at the camp had been in Richmond when I was there, and had overheard me express an intention to go. This was enough to awaken attention; and I found that they had been expecting me daily; that the ministers had held an exercise of prayer, that my arrival might be an occasion of profit, and my judgment of their meeting without prejudice.

So soon as my kind friend had refreshed himself and his horse, we started again. We were now on the Northern Neck, an isthmus of various width, and some 150 miles long, which is separated from the mainland of Virginia by the Rappahannoc.—We had twelve miles to travel, and chiefly through pine barrens; reaches of land that are so denominated, because they will only bear pine. The morning was bright and elastic; I had an interesting companion, and my expectations were raised with the prospects before me. As we advanced, the land undulated pleasantly, the soil improved, and other timber of loftier growth appeared. When evidently approaching the spot, my eye pierced through the forest in search of some indications. We got at last into less frequented paths; wound again and again round the clustering trees and opposing stumps, and then came to what I regarded as the signs of the object sought. There were, under some trees, pens for the safety of horses; then there were carriages of all descriptions, appearing with horses and oxen, secured and at rest, and occasionally a negro in attendance on them. Then you passed by a large log-house, which was erected for the time, to supply lodging and food to such as needed them. Now you saw, in several directions, the parts of cabins, made of the pine-tree, and of the same color, and only distinguished from it by the horizontal lines in which it ran; and presently you found yourself at the entrance of all you wished to see.

There were in lines, intersected by the trees, a number of tents composed of log-wood, forming a quadrangle of about 180 feet. In the centre of the further line, in this square, there was a stand for the accommodation of the preachers, which would contain twelve or fourteen persons. Behind this were stems of trees laid down as seats for the negroes, running off in radiating lines, and closed by some tents for their use, and forming the segment of a circle. Before the stand, or pulpit, a rail was carried round the first five or six seats, which we called the altar; and seats, composed of tree-stems, filled up the centre of the square. Within, without, everywhere, the oak, the chestnut, and the fir appeared, and of finest growth; only those within the quadrangle were cleared of underwood, and trimmed up to aid the sight, so that they resembled the beautiful pillars of a cathedral; while their lofty heads, unpruned by the hand of man, united, and made a foliated ceiling, such as no cathedral could approach, and through which the blue sky and bright sun were glancing.

It was now the hour of morning worship. The pulpit was full; the seats were covered with waiting worshippers. I approached the stand; and was welcomed by the brethren. We rose, and united in a hymn of praise. I had never, in such circumstances, joined in offering such worship. I could scarcely tell what sensations possessed me. I hope I was not void of those which are devotional, but I was chiefly filled for the moment with those of wonder. When I looked round on the scene which had broken so suddenly upon me, every thing was so novel, so striking, and so interesting, as to appear like the work of enchantment, and to require time fully to realize.

But I must endeavor to give you some of the services in detail, as you will desire exact information. The singing to which I have referred, was followed by prayer and a sermon. The text was, "If God spared not his own Son," &c.—The preacher was a plain man, and without education; and he had small regard either to logic or grammar. He had, however, as is common to such persons, an aspiration after high-sounding terms and sentiments, which stood in strange opposition to the general poverty and incorrectness of his expressions. The proposition, for instance, raised on his text was this:—That the gift of Christ to sinners is the thing set forth with most life, animation, and eloquence, of any thing in the world. Such a proposition, though badly propounded, was of course above such a man; but though what he said did but little for his proposition, it was said with earnestness and pious feeling, and it told on the plain and serious portions of his audience. He was followed by a brother of higher qualifications, who took up the close of his subject, and addressed it to the conscience with skill and effect. The exhortation was terminated by an invitation to come and take a seat within the altar. These seats were, when wanted, in other words, the anxious seats; two of them were cleared, and a suitable hymn was sung, that persons might have time to comply. Very few came; chiefly a mother with her boy, who had previously seemed to court notice. The lad had indulged in noisy crying and exclamation; he was in the hand of an indiscreet parent, and had not been sufficiently discouraged by the ministers. The exhortations, and then the singing, were renewed; but still with small effect, as to the use of the prepared seats; and so this service closed. Whatever may be the claims of the anxious seat, it was a hazardous experiment, where it was evident the previous services had produced no deep and controlling impression.

The afternoon service was very similar in arrangement and in effect. The text was, "Let the wicked man forsake his way," &c.; but the preacher certainly made a feeble use of a powerful passage. It was interrupted, too, by a noisy and intemperate man, who had found his way hither; yet it was followed by exhortation superior to itself, and an urgent appeal to the people to come forward and separate themselves. The results were not better than before. The only apology for thus pressing under unfavorable circumstances was, that the meetings had been held now for three days; that the solemn services of the Sabbath had just passed over the people; and the worthy ministers were anxious for visible fruit, not only as arising from the present appeal, but from past impressions.

These were the more public and regular services; but other engagements were always fulfilling. The ministers were invited by their friends to the several tents, to exhort, and sing, and pray, so that when they ceased in one place, they were renewed in another. And at all times those who liked to gather within the altar, and sing, were allowed to do so; and as, when they were weary, others came up and supplied their places, the singing was without ceasing.

What you cannot escape wearies you. The services had been long, and not very interesting; and still the singing was continued. After getting some refreshments with kind friends, I was glad to stroll away into the forest and ruminate on what I had seen and heard. Now that I had leisure to admire, it was a lovely evening. Through many a green alley I wandered; and often did I stop and gaze on those exquisite combinations of light, shade, and picture, which forest scenery supplies on a fair summer evening. In all my wanderings, the singing followed me, and was a clew to my return; but it now formed a pleasing accompaniment to my soitary walk, for it did not force itself on the ear, but rose and fell softly, sweetly, on the evening breeze.

Soon, however, the hoarse notes of the horn vibrated through the air, and summoned me to return. It was the notice for worship at sundown; and as there is little twilight here, the nightfall comes on suddenly. I hastened to obey the call, and took my place with the brethren on the preachers' stand. The day had now expired, and with it the scene was entirely changed, as if by magic, and it was certainly very impressive. On the stand were about a dozen ministers, and over their heads were suspended several three-pronged lamps, pouring down their radiance on their heads, and surrounding them with such lights and shadows as Rembrandt would love to copy. Behind the stand were clustered about 300 negroes, who, with their black faces and white dresses thrown into partial lights, were a striking object. Before us was a full-sized congregation collected, more or less revealed, as they happened to be near or distant from the points of illumination. Over the people were suspended from the trees a number of small lamps, which, in the distance seemed like stars sparkling between their branches. Around the congregation, and within the line of the tents, were placed some elevated tripods, on which large fires of pine wood were burning, cracking, blazing; and shooting upward like sacrificial flames to heaven. They gave amazing power to the picture, by casting a flood of waving light on the objects near to them, and leaving every thing else in comparative obscurity. Still at greater distance might be seen, in several directions, the dull flickering flame of the now neglected domestic fire; and the sparks emitted from it, together with the firefly, rose and shot across the scene like meteors, and then dropped into darkness. Never was darkness made more visible, more present. All the lights that were enkindled appeared only to have this effect; as everywhere more was hidden than seen. If the eye sought for the tents, it was only here and there that the dark face of one could be dimly seen; the rest was wrapped in darkness; and if it rose with the trees around you, the fine verdant and vaulted roof which they spread over you was mostly concealed by the mysterious and thickening shadows which dwelt there. Then, if you would pierce beyond these limits, there lay around you and over you, and over the unbounded forest that enclosed you, a world of darkness, to which your little illuminated spot was as nothing. I know of no circumstances having more power to strike the imagination and the heart.

But to the exercises. The singing, which had been sustained in all the interval by some younger persons, now showed its results. Two or three young women were fainting under the exhaustion and excitement; and one was in hysterical ecstacy, raising her hands, rolling her eyes, and smiling and muttering. It appeared that she courted this sort of excitement as many do a dram, and was frequent at meetings of this character, for the sake of enjoying it.

However, after disposing of this slight interruption, the regular service began. It was to be composed of exhortation and prayer; and it was excellently conducted. The leading ministers, who had been wearied by the claims of the Sabbath, had evidently reserved themselves for this period. The first address referred to the past; the effort which had been made; the results which ought to follow, but which had not followed, and which the speaker feared would not follow. It was closed by an affectionate expression of concern that they would now show that it had not been in vain. The next exhortation was on conversion. Some skilful and orthodox distinctions were established on the subject, as it involves the agency of the Spirit and the agency of man. It was discriminative, but it was plain and pungent; and threw all the responsibility of perversity and refusal on the sinner. It made a strong impression.

The third exhortation was on indifference and despondency. The subject was well timed and well treated. The speaker combated these evils as likely to be a preventive in most persons in coming to a decision; and he made a wise use of evangelical truth for this purpose. He supported the other addresses by an earnest appeal to separate themselves, and show that they were resolved to rank on the Lord's side. The people were evidently much more interested than they had been; and the preachers were desirous of bringing them to an issue. Exhortation and singing were renewed; and it was proposed that they should go down and pass among the people, for the purpose of conversing with them, and inducing them to come forward. By these personal applications and persuasions, a considerable number were induced to come forward; and fervent prayer of a suitable character was offered in their behalf.

It was already late, and here, at least, the service should have stopped. This was the opinion of the wiser and elder brethren, but they did not press it; and those of weaker mind and stronger nerve thought that the work had only just begun. It was wished that I should retire, but I was desirous of witnessing the scene. Other exhortations and prayers, of a lower but more noisy character, were made, with endless singing; favorite couplets would be taken up and repeated without end. The effect was various, but it was not good; some, with their feelings worn out, had passed the crisis, and it was in vain to seek to impress them; while others were unduly and unprofitably excited.

None discovered this more than the blacks. They separated themselves from the general service, and sought their own preacher and anxious seat. A stand was presently fixed between two trees; a preacher was seen appearing and disappearing between them, as his violent gesticulation caused him to lean backwards or forwards. The blacks had now things to their mind, and they pressed round the speaker, on their feet or their knees, with extended hands, open lips, and glistening eyes: while the strong lights of a tripod, close to which they had assembled, fell across the scene, and gave it great interest and power.

As the scenes on either side the stand were not dumb show, the evil was, that the voices of the parties speaking met each other, and made confusion; and as either party raised his voice, to remedy the evil, it became worse. To myself, placed at the centre of observation, this had a neutralizing, and sometimes a humorous effect; but to the two congregations, which were now reduced in numbers, it produced no distraction; they were severally engrossed, if not with their particular minister, with their particular feelings. It was now considerably past eleven o'clock; I thought I had seen all the forms which the subject was likely to take; and I determined to answer the request of my friends, and retire.

I had been assured that a bed was reserved for me at the preachers' tent, and I now went in search of it. The tent is constructed like the rest, and is about eighteen feet by fourteen. As the ministers are expected to take their meals at the other tents, this is prepared as a lodging room. An inclined shelf, about six feet wide and four high, runs along the entire side of it, and it is supplied with six beds. I chose the one in the farther corner, in the hope of escaping interruption; as the bed next to me was already occupied by a person asleep. I relieved myself of my upper garments, and laid myself down in my weariness to rest. The other beds soon got filled. But still the brethren were coming to seek accommodation. One of them crept up by the side of the person next to me; and as the bed would only suit one, he really lay on the margin of his and mine. Thus discomposed, my resolution was immediately taken not to sleep at all. There was, however, no need of this proud resolution, for that night there was to be no sleep for me. There were still other parties to come, and beds to be provided. After this there was the singing renewed, and still renewed, till youth and enthusiasm were faint and weary, and then it died away. Still there remained the barking of the watch-dogs, the sawing of the kat-e-dids and locusts, and the snoring of my more favored companions, and these were incessant. Sometimes I found diversion in listening to them, as they mingled in the ear, and in deciding which was most musical, most melancholy; and frequently I turned away in weariness, and fixed my eye on the open crevices of the hut, looking for the first approach of day; and, in my impatience, as often mistaking for it the gleaming lights of the pine fires.

When the sun actually rose, the horn blew for prayers. To me, all restless as I had been, it was a joyful sound. I waited till others had dressed, that I might do so with greater quiet. I stole away into the forest, and was much refreshed by the morning breeze and fresh air. It was a very pleasing and unexpected sight to observe, as you wandered in supposed solitariness, here and there an individual half concealed, with raised countenance and hands, worshipping the God of heaven, and occasionally two or three assembled for the same purpose, and agreeing to ask the same blessings from the same Father. This was, indeed, to people the forest with sacred things and associations.

On my return, the ministers renewed their kind application to me to preach on the morning of this day. I begged to be excused, as I had had no rest, and had taken cold, and was not prepared to commit myself to the peculiarities of their service, and which they might deem essential. They met again: and unanimously agreed to press it on me; "it should be the ordinary service, and nothing more; and as an expectation had been created by my presence, many would come, under its influence, and it would place any other minister at great disadvantage." My heart was with this people and the leading pastors, and I consented to preach.

The usual prayer-meeting was held at eight o'clock. It was conducted by Mr. Jeter. Prayers were offered for several classes, and with good effect. To me it was a happy introduction to the more public service to come. I wandered away again into my beloved forest, to preserve my impressions, and to collect my thoughts. At eleven o'clock the service began. I took my place on the stand: it was quite full. The seats, and all the avenues to them, were also quite full. Numbers were standing, and for the sake of being within hearing, were contented to stand. It was evident that rumor had gone abroad, and that an expectation had been created, that a stranger would preach this morning, for there was a great influx of people, and of the most respectable class which this country furnishes. There were not less than 1,500 persons assembled. Mr. Taylor offered fervent and suitable prayer. It remained for me to preach. I can only say that I did so with earnestness and freedom. I soon felt that I had the attention and confidence of the congregation, and this gave me confidence. I took care, in passing, as my subject allowed, to withdraw my sanction from any thing noisy and exclamatory; and there was, through the discourse, nothing of the kind; but there was a growing attention and stillness over the people. The closing statements and appeals were evidently falling on the conscience and heart, with still advancing power. The people generally leaned forward, to catch what was said. Many rose from their seats; and many, stirred with grief, sunk down, as if to hide themselves from observation; but all was perfectly still. Silently the tear fell; and silently the sinner shuddered. I ceased. Nobody moved. I looked round to the ministers for some one to give out a hymn. No one looked at me—no one moved. Every moment, the silence, the stillness, became more solemn and overpowering. Now, here and there, might be heard suppressed sobbing arising on the silence. But it could be suppressed no longer—the fountains of feeling were burst open, and one universal wail sprung from the people and ministers, while the whole mass sunk down on their knees, as if imploring some one to pray. I stood resting on the desk, overwhelmed like the people. The presiding pastor arose, and, throwing his arms round my neck, exclaimed, "Pray, brother, pray! I fear many of *my* charge will be found at the left hand of the Judge! Oh, pray, brother, pray for us!" and then he cast himself on the floor with his brethren, to join in the prayer. But I could not pray! I must have been more or less than man to have uttered prayer at that moment! Nor was it necessary. All, in that hour, were intercessors with God, with tears, and cries, and groans unutterable.

So soon as I could command my state of feeling, I tried to offer prayer. My broken voice rose gradually on the troubled cries of the people, and gradually they subsided, so that they could hear and concur in the common supplications. It ceased, and the people rose. We seemed a changed people to each other. No one appeared disposed to move from the spot, and yet no one seemed disposed for ordinary exercises. Elder Taylor moved forward and remarked—"That it was evident nothing but prayer suited them at this time. And as so many had been impressed by the truth, who had not before, he wished, if they were willing, to bring it to the test of prayer." He therefore proposed that if such persons wished to acknowledge the impression received, and to join in prayer for their personal salvation, they should show it by kneeling down, and he would pray with them. In an instant, as if instinct with one spirit, the whole congregation sunk down to the ground. It is much, but not too much, to say, that the prayer met the occasion. When the people again rose, one of the brethren was about to address them; but I thought nothing could be so salutary to them as their own reflections and prayers, and I ventured to request that he would dismiss the meeting.

Thus closed the most remarkable service I have ever witnessed. It has been my privilege to see more of the solemn and powerful effect of divine truth on large bodies of people than many; but I never saw any thing equal to this; so deep, so overpowering, so universal. And this extraordinary effect was produced by the divine blessing on the ordinary means; for none other were used, and one third of the people had been present at none other. I shall never forget that time—that place; and as often as I recur to it, the tear is still ready to start from its retirement.

The immediate effect was as good as it was conspicuous. At first there was such tenderness on the people that they looked silently on each other, and could hardly do it without weeping; and afterward, when they had obtained more self-possession, there was such meekness, such gentleness, such humility, such kindness, such a desire to serve one another by love, and such calm and holy joy sitting on their countenances, as I had never seen in one place, and by so many persons. It realized, more than any thing I had known, the historical description of the primitive saints; and there was much in the present circumstances which assisted the impression. It was indeed beautifully true—"that fear came on every soul; and all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they continued with one accord, breaking bread from house to house; and did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God!"

Besides this happy effect on those who had already believed, there were many in an awakened and inquiring state which demanded attention. Among them was a representative of the State Government, who acknowledged that he had always resisted the truth till then, but hoped it had overcome him at last. Some of these cases, of course, came under my own knowledge; and all the ministers showed them, as, indeed, they had uniformly done, great attention and solicitude.

Among other expressions of kind and gentle feeling to myself, it was deemed impossible to let me remain another night in the tents, since I had not been able to procure rest. Many were eager that I should be received at their dwelling; but in the end I engaged to go with Deacon Norris, as it was at no great distance from the camp, and as the simple piety and warm heart of this aged and venerable man had previously won my confidence.

I had agreed to go after the evening service; but my considerate friend endeavored to persuade me to go before, by representing that I must need rest, and that it would not be so safe to track their way through the dark woods after sundown. I felt that it would be less suitable to his age to be exposed so late and in the dark, and so consented to do as he should suggest.

So, after taking repast, and joining in prayer with a cluster of our friends beneath a leafy alcove at the back of one of the tents, we started for Deacon Norris's residence. His lad drove me in a chaise, while he rode behind with a parent's care, to see that all was done well. He exchanged pleasant words with me as occasion allowed, and ever and anon was giving his cautions to the driver:—"Now, boy, mind those stumps—take care of those roots—keep a tight rein here"—and the whole was done in evident and unaffected reference to me. When we alighted, he received me to his house with that simplicity and kindness which are the essence of all true politeness. He took my hand, and with a beaming face and tearful eye, he said, "Now, sir, this is your home while you stay, and the longer you stay the more I shall be honored. A plain place, but all of it, servants, house, garden, is yours. Only make me happy by letting me know what you want." I had small reply to offer. All this was said in the deep and wild forest, and the manner and expression would not have dishonored St. James's; it affected me with tenderness and surprise.

While this occurred, we were standing on the verdant sod which surrounded the cottage, and was not worn off even by the passage to the door. The day had been hot, and we had been heated, and the temptation was to enjoy the evening breeze. My friend's cottage was a frame-building, whitened, well suited to the occupant, and to the spot where it stood. It had neither bolt nor lock to any one of its doors that I could find. About 100 yards on the descent stood a hut, in which his slaves were accommodated, and the interval was covered with short grass, kept cool and verdant by the fine separated trees which overshadowed most of it. On the other side of the cottage was a garden abounding in fruits for the little family. The ground fell off very pleasantly from the spot where you stood, so as to give you the command of the scene, and to compose a beautiful prospect. Most of the land in one direction was the domain of my friend; the portion near you being adorned with Indian corn, and the distant parts clothed with the dark and solemn pine.

When I had explored the garden and fields, my friend arranged a little table and stools at the door of the cottage, and before the best part of the prospect, for our accommodation. Here we were supplied with plates, and a fine melon from the garden for our repast; and it was not till the last lingering lights of a glowing day had faded away behind the pine barrens that we ceased to commune with Nature and with each other.

In this communion my friend was the chief contributor. He spoke in the fulness of his heart; and the impression will, I trust, long remain with me. He told me of his early days, of his conversion, and of the many years he had been as a pilgrim and a stranger on the earth. He had been married twice; he lost his last wife seven years since; and his children were settled far from him. "Many expected," he said, "as I was living alone, that I should marry again. But no, sir; at my time of life I think it not good. The husband careth for the things of the wife; but I wish now to care for the things of the Lord. My great concern is that I may do the will of the Lord, and look to my latter end with peace and pleasure. I would desire to die and to be with Christ as far better; but if he should say, Here, I have a little more for you to do on earth, then I would willingly stay and do it.

"Then," he continued, after musing, "I am old, but I suffer nothing, and I have many comforts, and I thank God I can enjoy them. But," with a serene smile, "I am looking for something better;—earth will not do—this is not heaven! I am far from God here; and I have sin always with me here to distress and expose me; but when He shall appear, I shall be like him, for I shall see him as he is!" So he continued, and so was I privileged and refreshed.

We retired within the cottage; the slaves, which he treated just as his children, were called in, and we had family worship. I pressed him to engage as usual; and was richly repaid. It was prayer winged with love and thankfulness, and rising to heaven. It brought us closer to each other. After our devotions, rest was thought of; for these children of Nature retire and rise with the day. He had provided for my accommodation in his own room; and when every thing had been done as he directed, he went to see with his own eyes that all was right. He attended me to it, and again inquired, and looked about to know if more could be done for my comfort.

He had not been long out, when he craved permission to come in again. He had an affectionate manner, and said, "Well, now there is still one thing which I was charged to say to you, and which I must say to you before I can sleep."—"What is that?" I inquired "Why," he said, "I have been now in the way forty-seven years—I have seen many powerful meetings in my time—but never any thing like this morning—all, ministers and all—weeping like children—and—now don't say no—and we all want you to preach again to-morrow."—"O, my good friend," I replied, "You really must not make that a request. I have taken my leave, and I have lost my voice by cold, and there are other preachers expecting—." He drew nearer to me, and checking me as he would his son, he said, "Well, now, my child, don't say you will not—and we'll trust to have you well and willing by to-morrow morning. Is there any thing more I can do for you?" and then he retired and drew to the door.

This was not the last visit that evening from my devoted friend. When he thought me composed in bed, the door gently opened, he drew together a window which was slightly open, and which he thought better shut, he crept to my side, and thought me asleep; and with the affectionate attentions of a woman, tucked me in, and whispered the words, "Bless him!" as he left me. At least, he was blessed that night in the generous and holy sentiments which possessed him.

I slept peacefully and soundly that night, till I was wakened by the foot-tread of the slave who waited on me. We took breakfast early, and worshipped together, and then went to the camp-ground. Here the subject of preaching was renewed, as it had been by my kind host on our way. But as Dr. Rice had just arrived, and was expected to preach, I was strengthened in my resolution to remain silent. I attended the service, but did not again occupy the stand. I felt as if I could not look on that people for the last time, and command my emotions. When it was closed, I had some confidential conversation with Mr. Jeter. As the hour of my departure pressed, I took hasty refreshments; and begged to meet with the brethren in a final act of prayer. We all knelt—joined in one prayer—in one spirit—a prayer often too big for utterance, but always apprehended by sympathy. It is not for description.

The carriage waited for us. I entered it. Still we knew not how to go on; and the friends clustered round it as though they would prevent it. There were many spectators whom I did not know, but who were all interested. There were the brethren with whom I had had sweet fellowship. And there, nearest of all, was my friend, Deacon Norris, true to the last. His first office was to deposite two fine melons in the carriage; and his next, to discharge the painful one of saying "Farewell." He took my hand in both his; looked up into my face with sorrow—spoke not a word—while the big tear started in his eye, and coursed down his furrowed cheeks. And so we left him—and so we left them—still gazing on us to the end. For myself, I left the place as a place where God had been; and the people, as a people which God had blessed!

LETTER XVIII.

My dear friend—The interest which, I doubt not, you have felt in the previous account of the meeting, will dispose you to inquire how it terminated. I am happy to be able, by a subsequent communication, to satisfy your wishes. My esteemed friend, Mr. Jeter, assures me that the seriousness and tenderness of the people remained to the last; and disclosed themselves in very affecting forms on parting. He thus writes:—"On Thursday morning our meeting closed. Eternity alone can disclose the results. We have ascertained that between sixty and seventy professed conversion. With many of these I am personally acquainted; and I have every reason that can be furnished to regard them as sincere lovers of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The influence of the meeting on the community is regarded as of the most delightful and elevated kind. Infidelity has been compelled to shut her mouth; and vile blasphemers to acknowledge the hand of God!"

Thus, then, I was supplied, at once, with a specimen of the three great religious peculiarities of this country; a camp-meeting, a protracted meeting, and a revival; for they were all included in this meeting. Of what it has in common with other special meetings I shall speak elsewhere; but of what was peculiar to it, it may be desirable to offer a few remarks.

From all I have learned of camp-meetings, I may pronounce this to have been very well conducted. The existing arrangements were such as to contribute to this. The land on which it was held was purchased as a permanent station; and the lands around were held by persons friendly to the object, so that they could control riotous and intrusive conduct, if it should appear. The tents remained from season to season, and cost the owners about ten dollars each; and if it happened that the possessor could not attend, he lent his tent to a friend. The poorer or less interested persons came in carriages, or tilted light wagons, which they used as beds. Separate committees were appointed to preserve order; to superintend the lights and fires; to regulate the use of the water-springs; and to arrange for the religious services. For the last purpose, the ministers present were the standing committee. By these means, and means such as these, strict order was kept on the premises; and the temptation for the disorderly was cut off. I saw nothing the whole time of indecent behavior, though many persons came evidently more from curiosity than from higher motives. With the single exception I have named, I saw not an intemperate person; nor did I see either wine or spirits on the ground. There was a man about half a mile distant, who had made a venture with a couple of barrels of distilled liquor; but it must have been a bad speculation, for I never observed a single person near him.

Spiritual intemperance, too, which is often a far greater evil on these occasions, was kept down by the good sense and right feeling of the leading ministers. On the merits of the particular methods I do not now speak; but, if they were to be adopted, I know not that they could have been used with more moderation or better effect. That the anxious seat was too often tried; that there was a disposition sometimes to press it as a test; that the act of passing among the people for the purpose of personal persuasion had better have been avoided; and that the ministers had done well if they had limited the services, and especially the continued singing, by which many young persons were doing themselves a double mischief;—are opinions which I shall appear to have adopted in the preceding statement, and opinions which ought to be expressed to make it impartial and discriminative. But as a whole, I never expect to meet with three men who in such circumstances are more wisely disposed to pursue the good, and to avoid the incidental evil, than were those on whom rested the chief responsibility of the meeting. None of their appeals were to blind or selfish passion. They assailed the heart, indeed; but it was always through the understanding. They relied not on manœuvre nor on sympathy for success; they trusted in the light of Truth, clothed by the power of the Spirit, to set the people free, that they might be free indeed!

It is a question often propounded in America, as well as here—Of what use are camp-meetings? This is one of those questions which must be answered in submission to circumstances. There may be a state of things in which I should consider them as not only among the things useful, but the things necessary. In the newly settled parts, where the inhabitants are so few, and are scattered over so large a surface, the ordinary means of worship and instruction can for a time hardly be enjoyed; and, in this interval, the camp-meeting seems an excellent device for the gathering of the people. Under such circumstances, the very fact of their being brought together, though it were not for religious purposes, would be a decided benefit; and if it should be connected with some expressions of extravagance which we could not approve, it is nevertheless not to be hastily condemned. We cannot conceive the effect of being immured in the deep and solemn forest, month after month, with little or no intercourse with our brethren, nor of the powerful movement of those social sympathies which have been long pent up in the breast, and denied exercise. But we can understand, that it is better that they should be called into exercise occasionally, though violently, than that they should be allowed to pine away and die out; since, in the one case, man would become a barbarous, gloomy, and selfish misanthrope; while, in the other, he would still be kept among social beings, and would be in readiness for better things.

Much more than this is done where the sympathies are wedded to religious objects; and the good effects bear even more on the future than the present. Where the camp-meeting is really wanted and really useful, it interests a careless people in their own moral and religious wants; and is the natural and general forerunner, as the population thickens, of the school-house, the church, and all the appliances of civil life.

You will now, perhaps, be prepared to quit the forest, and attend me on my journey. A missionary student, who was about to go to the Burmese empire, and my original friend, Mr. Jesse, whose kind offices had been unremitted, attended me to the boat: the former with the design of going on to Baltimore. We were just in time, and parted in haste. I was to remain in this conveyance through the night, and most of the next day; but, as there was little company, and good accommodations, we were exposed to no inconvenience. The river now expanded into grandeur, and the lovely scenes formed by the fine creeks opening into land are still present with me, though I must not detain you on their account. Waking or sleeping, however, the scenes which chiefly possessed me were those which I had lately witnessed.

The next day we entered the Bay; and still new beauties were before us. It is among the finest waters of this country. The weather was very favorable; but the temperature continued high. It ranged, as it had done for the last week, from 86° to 90°. As we passed onward, we took in several passengers who were making their way to the city; and they supplied some varieties of character and manner. As I sat writing at a small table, part of a melon stood before me, of which I had been partaking. When I laid the knife down, a young man, of genteel but assuming appearance, came up, and took it to assist himself. Had he made any movement towards me, he had been welcome; as it was, I remarked, that the melon was not for public use; and he laid the knife down and walked away.

Another person, of rougher aspect, had some suspicions that I had been at the camp-ground; and he puzzled himself to know how he could best ascertain this. He came nearer and nearer to me by degrees, till his confidence brought him to the table. There were two or three small books lying on it. He took up one. It was a hymn book given me at the meeting, and the minister who gave it had written in it both his name and mine. This he thought a famous clew; and he began his insnaring guesses. "This is yours?" he said. "Yes," was the answer. "A present, I guess?" "It has that appearance," I said. "Then you know Mr. ——, and have been to the ground?" Thus awkwardly, and, as some would say, rudely, did he contrive to get a little chat about the camp-meeting, which, in this region, constituted the principal news of the day. He was, notwithstanding, a well-meaning and religious man.

On reaching my inn at Baltimore, I sat down at the *table d'hote*, which was just ready, and partook of an excellent dinner. The middle of the day was very hot, and the large fans which I have before noticed were playing over your head; and the company were supplied with a profusion of iced milk, and iced water, and watermelon. It was a curious spectacle to see a gentleman, after dining heartily—most heartily—welcome half a melon on a dish, and about eighteen inches long, and dispose of all its good parts before your surprise was over.

Baltimore is a favorite city of mine, and has great advantages. Its noble bay I have noticed; it has, besides these waters, the rivers Patapsco, Potomac, and Susquehannah, tributary to it. It has also a run of rail-road of 300 miles, connecting it with the Ohio; and it is the most central of all the first-rate towns to the States generally. These advantages have contributed greatly to its advancement. It has now a population of 80,000 persons; and is, therefore, the second city in the Union.

Like Boston, too, it stands on fine inclinations of land, which set off its various objects. The handsome curve and acclivity in the main street, give a good first impression; and the more private dwellings have an air of wealth and comfort on them. The churches cluster and crown the higher grounds with great propriety; and there is, just finished, on the highest portion of them, a monument to Washington, which might grace any spot, and become the best of all that is good in this city picture. This city is styled the Monumental City, but somewhat proudly and ridiculously. It has, I think, but two monuments at present. Of one, though much has been said of it, it is kind to observe silence; the other will bear any praise that is reasonable, and deserves it. It is a column running 160 feet from the ground; having a base fifty feet square, and a pedestal carrying a statue of the hero, fifteen feet high. It is built of white marble; the statue is by Causici; it cost 10,000 dollars, and the whole affair not less than 200,000 dollars. It is mostly a copy of Trajan's Pillar; and, as a handsome column, is greatly superior to the Duke of York's in Regent street, and will compare with Melville's in Edinburgh. Few things can be executed in better taste.

There is much bustle in this place, directed both to business and amusement. Here were balloons about to ascend, and "Master B. was to accompany Mister D., by the express consent of his parents." Here was great rivalry with steamboats; and one, in advertising his advantages to his passengers, promised to take them "free of DUST and DIRT." Here were busy auctions; at which sharp Yankees were practising on the softer natures of the South. Here was trumpeted about, as the lion of the time, a splendid museum, and a splendid moral picture of Adam and Eve. When it was lighted up for the night, I went to see it. The museum was rather a show for children than any thing more; and as for the moral picture, for the sake of the morality as well as the taste of Baltimore, I can only hope it was quickly starved out.

But there is another view of this subject, and it saddens the heart. This place is, like Richmond, a considerable mart for slaves. It is border ground, and therefore desecrated by the worst circumstances in slavery: the apprehension, punishment, and sale. I met in the papers at my hotel with the following, among other notices of the kind:—

"ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

"Run away from the subscriber, a negro man named Abraham. Black complexion; 5 feet, 10 inches high, straight, well made, likely faced, about

34 years. Whoever will lodge the said fellow in Baltimore jail, shall receive 60 dollars, and all reasonable expenses.

"Thomas Hillan."

"For Sale.

"A black woman; 38 years. She is a first-rate cook, and excellent house servant. Strictly honest, sober, and healthy. Apply to

"John Busk."

"Cash!

"And very liberal prices, will at all times be given for *Slaves*.

"All communications will be promptly attended to, if left at Sinner's Hotel, or at the subscriber's residence, Gallow's Hill.

"The house is white.

"J. F. Purvis & Co."

What an apposition between deeds and names in this instance. "The house is *white;*" alas, that it should be the only white thing in the business!

When returning from an excursion in the town and some needful calls, I found a church open and lighted. I desired to close the day in a quiet act of worship, and went in. My wishes were but poorly gratified; but the service was somewhat remarkable, and even more amusing than I desired. It was a Methodist Church, of full size and commodious. There were not 100 persons present; and the preacher, in both exercises, was feeble, and noisy, with good intentions. I was surprised to find more of the peculiarities of this people here, in the Monumental City, than are sometimes to be found in a sequestered village. There were not only interruptions and exclamations in prayer, but in singing and in the sermon also. With many, it was a sort of chorus taken together; but there was one reverend old man, certainly a leader among them, who spurned association, and literally kept up a sort of recitative with the preacher. The following is an instance, which I could not help preserving that night.

Having passed through the explanatory portion of his discourse, the preacher paused, and then said:—

Preacher. "The duty here inferred is, to deny ourselves."

Elder. "God enable us to do it!"

Preacher. "It supposes that the carnal mind is enmity against God."

Elder. "Ah, indeed, Lord, it is!"

Preacher. "The very reverse of what God would have us be!"

Elder. "God Almighty knows it's true!"

Preacher. "How necessary, then, that God should call on us to renounce every thing!"

Elder. "God help us!"

Preacher. "Is it necessary for me to say more?"

Elder. "No, oh no!"

Preacher. "Have I not said enough?"

Elder. "Oh yes—quite enough!"

Preacher. "I rejoice that God calls me to give up every thing!"

Elder. (clasping his hands.) "Yes, Lord, I would let it all go!"

Preacher. "You *must* give up all."

Elder. "Yes—all!"

Preacher. "Your pride!"

Elder. "My pride!"

Preacher. "Your envy!"

Elder. "My envy!"

Preacher. "Your covetousness!"

Elder. "My covetousness!"

Preacher. "Your anger!"

Elder. "Yes, my anger!"

Preacher. "Sinner, how awful, then, is your condition!"

Elder. "How awful!"

Preacher. "What reason for all to examine themselves!"

Elder. "Lord, help us to search our hearts!"

Preacher. "Could you have more motives?—I have done!"

Elder. "Thank God! Thank God for his holy Word. Amen!"

LETTER XIX.

My dear friend—On the next morning early I left for Philadelphia. I found a gentleman on board who had crossed the Atlantic with us; and had pleasant conversation with him. I noticed to him the heavy fog which hung over the town and the waters. He remarked that it was somewhat common at this period of the year; and that the banks of the river, though very beautiful and inviting for a residence, were unhealthy and dangerous.

There was strong opposition on these waters between the steamboats; and we made a rapid and pleasant run to Philadelphia. Here I naturally sought for Dr. Ely; his family were residing in the country, but I happened to find him in town.—Through him, too, I met with Mr. Matheson, who had returned from Pennsylvania, and was seeking me. He had been on to New-York, and brought me packets of letters, which had been long due; and which were like water to the thirsty ground. I had not received a foreign letter since the day I left Buffalo; and this was really to be placed among my greatest privations.

On the following morning we went on to Princeton, that we might spend the Sabbath there. We were to have been received at Judge Byard's; but found sickness in his family. Dr. Rice, who also expected us, gave us a cordial welcome. We felt the more at home, as we had known each other through his brother, who was my friend and correspondent. It was no sooner known that we had arrived, than Professors Alexander, Miller, and Dodd, with other friends, very obligingly called on us; and throughout our short stay, showed us the kindest attentions.

On the morning of the Sabbath I worshipped at the Theological Institution, and Mr. Matheson preached for Dr. Rice. I understood that Dr. Alexander was to preach to the students; he is much esteemed as a preacher, and I was desirous of hearing him. The service was in the lecture-room; there were from eighty to one hundred young men present. It was an interesting occasion. I was glad to worship with a body of pious youth, who were devoted to the ministration of the word of life; and to have that worship led by so good and competent a man as their revered tutor.

I had declined preaching in the morning, on condition of occupying the pulpit in Dr. Rice's church at night. In the evening, therefore, I walked abroad in the fields to meditate. In my way I passed by a number of cottages, tenanted by colored people. The doors and windows were all open. In one of them, the father, with his wife and children sitting around him, was reading with broken utterance, as if learning to read, by reading. I was desirous of ascertaining what he was reading; and, as I passed slowly along, I heard him utter the words—"Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." I scarcely know how it was, but the words from those lips were very touching. The old man seemed like the representative of his oppressed race, craving, in the midst of their wrongs, only one thing, and that the noblest. My thoughts glanced spontaneously to Him who is the common Father of us all; and I could not suppress the desire, that whatever else was denied he might have the blessedness of that relationship.

Jersey is a free State, and of course the colored people who dwell here are free, or in course of freedom. Much is said everywhere about the superior state of the slaves in habit, character, and comfort, over these emancipated people. Certainly, so far as the instance before me is concerned, the position must be reversed; for these people appear better, dress better, have better dwellings, and bring about themselves more of the comforts of life.

I closed my walk as the evening shut in, and hastened to the church. It was very full; and the galleries were occupied entirely by collegians and youth. It was a serious, and I would hope a profitable service. The heat was to me very oppressive here; but chiefly I was annoyed by a large field-bug, somewhat like our hearth beetle. Its tameness made it very troublesome and most unpleasant. It got into your hair, your cravat, and your bosom, and there it might be crushed, for it was insensible to resistance.

Princeton is situated in a pleasant part of New Jersey; and is both rural and collegiate in its appearance. It is rural, from the cottage style of the houses, and the abundance of trees in the streets and elsewhere; and it is collegiate, from the predominance of the colleges over the other erections. The means of religion are here abundant, as compared with the population. Dr. Rice's church has about 250 in communion, and about 600 in usual attendance. There is worship at both the colleges, and a place for the colored population; and besides these accommodations, there are now erecting an Episcopal church, and a chapel attached to the Theological Institution; both of them handsome structures.

As the Monday was the only clear day at this interesting point of observation, it was a very busy one. Dr. Rice and Professor Dodd introduced us early to the college. The examinations, previous to the commencement, were coming on. We attended one at nine o'clock. It was of the first class, and by the President. The subject was, the evidence of revealed religion. The names of the students were written in folded slips; and the President drew from these promiscuously, and called on the party inscribed to rise and answer. The questions were certainly commonplace, and should have created little difficulty; but most of the replies were feeble and irresolute, and some of them far astray. Those who were least prepared were chiefly youths who dreamed of independence, and who were rather constrained by their connections to seek an education suited to their place in society, while they were themselves indifferent. The students were mostly, however, the sons of successful tradesmen, who, missing education themselves, desired it for their children; and their children generally were animated by similar desire, for they look on education as the door to advancement. I was struck with the ages of the young men in this class; they were generally above twenty-five years of age.

We afterward attended a recitation in Professor Dodd's class. The subject was Mechanics, and this exercise was limited to the Pulley. The professor had a list of the class before him, and the persons called out were in this instance selected. They were very well prepared, and made their replies and wrought their diagrams with ease and skill. It closed by an announcement of the next subject, which was the Lever. There was an interesting young Scotchman in this class pointed out to us, as possessing extraordinary powers as a linguist.

We inspected the establishment. There is nothing special to remark, except that Professor Henry promises to do much honor to the department of chymistry. He has constructed a magnet of great capacity, which has raised a weight of 3,500 lbs. The library is considerable and good. We saw here a set of the works which had been recently sent by our government to this and most of the colleges in this country. They are rare and expensive books, and a worthy expression of national regard. It is surprising and delightful to observe, how much this wise and benevolent movement on the part of our country, has conciliated and interested the men of letters here. Surely England is never fulfilling her high destination so faithfully and so fully, as when she is seeking to advance among the young or savage nations of the earth the interests of science, which are, in fact, the interests of humanity and of the world. It is thus, rather than by success in arms or extent of domination, that she may win for herself a more hallowed name than Greece or Rome ever knew, among those new worlds of life and civilization, which are springing up in the West, the South, and the East.

Our attention was next engaged by the Theological Institution. It is entirely distinct from the college. It requires but little observation, except what may fall under a more generic name afterward. It accommodates about 110 students; it is full; and the students are considered to be the subjects of true piety. Its provisions for their comfort are respectable. The library is small; but as a theological school, it is in good repute.

The burial-ground is an object of attraction here. It would be so, if for no other reason than that it contained the remains of President Edwards, Davies, &c.

We dined this day at Judge Byard's. This worthy gentleman has passed some time in England as a Commissioner from the American Government; and he had strong partiality for the English. I met here again with Drs. Miller and Alexander, and continued some profitable conversations on the state of religion.

The evening was spent at Professor Dodd's, and in the society, I believe, of all the professors of the two institutions, and some of their ladies. It was a delightful party; such as one does not meet in the common walks of life. It was refined, without being ceremonious; affectionate, without obtrusiveness; and well-informed, without pedantry. Good taste prevailed in our accommodations and repast; and the conversations, while they were free as air, were rational, intelligent, and elevated. Before we separated, we all united in an exercise of social worship, which was such as most of us will, I dare say, long remember.

The next day we parted from our friends, and from Princeton, with great regrets that we could not stay longer. Nowhere had we met with more unaffected kindness; and it was increased by the eminence of the persons who expressed it.

The heat continued very great; and on our way to New-Brunswick one of the horses in our stage sunk down, and died in the road. This delayed us so long, that we were too late for the boat which was to take us forward; and after making some efforts in vain, we were compelled to remain. It is a thriving, smart, clean, Dutch-looking town, with a good location on the water-side. There is near to it the college belonging to the Dutch Church; and to improve the evening, which was closing fast upon us, I proposed to go and inspect it. It was, however, dark before we arrived, the professors we sought were away, and we could not intrude at such an hour on strangers, to whom we had no introduction. The information we obtained, was derived from a gentleman who had also come to the college, but for a different purpose. He was about to attend a lecture on chymistry. It was one of a short popular course given by a professor to the public; and it was manifestly under the patronage of this gentleman, himself a scientific man. He invited our attendance, and we gave a cheerful compliance. The lecture was well prepared and illustrated, but the apparatus was poor, and indicated that this was a young experiment. There were from twenty to thirty young persons present, and there might have been more, had not the evening put on a threatening aspect. Our stranger-friend still continued his attentions on our return; we became revealed to each other; he pressed us to pass the night under his hospitable roof, and with such evident cordiality, as to make us as greatly his debtors as though we had done so.

On the following morning we made a short and pleasant sail to New-York; and had the President of the college, Mr. Milledoler, for a companion. New-York, though so well known, struck me with surprise. The Broadway, which was accustomed to be so full of movement, looked comparatively like a desert. The cholera had been in it, and all who could fly from the pestilence did. The disease was still here, and from twenty to twenty-four cases a day were reported. Elsewhere it had been raging violently. At Cincinnati, from 80 to 100 a week died; at Montreal, 241 perished in the week; and at Detroit, the population, by flight and disease, had been reduced from 5,000 to 2,000.

I was making New-York only a place of passage, and its present state did not incline one needlessly to linger on the way. We found that our friend, Mr. Phelps, was going with part of his family to Saratoga the next day, and we determined to attend him thither. We made needful calls, to ascertain the safety of friends, or to dispose of impending business, that we might be ready to fulfil our purpose.

Early the next morning we were on our way to Albany, and many things contributed to give exhilaration to the journey. We were in good company; we were leaving an infected and deserted town; we were about to run up one of the finest American rivers in one of the finest boats; and, forgive the collocation, we were to do this at a cost of fifty cents—that is, a distance of one hundred and forty-five miles for half a crown!

I have more than once noticed the Hudson to you; but I have not described it; nor is it my purpose now. You must be already familiar with its principal features, by the repeated descriptions of all the travellers. Not that I am quite satisfied that the thing should rest on your imagination just as they have reported it; for some are extravagant, and use marvellous expressions here, as they would anywhere when it is the fashion to praise; others are incorrect, and report to you the things as they are not; while others seek safety in generalities, and say only what would be true of any river that had amplitude in itself, and hills around it. But after having received these impressions, it would require, in attempting to convey one's own, that you should be presented with various sketches, from different points of sight, and of great individuality. The river is worth all this, and more; but opportunity does not serve me.

The palisades are beautiful, but they have been overdone. The fine expanding waters above them are chiefly beautiful by the abundance of small craft which are perpetually moving over them; and with their white sails, give life, and picture, and perspective to the scene. The excelling beauty of the river, however, is found in the narrows, and is limited to a confined space. Here the Hudson, denied surface, demands depth, and flows on a stronger and darker stream, winding its way resolutely through the rocks and hills, and reminding you of the day when it first cut its passage through them. The cleft hills rise on either side and all around you, in forms so decided, so beautiful, and so varied, as to leave you nothing to desire. The sky was more propitious to the picture than I had before seen it. Some dewy and dark clouds were passing about, so as to give a magnitude and mysteriousness to the hills, which they mostly want here; while the sun was gleaming through them and over them with a radiance exquisite and divine.

After this, there was nothing very remarkable till we came within sight of Albany; and it was made so by the state of the elements above it. The clouds, which for some time had been unsettled, now collected themselves behind it. They were as black and threatening as thunder-clouds can be, even in this country. On this ebony back-ground arose the whole town; and its towers, spires, turrets, and domes, looked like the fairest marble, and made you regard it, by the prominence it gave them, as a city of obelisks and temples. In the distant foreground, the spreading foliage of trees screened the skirts of the town; and immediately before you lay the dark waters, reflecting the darker forms of the lowering clouds.

The storm which threatened us came on before we could get to land; and we were glad by any means to hasten to any accommodation that might be available. The town was full, and we had difficulty in procuring even the plainest kind. It mattered little, however, as in the morning we proceeded to the springs. A rail-road has recently been laid down; and though it is inferior to many, it enables you to get over the distance in a short time.

Saratoga is the most fashionable watering-place in the States. Like most of their watering-places it is inland. The people here all run from the sea in the summer; while with us they are all ready to run into it. The seacoast, and the river sides, at this season, are deemed unwholesome. The town is composed rather of several enormous inns than of streets and houses. The principal are the Congress, the Pavilion, the Union, and the United States. From their size, and from the large porticoes which run in their front, ornamented by flowering shrubs, they have a good and imposing appearance. They will accommodate from 200 to 300 persons; and at this time there were upwards of 2,000 visiters. The refectories and the withdrawing-rooms, as they gather all the occupants together at certain times, have an animated and striking effect. Our waiter observed to me, with great complacency, of the dining-room, that it was the largest room in the States. I admired his modesty, that he did not say—in the world.

Altogether, though the place is the centre of transatlantic fashion, it has the air of having been just redeemed from the forest. The main avenue, or street, is just a clearance from the woods, with its centre cut up by the carriages, and filled with the native dust and sand, and the margins are overrun with grass; and the Pavilion, which was completing, is at present enveloped in the original and verdant spruce pine. The attractions of the place must depend chiefly on the repute of its waters, and the fashion of its society; for I have seen no resort in this country so poor in natural beauties. The town stands on a flat, and has nothing to relieve it, except in one direction, the mountains of Vermont appearing in the distance. I do not forget Lake George; but Lake George is away a day's journey.

Of course we took the waters; and in doing so saw the company, and met with many friends. There are several springs, which vary a little in quality, but have the same bases. The waters are taken in large quantities; and, on this account, I should think, must do harm to many persons. They are, however, not disagreeable, and have undoubtedly excellent properties.

The chief amusements of the place are, a visit to Lake George; fishing at Ballston; a drive out and in again; and an occasional ball, got up at one hotel, by a subscription made at all. The only sight was a Panorama of Geneva, which I had seen in London, and was glad to see again, that I might be transported to Europe and Leicester-square. There is certainly gambling going on here; but, if seen, it must be sought for. On the contrary, there is one hotel, and that first-rate, which has the denomination of the Religious Hotel. Its name preserves its character; the religious are attracted by it; and as clergymen are usually staying here, domestic worship is observed, and not only most of the occupants, but many from the other inns attend. It is also worthy of remark, that in this place, so lately risen from the forest, and raised for purposes of fashion, and having so very small a resident population, there is an adequate supply of churches, even when the company is largest.

Our affectionate friends had urged me to pass some days here as favorable to my health, and I came on with the intention of doing so. But on an exact comparison of what I felt it desirable to do, and of the time within which it must be done, I was obliged to abandon the idea. The next day, therefore, we left, to fulfil some engagements in Albany on the Sabbath; and with small or no expectation of seeing Saratoga again.

We found our worthy friend, Dr. Sprague, ready to receive us. Dr. Ferris, of the Dutch Church, was ill; and as his charge would have been without a minister, we undertook to preach for him. It is a fine old church, in English style; like many of our churches, erected in bad taste, but preserving a respectable and venerable aspect. The order of worship in this body deviates a little from what is usual. There is first an intercessory prayer; then a blessing is pronounced in scriptural terms on the people; then the ten commandments are read, and some portions of Scripture. Afterward there is singing; prayer; the sermon; prayer; singing; and then the benediction. There was a good attendance, and, I should think, by persons of worthy character and respectable habits.

In the afternoon I was engaged to preach at Dr. Sprague's and to baptize his infant son. The administration follows the first singing. The persons waiting for the ordinance are requested to present themselves. They come out before the pulpit. The minister addresses them; and descends, to baptize the child. He then ascends to the pulpit, renews his address, or offers prayer; which, after specially noticing the subject before the congregation, becomes the general prayer. Then follow singing, and the sermon as usual. This church is of full dimensions, and although the afternoon was wet, it was quite filled. There was great attention on the part of the auditory, and many were much affected.

I desired to improve the evening by uniting with some congregation in worship. We found one church shut, and another without its pastor; and at last entered somewhat later than we wished the Episcopal Church, which we found open, but which was also deprived of its regular teacher. It is small; and there were not above 150 persons present. The preacher was a mathematical professor; and if in his place in the chair, he is certainly out of it in the pulpit. His subject was man's mortality; and as it had been preceded by the affecting prayer for deliverance from cholera, and as that disease was in the town, it should have told in some degree. Yet it interested no one. The only remarkable thing was, in fact, the contrariety between the preacher's manner and his composition. The one was coldness itself; while the other was inflated to an extreme. It abounded in exclamations, and ended in an apostrophe, which issued as from marble lips, and froze as they fell. I enjoyed the psalms, which were sung to some of our old and good psalmody, though few united, and though the poor organ did us little service.

There is in this plain church a pew which attracts attention, and is meant to do so. It is composed of two, and is as large and splendid as a mayor's; and has a showy lamp chandelier suspended over it. When the owner of this dress box attends it is lighted, to notify his presence to the gazing congregation. He was present on this occasion, and exhibited a gold chain, like our sheriffs. This gentleman is from England, they say; he makes large gifts and large charges; and has succeeded by *dash*. How many have done so both in the old and new world! But is it not a profanity, as well as a folly, when these vanities are carried into our temples, and are made to give to the house of God the aspect of the theatre?

The following day we made an excursion to Troy It is a handsome town, of very rapid growth. The people are energetic, and of public spirit; and are following fast after Albany in ornamental buildings and general improvement. We made calls here on Drs. Beman and Tucker; and visited a school, which was said to have claims on attention. Dr. Tucker accompanied us on our return; and we made a call on General Van Rensselaer. He is the Patroon, or Lord of the Manor here; and is considered the greatest landholder in the United States. What is better, he is a most amiable man and promotes the comfort of his tenants, and the spirit of wise improvement around him; and, what is still better, the amiable and respectable portions of his character are based and sustained on religious principles and exercises. He had presided at several of the public meetings at New York; and we were welcomed as friends. The house stands on rather low ground; but it commands a pleasant view of the Mohawk river and of Troy in the distance. The gardens are much better than are usual here, and remind one of England; though they incline rather to the Dutch than the English style. There is little, if any, that we should call pleasure-ground; and there is no attempt at landscape gardening. We walked round the grounds, and conversed pleasantly, and then took our leave. I was afterward invited to dine, but could not avail myself of the kindness intended.

LETTER XX.

My dear friend—On the 19th, I left for Utica. Mr. Matheson had left the previous evening to attend the commencement at New Haven. As I had come in this direction chiefly for the sake of making myself acquainted with the revivals, for which the western part of this State was famous; and as I had not yet accomplished this object, I was constrained to tarry, with the understanding that we should meet again at Amherst.

I went as far as Schenectady by the rail-road. I was assured that when there I should find a coach waiting to convey me on to Utica, a distance of about eighty miles. The coach was indeed there; but the proprietor was there likewise, and his business was to ascertain whether enough would offer to go by it "to make it worth his while." His decision in this instance, was against its running; not perceiving that by this short-sighted policy he gave uncertainty to a public conveyance, and thus discouraged the public from using it. My only alternative was to go by the packet-boat, which was preparing to start immediately.

I was thus committed to a mode of travelling which at this unhealthy season I most wished to avoid. But I was on the Erie Canal, and it was some satisfaction that I should have a fair opportunity of inspecting what, as a work of art stands unrivalled by any other effort of this enterprising people. This canal is 360 miles long, and has a branch canal running off to Lake Champlain, which is sixty miles in length. It has eighty-three locks, and eighteen aqueducts; one of which is about 1,200 feet. It is forty feet wide on the surface, and about four feet deep. It and the branch canal were completed in less than nine years, at an expense of 9,000,000 dollars. The object is to connect the Hudson, and therefore New-York, on the one hand, with Lake Champlain, and thus with Canada; and on the other, to unite it with Lake Erie, and with the other mediterranean seas of that region, and by consequence with the Ohio and the Missisippi. The Americans owe this to the genius and patriotism of De Witt Clinton, one of the greatest men that country ever saw; and when we consider the extent of route, the countries it connects, and the influence it will have on those countries, done as it is by so young a people, and with so little disposable capital, it is above comparison, and above praise.

There was much business on this water-thoroughfare. The boats for the transit of goods were called "line-boats," and those for passengers, "packets." The packets were a sort of mail; they are drawn by three horses at a slow trot; and do not clear more than four miles an hour. With some twenty persons, our packet might have been tolerable; but it so happened that we had from sixty to seventy passengers on board, and there was much to bear. For all these persons, male and female, there was only one room, to live, and meal, and sleep in, of about twelve feet by seventy. There were curtains, indeed, provided, which might separate a portion from the rest when needful; still the dimensions were the same.

During the day, we could relieve ourselves by going on the roof of the boat; and this is a desirable place, both for air and the sight of the country. But we had difficulties here. There was no provision against a burning sun; and the bridges were so numerous and so low as to be exceedingly troublesome, and, if you were negligent, somewhat dangerous. It was part of the duty of the helmsman to observe these, and give notice of them by the cry of "Bridge?" It was some time before we got drilled to it; and when we were, it was an amusing spectacle. Some twenty men would be standing, sitting, and looking about in all directions, and variously engaged; but, at the cry of "A bridge!" they would repeat the cry as the papist would his prayers, and fix their eyes in one direction; and when the object came, they would prostrate themselves on the floor as at the ringing of the bell and the elevation of the host.

The country through which we were passing was worth observation. It is the Mohawk Valley, and watered by the river of that name; and formerly possessed by the people of that name, the finest of the Indian nations. It is of great extent; very beautiful and fertile; has been long settled, and shows, in an unusual degree, good cultivation. The upper portion was chiefly settled by Germans, and the part we were passing through by the Dutch.—Everywhere you meet with marks of their taste in the farming; the form, and party-colored houses; and along the banks of the canal, you have towns with the names of Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Frankfort, to them. Settlers of later date, and in further districts of this State, have taken offence at such homespun appellatives, and have sought to be very classical in their designations. So that, in fact, within a small limit, you get the strangest jumble of English, Dutch, German, Indian, Roman, and Greek terms, imaginable. The attempts at what is classical, too, are often very ridiculous.—You have, for instance, Utica in Ulysses, and other such varieties.

Every disadvantage has its counterpart. If we had a host of people crammed into a little boat, it gave one an opportunity of observing, unobserved, the unconstrained manners of the passengers. Dinner brought us all together; and put us on a degree of intercourse. It appeared that about twenty on board were of one party; and that they were delegates to a convention of mechanics which was to be held at Utica, against what they termed the State Prison Monopoly. The ground of complaint was, that the convicts were employed at several trades, and that the articles so manufactured were sold at a price below that of the honest and independent tradesman. It was evident that this delegation was composed of the successful and superior manufacturers of New-York. They were a curious assemblage of persons: Dutch, Irish, Scotch, English, and American. Their numbers gave them confidence; and they were the great people of the day.

When the dinner was over, they professed to hold, by anticipation, a meeting of the delegates; but the design was rather to discuss some champaign than any business. I took a book, and remained at a little distance. A president was chosen; and the wine was brought forward. It was to be seasoned by toasts and songs. Mr. A——, a Scotchman, was called on to sing. He had reputation in this way, and brought applause about him. His song was a hit at Lords and Kings, and a commendation of manliness in man. The president then gave, "The independent mechanic;" which was, of course, drunk with "great enthusiasm." Then came, "The mechanics of the State, and may the cause they are in prosper," with "three times three," and a song. One of the delegates then proposed, "The health of J—— L——, Esq. *which* was chairman of the committee *which* brought up the first report."

There was one person among them who declined the wine; and he was joked as a water-drinker and a Temperance man. He had not, however, confidence to avow himself, though he had to refuse the wine. He met their gibes with good temper; and gave as a toast, "May he that has power to help us, and does not, want a cup of cold water." This uncharitable sentiment conciliated their prejudices, and they kept on good terms with him.

These men were evidently not accustomed to the use of wine, and they used it inordinately. The tumbler was, in some cases, preferred to the glass. As the wine entered, the wit, such as it was, got out; it was witless and vile enough. But I took warning, and went above.

Their potations of wine heated them, and made them restless; and they soon followed me to the roof. Here they amused themselves with all manner of boyish tricks and practical jokes. They knocked each other's hats off; jumped on shore, chased each other. One of them got possession of a horse, and mounted; another hung on its tail; while a third seized the rein and tried to dismount the rider. He, to free himself, pricked the horse; the animal knocked down the man who had the rein, and left him rolling into the canal. The enacting of this scene, like the fifth act of a comedy, brought merriment to a crisis; and was attended by roars of laughter.

Then came the deductions on a course of folly; fatigue, discomfort, ennui, and, with the better sort, shame and regret. It was, certainly, but a poor specimen of the tradesmen of a great city. They were well dressed, indeed, and had much rough energy of character; but, with one or two exceptions, nothing more of a favorable complexion can be educed. If any one of them professed religion, it was not seen here. Sorry I am to say, that the two worst were an Irishman and a Scotchman.

The ladies who were on board were prudent; two or three of them pious. Two of them came out into the prow of the vessel, and seated themselves near me, that they might enjoy the fine moonlight scenery, and rid themselves of disquiet within. The younger one observed, with a plaintive air, "that she loved to sit out in moonlight, because it mellowed all the finer sentiments of the soul." The elder one, who did not, in the least, comprehend the subject, remarked, "that she did not see it was *so melancholy* as people said." Both, however, seemed able to connect the things made with the Hand that made them.

But night came, and with it, it was needful to look to sleeping accommodation. From all appearances, it did not seem that any provision could be made for this purpose. It was soon shown how much contrivance could do, if it could not do all that the occasion required. The curtains I named were dropped over one third of the room, and thus made a division for the ladies and children. Our portion of the room was cleared. A set of frames, like larger shelves, were produced; and were suspended behind, by hinge and pivot, to the side of the vessel, and in front, by a small cord attached to the ceiling. Three tier of these were carried round the room, which was not more than six feet high; so that it had the appearance of being filled, from top to floor, with small bins. Then all the tables were collected, and placed down the middle of the room, as far as they would go. The settees were employed to fill in any possible spaces; and after all this accommodation was disposed of, it was plainly understood that there remained just the floor.

The captain, a civil man, proposed that the company should choose births as their names stood on his list, which was filled in as they came on board. As the delegates were the first, he knew that this would satisfy them; and this was not a small matter. By the same rule, I knew that I should come nearly last; an issue the captain wished to avert, but to which I was really indifferent, for I shrunk altogether from any accommodation among so many, and in so small a space. The names were called, and the births chosen, and the possessors began to "turn in." I retreated from the noise and confusion, once more, to the roof; and out-watched the setting moon. As the moon fell, the damps arose; and it was needful to walk to prevent cold. All was now hushed; except here and there the helmsman's voice broke sharply on my ear, to warn me of "A bridge." I could hear my foot fall; and as it fell over the multitude slumbering beneath it, it seemed like a living entombment of my fellow-mortals.

Still the damps and cold increased; and I was constrained to screen myself as I could below. Two or three gentlemen offered to relinquish their births in my favor; but I could not expose others to privation to escape it myself; and my resolution had been previously taken, not to lie down that night. I took a couple of chairs, and placing them as near the door as practicable, I lounged on them in such a way as to rest the body, and possibly to forget myself for a few minutes.

It was now beyond midnight; and nearly all were fast asleep, and were assuring you of it by muttering and noisy respiration. The sight was really a singular one. The room was packed all round, from top to bottom, with living beings. The tables, the settees, the floor, all covered. My chairs had scarcely a place to stand; and two persons lay at my feet, and one at my elbow. Two lines of cord had been carried down the ceiling of the room, that the spare garments might be hung on them. Here, then, was an exhibition of coats, trowsers, waistcoats, cravats, and hats, worthy of Monmouth street; the great evil of which was, that it cut off the little chances of ventilation. Two glimmering, unsnuffed candles, gave sepulchral lights to the whole.

Occasionally, however, the scene was animated. The vessel was liable to sharp jerks on entering the locks; and when these occurred, you might see some dozen heads starting from the sides, like so many turtles from their shells; with a suitable accompaniment of wild and sleepy exclamations; and then again they were drawn in, and all was still. I fell into a short slumber, and reproached myself for doing so; when I awoke I found my foot in the face of another sleeper; and as the night wore away, most of them getting into similar predicaments. But the great evil of the place arose from the confined and suffocating state of the air, shut out, as it was, from all external influence. It indisposed me, and before four o'clock I was on the roof again. Never shall I forget that night.

The fogs lay heavily all around us, and after making the best of it for an hour, I was getting very chilly, and was fearful of the consequences. I went down, and stood awhile at the doorway; desirous of escaping the smells within, and the damp wind without. They were now generally seeking to dress; but this was no easy matter. One had lost his boots, another his hat, another his cravat, another his money, and another his—every thing. Then there were outcries, and searchings, and exchanges; in seeking one article, a score would be thrown out of place; and so it went on till confusion was twice confounded.

Early in the day, I landed at Utica. It is a fine, thriving town; free from all signs of age or poverty; and resembling the many towns which are found on this line from Albany to Buffalo. Sickness was prevailing here. The Rev. Mr. Aitkin was just leaving, with an invalid wife, and he himself fell sick the following day. My friend, Mr. Bethune, had left his charge here; and I was indebted to the Rev. Mr. Hopkins for much kind attention in his absence.

As I could not stay more than a couple of days, it was necessary that I should begin instantly to improve the time. Mr. Hopkins attended me to Oneida Institution, Hamilton College, and such objects in the town as were deserving of attention. On the previous Thursday, the place had been visited by a severe storm; and the effects were everywhere apparent. One church tower was swept away; thirteen houses were unroofed; and trees without number, in the environs, were uprooted and lying in ruin. In ruin, however, the suburbs were still pleasing. I was referred to a dwelling of special pretensions; and was told that it was built in imitation of the English cottage. Greatly would they be deceived who should take it for a sample. Of this English cottage, the body is Gothic; the parapet of no style; and the portico Grecian. But what of this! It is only such a combination as we see in the neighborhood of Westminster Hall.

The Hamilton College occupies a very commanding spot; and is in a thriving state. It had languished under some pecuniary difficulties; but Professor Dwight had used his influence in its favor, and had raised a large sum for its relief. Unhappily, the professor was not at home, nor was the College in session.

I ascertained that there were some Congregational churches in this district, and I called with Mr. Hopkins on Dr. Morton, the Secretary of the Association. We conferred for some time, and I promised to address a fraternal letter to the Association, which promise I afterward redeemed.

The Oneida Institution is about two miles from the town. It is established on the principle of uniting labor with learning, and has Dr. Green at its head. I was conducted over it. It has only been attempted within the last four years; and does not yet amount to even an experiment on the subject. The young men, at present, are employed on the garden and small farm; and the trades have not yet been tried. The accommodations are of the plainest kind; the library very low; there is a reading-room, having very few books, but supplied with eighteen or twenty newspapers. There is attached to it a smaller provision for boys. I shall have occasion to recur to this subject.

I made, while here, a hasty excursion with my friend, to the Trenton Falls. They are distant about fifteen miles. The road is bad, but the scenery good; the view taken from the hill, about five miles on the way, really magnificent.

The Falls are just as you would desire to find them. There is one inn for your accommodation, and this does not interfere in the least with the seclusion of the object. The same good taste reigns throughout. There are more facilities provided for easy access to these Falls than are common, and yet they are far less obtrusive. Alarm has been taken because some lives were lost here recently; but I know of no great natural curiosity to be seen with less personal danger or discomfort.

On leaving the hotel, you pass a wicket gate, and find yourself enclosed in a wood. You make a gradual descent, and are then assisted by some step-ladders, which carry you down some rocky steeps. On reaching the foot of these, the woods stand up all around you; and below, and before you, the dark waters of the river, with their snowy crests, are chafing and dashing away through an immense bed of solid rock, which they have cut for themselves. You pass along some ledges of this rock, and the principal Fall is before you. You still pursue your way on the rocks, which are sometimes contracted to narrow shelves, admitting only one person, and requiring care; but which generally expand into fine terrace-walks, leaving you at leisure to wander at will. During this promenade, the other Falls make their appearance in succession. This is the great charm of these Falls, and, as I think, their distinguishing characteristic. Their character is the picturesque; and it is this combination, with these successive distances, which compose that character. As you move on, the objects accumulate upon you; you add the second Fall to the first, and the third to the second, and are delighted with your acquisition. You wish continually to pause to admire the picture, with its additional beauties; and you wish to go on, expecting that every step shall make still finer additions. And when you have most in view, the eye may rest on it till it becomes as one to the imagination, having a power and an elevation which do not belong to any separate Fall.

After having taken this combined and characteristic view, you have still to study them in their separate forms, and from nearer points of sight; and they will amply reward you. The principal Fall, especially, asserts its power as you approach it. As you ascend to its head, it supplies you with points of view, which, if occupied, will make you tremulous and dizzy; and when you repose at its feet, and look up, and see only it—hear only it—while its mass of waters, like a bed of rolling, sparkling amber, dash from the rocks above to the deep below, and run foaming and struggling away into the prodigious black basins beneath, you are sensible of its greatness.

I passed upward as far as we can go, and compared the claims of the different cascades. The return still affords you fresh views of the objects you admire. When the eye has got familiar with the place, there is, perhaps, nothing you admire more than the *coup d'œil* of the whole. The rocks, the waters, the woods, the skies, wonderfully assist each other. You are in a lovely glen, open to the sun, but shut up by the rocks and the forest from all things else. Everywhere you may find the most refreshing shade, and everywhere you have the sense of perfect retirement; but always it is the shade and the retirement which have cheerfulness for their companion. You have a pleasurable satisfaction in where you are and what you see; you are not disappointed that you see no more, nor are you overwhelmed that you see so much. It is a place where the spirit may repose; it insensibly inspires you with content, placidity, and elevation. It is one of nature's finest temples, secluded from the world, but open to heaven; where ten thousand worshippers might stand, and whence ten thousand voices might ascend, supported by the deep tones of the Falls, in praise to the Omnipotent Creator.

We took hasty refreshments at the inn, and returned, as I had to preach that evening for my friend. I was not well; for I had taken cold in the boat, as I expected. The weather also, though still warm, had varied by 30°, and, therefore, to sensation was cold, and promoted fever and hoarseness; but as I was announced for the service, I hoped to be able to pass through it. To my surprise, on a few hours' notice, there was a large attendance; and the people were delightfully attentive.

On the following evening, I proposed that we should have a meeting of ministers and friends for conference and prayer. We had a full room, and it was increased very pleasantly by the arrival of Mr. Hague, from Boston, and Mr. Patton, from New-York. It was to me a delightful and profitable occasion. At this, and at other opportunities, my concern was chiefly to obtain correct information on the revivals which had occurred in this place, and throughout this line of country. They had been much talked of, and not unfrequently they had been held up, even by the friends of revivals, rather as warnings than examples. I had great reason to be satisfied that I had made this excursion, not only for the positive information obtained, but also for the assistance it gave me to mature an opinion on a subject of serious difficulty, but of cardinal importance. The notices that, from their locality, might fall in here, had better be reserved, with other materials, for separate consideration.

The friends at Utica were exceedingly desirous that I should spend the Sabbath with them; especially as Mr. Patton had come to plead the educational cause, and pressed for my assistance. It would have given me great pleasure to have met their wishes, but I must have sacrificed some important portions of my plans; and I had "to learn to say no."

LETTER XXI.

My dear friend—Early, therefore, on the morning of the 23d, I left for Albany. I had had enough of the packets, and returned by the stage. I was still unwell from the cold I had taken; and, among other expressions of it, it gave me a stiff neck, which exposed me to much suffering on a bad road, in a journey of eighty miles. I think I never endured more in travelling, from pain and dust.

From time to time, however, my attention was called forth by the interesting objects in this ride. Especially in the neighborhood of the Little Falls, the scenery is most attractive. It is full of romance and picture, over which the artist and the poet might employ themselves for days and weeks, and still have much to do. I passed through two small villages near here, and on the banks of the Mohawk, which were just springing up into life. It was remarkable that the churches were growing up with the dwellings. There could not be a thousand persons in each; but there were three churches building in one, and two in the other.

We made a halt at one inn on our way; at which we sought eagerly to refresh ourselves, in heat and dust, by a draught of cold water. The landlord, with an old German name, picked a quarrel with us, and swore at the times, for supplanting spirits by water. "How was he to live by giving away water!" There was something natural, if not hospitable, in this exclamation; but it deserves remark, that in the endless instances in which myself and others sought, in our journey, water, and nothing more, it was always supplied without grudging, and frequently with some trouble.

We did not reach Schenectady till ten at night. I was greatly fatigued, and indisposition had increased; and I would willingly have used a hot bath, but could not obtain one. My next best remedy was medicine and rest. I tried both; yet remained unwell. It was the Sabbath, however, and I sought a place of worship. My intention had been to go to Mr. Bachus's; but, by mistake, I was directed to the Dutch Church, and had the gratification of uniting in a service, conducted by Dr. Ludlow, of Albany. I afterward found the church of Mr. Bachus; but there was no regular service, and he joined me in attending once more at the Dutch Church. He perceived that I was unwell, and insisted on my moving to his residence, that I might nurse. I accepted his kind proposal; and was somewhat better on the following day.

We visited Union College, which is situated here. It is exceedingly well placed, on an estate of about 300 acres; and considerable property is likely to come to it. Its plan is very large; but I had some disappointment in not finding it executed. At the inn there was a large painting of the whole; and some gentlemen, on referring to it, exclaimed, "There, is not that a splendid place? That is Union College!" and these circumstances gave reality to the thing. But on arriving at the spot, I found that only the wings were erected. On its present scale, however, it is thriving; and there is the prospect of its becoming as magnificent as it was proposed to be.

Most of the professors were absent, but I was introduced to the President, Dr. Nott; a person known in Britain, chiefly as the inventor of the stove which bears his name. He is known in his own country as having been one of her most able and efficient ministers, and as having contributed mainly to found the College over which he presides. He was free to converse on the subjects to which you led the way; but it was evident to me that his mind was filled with some engrossing care. One successful invention, like a prize in the lottery, often leads to ruin. His success with the stove may have led to other speculations; till he may find himself oppressed with the weight of worldly care, from which he would, but cannot, disburden himself.

At noon, I took leave of my friend and brother, Mr. Bachus, and went to Albany, where I found Dr. Sprague expecting my return. I had not yet seen much of this town, and there was much that challenged inspection. The principal buildings stand on the top of the hill, called the Capitol; from which a fine wide street runs down to the river, and the closer parts of the town. The Capitol, or State-House, occupies the very summit of this hill, and has a noble appearance, from its dimensions and elevation. The City Hall is of white marble, and worthy to be its companion. The Institute and the Academy are here also; and are respectable foundations. They make, as a cluster of public structures, a grand spectacle; although they have nothing, as works of art, demanding separate encomium. The Orphan Asylum, in the vicinity, is well conducted. Besides these, there are two new erections, which, from their pretensions, may require notice. The one is the Female Academy. It is a large and very handsome portico, of the Ionic order; and it is only to be lamented that, with the exception of the base of the columns and the steps, it is constructed of wood, and not of marble. The lights under the portico are objectionable; and a great deal is sacrificed within for the sake of external ornament. As a school for female education, it is, however, very remarkable; the first of its kind in this country; and it will require further consideration.

The other erection is a church, for the use of Dr. Welch and his congregation. It is a very ambitious affair. All the good and approved things, it is attempted to combine; there are portico, turret, and dome. They are all executed after the best models, and with expensive ornament. On entering beneath the portico, you are surprised to find yourself, not in a lofty church, but in a room with low ceiling, and every way plain appearance. The fact is, the church is still above you; and by this arrangement height is gained for the external elevation, and a good lecture and school room are provided for the uses of the congregation. I ascended to the church. It is well arranged and fitted; except that the Corinthian columns, which rise from floor to ceiling, interrupt the sight, and are made to carry, in their way, the galleries. Dr. Welch is a Baptist; and one inconvenience in having the church over the room is, that he could not sink a baptistery in the floor. To meet this difficulty, a large oval tub, like a brewer's vat, is provided; it is placed on rollers and slides, and is drawn out from beneath the pulpit when it is wanted. It stands three or four feet high; and must, therefore, expose the persons to be baptized. Apart from this inconvenience, I know of none other, except it be that it deprives the worthy and popular minister of one argument from scriptural expressions, on which his brethren have been accustomed to lay great stress. It can no longer be said that they go down into the water, and come up out of the water; for the fact is, they reverse the order, and go up into the water, and come down from the water. How far this may affect the validity, is a question which must be left with the hypercritics to determine.

The evening of the day, which had been thus devoted to the inspection of objects illustrative of the state of art, letters, and religion, was spent in interesting conversations at Dr. Sprague's. Chancellor Walworth, Professor Fowler, and other friends, took part in them, much to my advantage. The revivals of that vicinity, and the wants of the West, were mostly the subjects before us. The chancellor had, especially, good means of knowing the state of the West; and he candidly admitted the exigencies, as I was disposed to refer to them; but his deliberate opinion was, that the remedy was to be found in the voluntary principle, and not in any supposed provision made by the State.

On the morning of the 26th, I was to start with the coach at 2 o'clock. But, instead of coming at 2, it came at 1; and when this was complained of, the reply was, "That it was best to be before time." With too much kindness, Dr. Sprague arose to see me start fairly. We were not certain of meeting again, and, in fact, have not met since that night.

We cleared the town; crossed the bridge; and got out into the open country. The moon was sailing through the clouds, and by her occasional lights was revealing to us a wild and hilly prospect. We made an ascent of a stiff hill; and came up with the Hartford stage, which was halting in the road. The driver had just ascertained that the boot had been robbed; and they were waiting to challenge us to the pursuit and rescue. The young man whose property was missing, whined piteously, and entreated help—"He had lost a large trunk, with thirty dollars in it, besides other valuables."

There was little need of this, not very heroic, pleading. Our party was strong, and in high spirits; there was something chivalrous in the deed; and they were ready for the chase. They put to the test the safety of our own luggage; agreed on the persons who should take charge of the teams; and set forward on the search. Still the effort had a very hopeless appearance about it. The misty moonlight lay on the road and its green margin, and made itself felt; but beyond this, all was wild forest, on whose shadows it could make no impression, and where a hundred robbers, with all their booty, might find speedy and effectual cover. The force divided itself into two parties, and decided on the tracks to be taken. Each one armed himself with stick, or otherwise, as he best could; for they did not know the strength of the foe. A dog fell in with the party to which our driver was attached; and he was wise enough to let it lead. It led them to the spot where lay the black trunk, and the discovery was announced to the other pursuers by the cry which shot up among them, "Hurrah! the trunk is found." It appeared that the robber or robbers had not been able to run with it far, and were proceeding to rifle it of its contents, when they must have been alarmed. The straps were cut off, but they had not yet been able to force the lock, so that all was safe. It also appeared that the faithful dog, which had been the chief agent in finding the trunk, had first, by his barking, given notice of the robbery. The driver, on looking back to the dog, saw some moving shadows in the distance; and this sight may be supposed to have maimed his courage, for he certainly took but a small share in the general hue and cry. This dog would afterward follow our coach and driver, as if for our protection. We could not induce it to go back; and it really went till we changed both, a distance of twelve miles. Of course, the animal was in high favor with us all.

The place at which we stopped supplied us with breakfast. It is sixteen miles from Albany, and we reached it by six o'clock; so that the night was lost in running this short distance, and this was altogether unnecessary. The country began to improve on our way; and the refreshment of dressing and food prepared us to enjoy it. Pittsfield is a pleasant town, surrounded by scenery of much beauty. Lebanon is remarkable for its springs, and the Shaker settlement. Like all the settlements of this singular people which I have seen, it is admirably chosen, and as admirably cultivated. The springs and hotels attached to them are raised midway on the breasts of hills that are swelling into mountains; and every where around the rides and prospects must be most enchanting. In this respect it greatly excels Saratoga. There was a pretty good show of company.

In the middle of the day we got out of this class of scenery; and travelled over the face of hills, wild, bleak, and desolate. We paused at a house to dine, and were told that the place was Windsor. It is a miserable place. There are a few sad houses on the baldest and most barren rock. The inn is bad, and the dinner was bad. And every thing is made more waste and desolate, by the principal object in the scene being a naked burial-ground, which told you that the dead outnumbered the living.

On descending to lower ground, we were again surrounded with gushing streams, nodding pines, lovely glens, and hill-tops. Over a great part of this field of beauty, the storm which smote Utica had passed; and, though it had travelled so far, had rather accumulated than exhausted its awful power. It had passed down a gorge in the hills like a torrent, uprooting pine and cedar, and casting them about in every direction. It had swept over Cummington and Goshen, laying prostrate the timber of a whole farm, and unroofing the dwellings and churches. It had overtaken a father and a child as they were descending a hill-side in their carriage, swept them from the ground, and precipitated them into the river sixty feet below! The father recovered, but he lost his boy.

About seven in the evening I reached Northampton; but so unwell with the fever that still hung on me, that I was compelled, after writing a note to Dr. Penny, to retire. Contrary to my request, he came to me immediately, and became at once affectionately concerned for my welfare. He introduced me to the special care of the landlord, saw me provided with what was needful, and would not leave me till he had procured some simples at the druggist's for my use.

What with these precautions, and some sound rest, which perhaps I most wanted, I awoke in the morning much improved, and agreed to my friend's proposal to transfer my home from the inn to his residence. My amended health was the more grateful, as it allowed me to go with him to Amherst College. This was the day (the 27th) of the Commencement; and a principal object of my last journey had been lost, had I not been able to attend.

Amherst College has arisen out of the defection of Cambridge; so that the eruption of error at one extremity of the State, has been the establishment of it at the other. The Commencement is what we should, perhaps, call the Termination, for it is the end of the session; it is thus named, because the collegians take their degrees at this time, and thus commence a new period of literary life. Every where the Commencements are regarded as holydays; and as such, they particularly harmonize with the habits and tastes of the people. They have not the vanities of fairs, nor the strictness of a religious service; and they attract not merely the religious, but the people at large, and thus extend to the more worldly portions of the community a measure of religious influence.

We arrived early in the morning, but the services had made some advance, and the church was crammed to such a degree as to prevent our access. Dr. Penny, for my sake, engaged the services of some stewards or officers for the day, and by these means I made my way up the aisles, and found myself comfortably seated in a pew, and by the side of my friend Dr. Spring. I was afterward obliged to take a prepared seat, with Mr. Matheson, on the platform.

The sight was an interesting one. The President, Dr. Humphrey, was in the pulpit. A platform was formed below and around the pulpit, on which the Trustees and the English Deputation were accommodated, a considerable space being reserved for the use of those who were to deliver the addresses. The clergy occupied the pews nearest the platform; and beyond these, in the area and the galleries, the spaces were filled in by a crowd of animated faces, the ladies occupying the sitting, and the men the standing accommodation. A choir of considerable size, and in something of a uniform, occupied the centre of the front gallery, to relieve the exercises by suitable musical performances.

Every student, as he completes his terms with honor to himself, is understood to be entitled to exhibit on these occasions; and it seldom happens that any one desires to be excused; so that where the college is large, the number yearly qualified is considerable. There is some inconvenience in making so many addresses in a single morning; but, on the whole, it is found to have less evil than would attend any principle of selection. The faculty know before, the length of the addresses, and they are mostly limited to about a quarter of an hour. At this time there were twenty-three engaged to make orations; musical interludes occurred after every sixth or seventh speech; and the whole audience were fully aware of the order of the speakers, by a handbill distributed throughout the place.

It will not be expected that I should exactly report, or rigidly criticise, these juvenile performances. It may be sufficient to say, that they were highly interesting, as the indications of good reading, good sense, and correct taste. They certainly must have passed under a skilful pruning-knife, or they would have shown many more juvenilities. A very good poem was delivered; one address had some admirable touches of true eloquence about it. On one subject, Phrenology, two students acted the part of appellant and respondent in clever style. But especially it was delightful to find in a college, which is not a theological institution, so many intimations of pious sentiment and correct religious principle.

A single circumstance deserves notice. One of the graduates, whose name was down to participate in the exercises, had sickened, and died. All the students wore crape on his account, and you wondered what notice would be taken of it. Not any was taken till, in the course of the service, they came to his name. Then there was a pause. The people had their attention awakened by this; they looked at the bill; and they felt its solemnity. Still no lips were opened to pronounce a eulogy; but presently some plaintive notes broke from the instrumental music in the choir, and a requiem of Mozart's was played with solemn and touching slowness. Not a person but felt the delicacy of this recognition; not a person but was affected by it.

The last oration is peculiar. One of the senior students is appointed to offer congratulatory or farewell addresses to the persons present. He addressed the President, then the Trustees; then (on this occasion) the Deputation from England; then his Class-fellows. These acknowledgments and greetings, when expressing the sentiments natural to the occasion, are appropriate and impressive.

Previously to this last oration, the President distributes the diplomas, repeating a short Latin form of presentation; and the parties so honored take their seat in the front of the gallery. The whole is closed by a short address from the President, and prayer. The engagements began at nine, and ceased about three o'clock.

After the service, we passed over the green to the dining-rooms. About 300 persons sat down to dinner, and most of them were clergymen. It was plain, and as cold as the weather would allow; good joints and tarts were in abundance, but neither wine nor spirits were to be seen. The claims of nature were soon answered; and, as there was no inducement to stay afterward, the company soon dispersed. Shortly after we had separated, one of the brethren who dined with us in perfect health, and with whom I had just shaken hands, was seized by death while partaking of a watermelon, and quickly expired. "In the midst of life we are in death!" Pliny Dickinson was in the prime of life, and the fulness of health, when he found himself in the arms of death!

The green which opened before us on quitting the dinner-table, offered a lively and busy sight. There were innumerable carriages of all descriptions, which had brought the present visiters to the spot; and numbers of persons, who had come rather in search of amusement than profit. Yet there was no sport, no show, no merry-making of any kind. But there was, as remarkably characteristic, in the midst of this bustle, a Yankee auctioneer, resolved to improve the occasion. He was mounted in a cart, and selling, or trying to sell, books, prints, harness, and carriages—the very carriage he came in.

I left early with Dr. Penny; and most of the company had left or were leaving. There was not the least sign of disorder nor of excess, either in eating or drinking. He proposed to diversify the ride, by passing through Hadley; and it afforded me much gratification. Hadley is situated on a loop of verdant land, formed by the beautiful windings of the Connecticut. It is one of the most rural and patriarchal of villages. Detached cottages run along the sides of this green parterre, and form a beautiful margin to the quiet river behind them. The church stands out in the centre of the picture; and everywhere the fine drooping elms, which abound in this vicinity, are concealing, revealing, and overshadowing the various objects that compose it. And here is, chiefly, a veteran oak, said to bear on its gnarled sides a registry, made by the Indians, of the rise of the waters at different periods. The church is adequate to the wants of this people; and so happy is the village, that there is no family that does not use it.

Besides these objects, which immediately meet the eye, here is shown a cellar in which the regicides, Whalley and Golfe, were concealed for many years. A remarkable anecdote is preserved of the former; and so well supported as to be placed beyond distrust. The Indians had attacked a village adjacent to Hadley while the people were at church, and massacred most of them. On a Sabbath day, while the parishioners of Hadley were in like manner, assembled for worship, a report sprung up in the congregation that the Indians were coming.—The men were from home, and without arms; and their little ones and dear ones, would be the first to feel the vengeance of the foe. The suddenness of the report, and their sense of defencelessness, unmanned them; and they remained irresolute, when to be so was sure destruction.

At this crisis, a stranger, with a worn countenance, silver beard, hermit's dress, and commanding aspect, appeared among them. He reproached them with their panic cowardice; urged them not to wait for the enemy; assured them that there was time to redeem the delay; and called them on to victory. As if an angel spoke, they obeyed; as if an angel led them, they fought. Everywhere the stranger was present, to command and to meet the fiercest onset of the barbarous foe. And everywhere, when he appeared, the enemy stood back, till the struggle ended in decided triumph. Relieved from their conflict and their fears, every one looked round for their deliverer; but he was not to be found. This deliverer was Whalley who had left his cave to do this deed, and who returned to it the instant it was done. What wonder if these villagers, at that distance of time, and with their rural and religious habits, believed that it was a supernatural appearance sent for their salvation?

LETTER XXII.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Mr. Matheson made his way from Amherst on to Meredith; but, as it was my first visit, I determined to stay over the Sabbath at Northampton. It seemed, beyond most other places, to afford the best field for observation; and I was encouraged to expect every assistance in my inquiries from the pastors here, in conjunction with Dr. Humphrey. My state of health, indeed, would have almost made this course necessary; though I had sensibly reached a climate more genial to me. The heat, too, was greatly abated; and the weather was very like our fine September seasons.

This beautiful town has a population of about 3,000, and in the township, a square of six miles, there are about 3,600. It has a main street, short, not too regular; ornamented by three churches and a court-house; running down a slope bounded by sylvan cottages, and each way looking into the country. The other streets, or verdant lanes, follow the ancient cow-walks, and wind in graceful lines about the foot and the breast of the hills on which the town is planted. On these lines appear, at various elevations, detached cottages, of considerable dimensions and in good taste. They are of wood, indeed, but in nice preservation; and, with their white fronts, Venetian blinds, piazzas, and porticoes, have the air of so many galleries of Italian villas. But the great beauty of these lanes and villas, is the wood scenery which is mixed with it and surmounts it; and especially the abundance of the Witch-elm, which is of prodigious size, and weeps like a willow, and is the image of what is most strong, most graceful. From the more elevated villas, you look over the clustering dwellings below you, to one of the most fertile of plains, covered with maize, broom-corn, and green pasturage. Here the Connecticut, which is sometimes seen dashing among the falls, winds its way so peacefully along, as to treble its distance by its length, as if charmed by the objects it reflected. And beyond this rise the mountains, which bound the view, standing up before you in decided forms, and clothed with the primitive forest, or running off to the horizon, and mingling their hues with the skies.

I was really charmed with this place; the more so, as Northampton, above all other places, had been most familiarized to my imagination. It was a pleasure to find the suggestions of the mind exceeded, as they undoubtedly were, in this instance. Every thing speaks of peace, of comfort, of retirement; of retirement relieved and endeared by society. The moral aspects, like those of nature, are pleasant and promising. The pleasure you receive is not, indeed, of that sudden and stimulating kind which must be temporary because it is violent; it is that pleasure which may sit with you in the house, attend you on the wayside, retire with you at night, rise with you in the morning, and live with you ever, refreshing all things where it comes. I have seen no place in this country at which I would so willingly reside!

I made a visit, while here, to Mount Holyoke, in company with my friend Mr. Stoddard. This spot has great fame, and is more frequented by visiters than any other in New England, or perhaps in the Union. It is thought to be the very best that is to be seen; but I have many exceptions to make against that opinion. Let us, however, glance at it. We ascended the hill, full two-thirds of its height, with our gig, and then, securing our horse, proceeded to complete the ascent on foot. It is somewhat precipitous; but the way is made easy by good foothold.

When you have attained the right point of sight, you will see the river, of which before you had only a glance, stretching itself away some thirty miles, still doubling itself, so as frequently to look as two; and having on its glassy bosom a number of small vessels, with their broad white sails covetous of the breeze. On either side is spread the finest and most considerable valley of New England, called after the name of the river which waters it, and running away into other valleys, which are gradually lost to sight. Those very distant hills which bound the view in the line of the river, and are almost hidden in the gray mist, are said to be the rocks of New-Haven, a distance of seventy miles. On looking to your left, you are surprised to see the hills and mountains stand out in such bold and broken forms, by their proximity, size, and dark foliage, giving great force to the picture; while behind them the ground shoots away in hill and dale, with Hadley just under you, and Amherst smiling through the sun in the distance. On your right, again, is Northampton, not robbed of its beauty, but reduced in prominence, so as to harmonize with the whole. You now look over its smaller hills into other valleys, and the more remote hills which form the boundaries of the State. You have now an extensive and varied scene before and around you. Its great charm—and for this country its great peculiarity—is, that it is raised to such a degree of cultivation. The extensive clearances and remaining woods give to it the animation of light and shadow; and the number of towns and villages (not less than thirty) which are half revealed to you on its lovely surface, assure you of human life, and quiet enjoyment, and awaken all the human sympathies. If this is not the finest thing in the States, it has enough to commend it to admiration and praise. It resembles, more than most scenes, some of our finest valley pictures.

There is a shed built here for the accommodation of visiters, opening both ways on the panoramic scenes. The good people should do more. They should erect a small tower, only sufficiently high to allow the spectator to take in the whole without obstruction from the trees. The spot is worthy of it; it would cost little; and would bring them much honor. The present rickety shed is a hinderance, not a help.

By-the-by, I had at this shed a sight the reverse of that which I have described. The person who stays here to receive visiters had taken a rattlesnake on the hillside, and he added to his gains by showing it. It was in a large rough box; he threw the lid backward against the wall, and the reptile appeared folded up, and slowly raising its head, as if from sleep. It was large, from three to four feet long, and very handsomely marked. Its head and eye were fearful. The man provoked it with a stick. It rose nearer to the head of the box; light glared in its projecting eyes; and it used its rattle fiercely and repeatedly. There was nothing between it and us. I never expected to be so near to so deadly a creature, unconfined, and chafed, and provoked, without fear.

Northampton is chiefly known and endeared to us by the name of Edwards; and I was very desirous to learn what I could of this admirable man, and of the effects of his opinions and labors. I visited the spot where he lived; but the house is demolished. If any thing could incline one to leniency for such an offence, it is that a very tasteful cottage occupies its place. There are, however, in the front of the grass-plot, two trees which are said to have been planted by his hand. They belong to the class I have already noticed; they are of majestic growth, and droop beautifully—among the noblest of their kind. They are fine living memorials of the man, and promise to live for ages to come.

Nothing, perhaps has preplexed us more in the life of Edwards, than the circumstance of his sudden and painful separation from his church here, after his remarkable usefulness among them. It has contributed to shake our confidence in the results of the previous revivals; and mostly the people have been exposed to severe reprehension. Without intending to justify or condemn either party, the following remarks may assist to an amended judgment of the case.

1. Edwards asked too much at once. The people had been educated in different views on the subject of communion; and to have enforced his stricter terms, would have affected them as citizens, as well as Christians. The law of the State then forbade any man to use his rights in the commonwealth, unless he was in communion with a church. Those who would have been least concerned about terms of communion, had they touched only religious privileges, were most excited by the effect they had on those that were civil and social.

2. While the more worldly portion of the parishioners were thus suddenly exasperated at the prospect of degradation in society, the truly pious people were not prepared to uphold, zealously, the stricter plans of their minister. The subject was new to them; the system in which they had been educated, and which had the sanction of Stoddard, was the system on which they looked with partiality. Besides this, their pastor, while living among them, was, to their common minds, only a common man. As great unpleasantness had arisen, a change might be good for both parties; and they expected if he should leave, they should still find as suitable a minister.

3. Then, it must be admitted, that the manners of Edwards were neither social nor prudent. He was a recluse and a student, laboring for the church universal and generations to come; this his people did not appreciate. And he certainly was not prudent in the use of ministerial authority. It is remarkable, too, as an anomaly, that while his opinions were in advance of his times, his practice was often behind them. He adopted methods of public rebuke and humiliation which were getting obsolete; and inspired the people with fear, lest, if not themselves, their friends and children, should be exposed to such odious discipline.

Those who know something of human nature may easily comprehend how fewer and lighter circumstances may lead to a crisis, such as we have often deplored in the life of Edwards; and when the case is really seen, not as we now are accustomed to look at it, but as the acting parties *saw it at the time*, it will appear that it might happen without great blame to either.

The body of the professing people here have been attached, from the earliest settlement, not only to orthodox sentiment, but to true piety. A pleasing instance of this occurs in relation to the first pastor, Solomon Stoddard. He was engaged, on an emergency, for this people, when at Boston, and about to sail for Scotland. The good people, however, soon suffered disappointment, for he gave no indications of a renewed and serious mind. In this difficulty their resource was prayer. They agreed to set apart a day for special fasting and prayer, in reference to their pastor. Many of the persons, in meeting for this purpose, passed, necessarily, the door of the minister. Mr. Stoddard hailed a plain man whom he knew, and addressed him: "What is all this? What is doing to-day?" The reply was, "The people, sir, are all meeting to pray for your conversion." It sunk into his heart. He is said to have exclaimed to himself, "Then it is time I prayed for myself!" He was not seen that day. He was seeking in solitude what they were asking in company; and "while they were yet speaking," they were heard and answered. The pastor gave unquestionable evidence of the change; he labored among a beloved and devoted people for nearly half a century; and was for that period deservedly ranked with the most useful and able ministers of the New Testament.

The influence of his labors, and those of President Edwards, remains visibly and most happily over this people. The pious persons have much gravity and steadiness of character; they incline, after their great teacher, to metaphysical distinctions; require to be addressed through the understanding, and look vigilantly to their motives of action.

Those who cannot venture on the ground of nice speculation, express the same fixedness of mind, in an attachment to the simple elements of religion, and to the means of religious worship. When, as yet, no taste may be awakened towards these objects, the sense of duty and the force of habit will constrain conformity. Two or three instances are so characteristic, they must not be omitted.

Mr. W., the former pastor, had been incensed by his neighbor's geese straying into his garden. He threatened that if they should do so he would kill them; and on one occasion, in a moment of vexation, he did kill one of them. Now it happened that the geese were the property of a widow, and were under the care of her daughter Mary; and the one killed was a pet of Mary's. She was the first to descry the mischief; and, full of distress, she ran within, exclaiming, "O, mother, will you think it! Mr. W. has killed the goose;" "Killed the goose, my child!" cried the astonished mother. "Yes, mother; O, I think I shall never be able to go to church to hear him again!" This allusion to church restored the parent from present anger. "Mary!" she said, "never speak such a word as that, my child!" "Well, then, mother," she replied, checking herself, "I think I shall never be able to go without thinking of my goose!"

Among the attendants at church is a person who indulges in intemperate habits. The ministry of Dr. Penny cuts and confounds him; yet he attends. He told him that he would give him a couple of thousand dollars if he would leave the town, for he thought he should shoot him some day. Still this man never thinks of leaving church, as a remedy which he has in his own hands!

One of the parishioners, on getting married, and referring to his conduct in domestic life, remarked to his pastor, with complacency, that he had set up family prayer. "Family prayer!" said the minister, "but you swear still, don't you?" "Well, but you know," he replied, "one *must* have family prayer. Of the two, I had rather give up swearing than family prayer." Habit and example had taught him to look on it as a part of the furniture of domestic life!

The more remote influence is striking and beneficial. There are very few families in the whole township without domestic worship; there are not more than three families unconnected with a place of worship; there are not half a dozen persons given to intoxication. There is no poverty; there are no criminals; the jail is often empty for three months together; and the judge passes on his way, having no delivery to make. A lady's veil was found lately on the high road. It was hung on the hedge by the wayside; it remained there all day, and, in fact, till the owner came and claimed it.

Their morality has yet a higher complexion. No small evidence is given of this in their treatment of the ministers of the mother church. They agree to their salary in common hall. Dr. Penny's, as the actual pastor, passes as a matter of course. But Mr. Williams has resigned his charge, and is wholly superannuated. Yet they do not say of him, He is a withered tree! No: they agree, as freely and without remark, to the salary he has always enjoyed. This I think noble, and the delicacy admirable. Yet these people are a plain people; who shall say they are not refined and elevated?

I embraced readily all opportunities of intercourse with this excellent people, and the views they gave me of their social and domestic habitudes were very grateful. The society is somewhat more mixed than it might be found in most towns of its size; as, from its reputation for comfort and beauty, many families in easy circumstances have retired hither. I attended with my friend, Dr. Penny, on one occasion, a party of considerable size. We were introduced to a pretty suit of rooms, in one of the cottages on the hillside which I have noticed. There were from fifty to sixty persons present; mostly young persons, and all in a state of Christian communion. The intercourse was unconstrained and cheerful; the manners amiable, without reserve and without assumption; the *tout ensemble* equal to any thing of its kind in our own land.

I had good opportunities of conversing with the young persons, and especially those who had recently joined the church. I found them intelligent, well-taught, affable, benevolent, and pious. Dr. Penny collected several young female friends around me, and we got into full conversation. He called them his children; and looking on them with pastoral complacency, wanted to know if I could equal them from among my English circles. This was a challenge playfully given; my looks told him, if they were true to me, that I did not shrink from it. But I have seldom been in so engaging a circle. You must not accuse me of national partiality, if I say, I felt it to be unusually English. The open heart, the winning smile, the bright intelligence, the simple white dresses, and the fresh complexion, which is less common here, all reminded me of some of our sweetest youthful circles at home.

I had an opportunity of attending a prayer-meeting with this people. It was on the evening, and held in the court-house. There were, I should suppose, about 200 present. Dr. Penny presided. It was conducted in a similar manner to our own, except that the short address was given at the commencement instead of the close, and in this instance, formed a sort of guide to the prayers. Two of the brethren were called on to offer supplications. They did so in an edifying manner; and the people participated, as those who were accustomed to value the exercise.

On the Sabbath I had engaged to preach in the evening; but had reserved the other portions of the day for the privilege of hearing. I attended at the mother church in the morning. It is larger than most, and equal to any I have seen. It will seat 1,600 persons, and might be made to accommodate many more. There were perhaps 1,400 assembled. I sat by an old standard of the place, and sang out of a book that had passed through three generations. The services were interesting. The sermon, on this occasion, was read.

In the afternoon I worshipped at the Edwards Church, an offshoot from this, and only about two years old. It will seat about 800 people, and about 300 were now present. Mr. Todd, the excellent pastor, officiated. He read his sermon; and all the services were well sustained. Both himself and Dr. Penny are recently settled here. They are different men; but they understand each other, and act in perfect accordance. In the first separation of the younger church, there was some feeling to allay. Had they meanly attempted to promote their individual importance by increasing it, it would have sown discord in both communities; but their determined co-operation has annihilated the jealousies which were contingent on the separation, and though meeting on different spots, they are truly one community.

Nothing was more striking to a stranger than the great punctuality in attending the call of worship. I was prepared to see them go, but not as they did. While the bell is ringing, the people pass along the streets like a stream; when it has ceased, the town looks like a deserted village. In the morning our watches deceived us, and Dr. Penny and myself happened to be a trifle too late. I saw nobody on the way—and nobody entering—I feared we should have a bad attendance. The fact was, the church was full. Scarcely any body came in after we had entered.

In the evening I was to preach to the joint congregations. I walked out to the burial-ground, which had become a favorite resort to me as a place of study. It is very attractive. For pious remains and memorials it is the Bunhill Fields of Northampton; and in every thing else it has the advantage. Its size is considerable, and it has received additions lately. The ground swells pleasantly; it is not neglected, nor is it exactly kept, so that it has an air of freedom and negligence not unbecoming. It is near the town, so that the dead are not forgotten; and it is out of the town, so that it is not liable to disturbance. The aspect is serious and solitary, but not depressing; the earliest and latest lights of the summer day glance sweetly over it.

The setting sun found me pacing alone its verdant and unfrequented paths. There were no recent interments to give you distress; and the white marble slabs spoke of piety, hope, and endless life. Here and there, as guardian of the spot, stood the aged elm-tree, casting silently its long shadows over the silent graves; and everywhere the grass had tufted itself around them, while Aaron's rod, that buddeth, with its profusion of yellow blossoms, waved gently over them. It was a delightful retirement. Not a creature was to be seen, not a sound to be heard, except the distant lowing of the domestic cow. Nothing moved except myself, and a few birds which were flitting about, with no song, but a plaintive note, as if lamenting a hand that fed them, but feeds them no more.

Here I walked till I was weary, and then I rested on the tomb of Brainerd, desirous in the recollection of him to find an improved state of mind for my own duties.

I passed from the ground to the church. It was quite full, being a contribution not only from four joint churches, but from the Episcopalian and Unitarian also. My services were kindly received.

Before my arrival at this place, I had learned from Mr. Todd that there had been a considerable revival during the last winter in the town, and in proportion as by knowledge I acquired confidence in the excellent pastors, I was anxious to possess myself of exact information on the subject. I had lengthened conversations with them, and with Mr. Solomon Stoddard, the descendant of the pastor of that name, for this purpose. The latter gentleman, with the sanction of the ministers, has been kind enough to supply me with the substance of these communications; and as it will doubtless be a most acceptable document to you on every account, I shall insert the whole of it as the summary of what is most important, in leaving this interesting place and people.

"Northampton, in Massachusetts, on Connecticut river, is a township about six miles square, and in 1830 contained 3,600 inhabitants. Of these probably four fifths live near the centre, constituting the village; the remainder reside in different and distant parts of the town, in small settlements. A Congregational Church was organized here in 1661, and till 1824, it continued the only church in the town, the people all worshipping in one meeting-house. Its second and third ministers were Solomon Stoddard and Jonathan Edwards, the former for fifty-seven, the latter for twenty-three years. About ten years ago a small Unitarian society was formed, who erected for themselves a house of worship. Since, an Episcopal and a Baptist meeting-house have been erected, but very few of those denominations are resident here. Probably four fifths of the whole population remain orthodox Congregationalists.

"The church, since its organization, has been visited, in not less than twenty instances, with the special effusions of the Spirit of God. Of these, five occurred under the ministry of Stoddard, and two very remarkable ones under that of Edwards, of which he published a detailed account. Much, doubtless, of the prosperity of this church, even till now, is, under God, to be attributed to the teaching, example, and prayers of that distinguished man. He was dismissed in 1750, and from that time revivals have occurred at intervals of from three to ten years. Those in 1819, 1826, and 1831, were especially powerful, and the results were the accession of more than 500 members to the church.

"A very large meeting-house was erected in 1812, but two years since it became evident that the congregation was too numerous for convenience, and for the labor of one pastor. In consequence, a voluntary colony was formed to constitute another church, which, in memory of Edwards, was called the Edwards Church. It at first contained about 100 members, and in January, 1833, the Rev. John Todd was installed its pastor. A place of worship was built the same year, and dedicated December the 25th. In June, 1833, the Rev. Joseph Penny was installed over the First (old) Church, which had been more than a year without a minister.

"At the close of the year the state of religion was low, religious meetings were thinly attended, and great apathy prevailed. The week after the dedication of the Edwards Church, a committee was appointed by its pastor and brethren, to go, two and two, and visit all the members of that church, to excite them to activity in their Master's service, and to fervent prayer for his presence and blessing. The effects were apparently good, considerable feeling was discovered or elicited, and a desire for a revival produced. The first Monday of January, by recommendation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, was extensively observed in this country as a day of fasting and prayer, for the conversion of the world. It was thought best here, that the exercises during the day should have special reference to the condition of these churches and this community. Accordingly prayer-meetings were held in the different districts of the town in the morning, and in the afternoon a public meeting was attended, at which the pastors made a full and particular exhibition of the proofs of a cold and dead state of religion here, and urged on the churches the importance of awaking from their lethargy, and engaging in united and earnest prayers and exertions for the prosperity of our Zion. The meeting was fully attended, and solemn, as was the monthly concert in the evening.

"It soon became evident that a decided impression was made on that day. Religious meetings were fuller, prayer was more fervent, religion became a subject of more conversation, and a general desire for a revival seemed to pervade the churches. The interest increased; and the last week in January, the pastors thought it advisable to appoint special meetings, in reference to the peculiar circumstances of the people. Daily morning meetings for prayer, in private houses, in different parts of the town, were now commenced; and a public service was appointed for each evening in the week. The morning meetings were conducted by laymen: some of the evenings were occupied by the pastors, in endeavoring to arouse the churches, to make them feel their responsibility, and engage actively in stirring up each other, and in conversing freely with the impenitent—duties which had been greatly neglected. On other evenings, the churches met for united prayer; while non-professors were invited to assemble in another place, and were solemnly urged to attend to the concerns of their souls.—These meetings were well attended, and deep impressions were made on some minds. At the close of the week an inquiry-meeting was held, at which a considerable number were present.

"The next Sabbath, the two churches celebrated the Lord's Supper together; and it was a solemn and interesting occasion. During the week, similar services to those already mentioned were held.—Towards its close, it became evident that increased effort was demanded, and that a crisis was near—the standard of the Lord would go forward or backward, according to the faith and zeal of those who bore it. The church had not yet, *as a whole*, come up to the work; nor had the convictions of the unconverted, in many instances, resulted in submission of the heart to God. On Saturday, a select meeting of brethren was held, to confer with the pastors; and the result was a determination that brethren, in equal numbers from each church, should, the ensuing week, visit, two and two, every *family* belonging to the two *congregations*, to press on professors of religion their obligations, and the importance of consistent and decided action, and to pray with them in behalf of the unconverted members of their families, and also to converse fully with the impenitent, and beseech them now to be reconciled to God. The visiters were animated, the visits were thorough and solemn, and the results happy. This week, in addition to the (now) usual morning and evening meetings, there was preaching every afternoon. The meetings were thronged—a general solemnity pervaded the people, and the inquiry-meetings brought together a large number, anxiously asking what they should do to be saved. Instances of hopeful conversion began now to occur, and religion to be regarded as 'the one thing needful.'

"Yet there was no visible excitement either in the meetings or in the town. A passer-by would have noticed nothing peculiar in the aspect of things abroad; and the meetings were distinguished only by numbers, profound attention, and the head bowed down, indicating unwonted emotion. The next week the morning and evening meetings were continued, and, in the afternoon, social meetings were held by the visiters in their several districts, for conversation and prayer. It was now easy to converse freely on the subject of religion, with all classes of persons: the conscience was tender, and the impenitent, generally, seemed to expect and to desire to be addressed. The inquiry-meetings were thronged: from 130 to 200 persons were present, and it was a scene of thrilling interest. All were invited to attend, who wished for personal conversation in relation to the state of their minds. During these meetings, the churches were always assembled in another place, to pray for a blessing. So large a number came now, as inquirers, that it became necessary for the pastors to call in several laymen to assist.

"The meetings were conducted as follows:—One of the pastors commenced with a prayer and a short address; after which, the pastors and brethren took different parts of the room, and conversed with each individual in a low voice, endeavoring to ascertain the precise state of mind, and to give such advice and directions as the case required. Lists were taken of the names and residence of each person present, that they might afterward be visited and conversed with at home. An hour was thus spent in conversation, and, in some instances, afterward, those who had come to the decision to renounce their sins, receive Jesus as their Saviour, and dedicate themselves to the service of God, were requested to rise; and it is believed that such a call was, to some, the means of conversion at the moment. Those not occupied in conversation were advised to spend the time in silent meditation and prayer, giving their whole minds to the subject, and bringing them to an issue at once. The meetings were closed with an address and prayer, and seasonably dismissed. They were eminently blessed, and were, doubtless, the birthplace of many souls.

"The morning and evening meetings were continued for some weeks, and also those for inquiry. The number who entertained the belief that they had been renewed in heart became large; and one or two evenings each week were occupied by the pastors, in giving instructions, in presence of the churches, to such, in relation to the duties and dangers of their new situation.

"The ministerial labors of this season of revival were performed, with three or four exceptions, by the pastors themselves, without aid from abroad. All the meetings, save those on the Sabbath, were united meetings of the two churches; and all that was done, was done with concert and harmony. The preaching was simple, but powerful; calculated not so much to produce excitement of feeling, as deep and strong convictions of truth and duty. It exhibited the character of God as pure and holy; the spirituality and extent of his law; the guilt and depravity of man; the ingratitude, odiousness, and misery of sin; the freeness of the gospel offers of mercy; the obligations to immediate repentance, and the unreasonableness and danger of delay. It exposed the fallacious objections and cavils of sinners, stripped them of every vain plea, and brought them to decide for or against immediate submission to God.

"Of the subjects of the work, a few were aged, several in middle life, but most were young. Some had been well instructed in the truth, and were moral and respectable; others were ignorant and unprincipled; some were Unitarians, who were induced, by curiosity, to attend the meetings; a few were affected, and hopefully converted, without being present at any of the special services. A large number of the converts were members of the Sabbath school; some entire classes were taken; one of them was a class of sixteen young men; the teacher was accustomed to visit each scholar, in the course of the week, for personal conversation and prayer. In this and other instances, the blessing seemed proportioned to the efforts and prayers of the teachers.

"There were no individual instances of so marked a nature as to require specification. Though the peculiar exercises of the subjects of the work were very various, yet they were usually silent and deep, rather than obvious and obtrusive. In general, the mind soon came to a decision, and the results, for the most part, were very similar—a calm and peaceful joy in God, and a desire of devotedness to his service. The work was very rapid in its progress. Nearly all the conversions took place within five or six weeks after the commencement of special means, and a large proportion in three weeks. An enrolment was made of the names of those who intended, at a future time, to join the church; and the number so enrolled, who were considered subjects of the work, was about 250. Besides these, were several belonging to the neighboring towns, and others, making the number of hopeful converts about 300. Of those enrolled, 150 have since been admitted to these churches, on examination, furnishing to the pastor and church committee credible evidence of piety, and publicly professing their faith in Christ. The remainder, many of whom are young, are considered as catechumens, to be watched over and instructed for future examination. None of these are known to have apostatized and renounced their hopes, and most of them are manifestly walking in newness of life.

"The interest which was manifested in the winter, gradually diminished as the season opened; or, at least, the press of business caused a decline in attendance on meetings; and these were made less numerous, till they were reduced to the customary number. In one district, however, the morning prayer-meetings have been continued to the present time. The good influences of the revival are, in many ways, still felt. There is a full attendance upon the means of grace, a tenderness of conscience in some, and a strong desire in not a few for the renewal of the blessing. The general effect on the churches has been, to unite them and their pastors in zealous co-operation with each other; to add to their strength as well as numbers; and to draw closer the ties of Christian brotherhood, and increase the labors of Christian faithfulness.

"*Remarks.*—1. This work was manifestly of God, and not of man. On no other ground can its commencement, its progress, or its results be accounted for. The philosophy which rejects the necessity and reality of the Divine agency in revivals, is utterly unable to explain their phenomena. It cannot tell nor see why Christian professors, who had long been slumbering in cold indifference to their duty, should suddenly and simultaneously awake, and arise, and call upon God; or why the careless, the profane, the errorist, and the skeptic, should now be brought to solemn reflection, diligent attendance upon the means of grace, anxious consideration, and thorough and permanent reformation of heart and life.

"2. It was, at the same time, the result of prayer and effort. The Divine blessing was, no doubt, fervently sought on the first Monday of January, from which time increased interest began to be manifest. The churches humbled themselves, they repented of their backslidings, and renewedly engaged to be wholly devoted to their Master's service. They went forth to his work. They exhibited, in some measure, the true spirit of the gospel; especially did they cry mightily to God, for his Spirit to be poured out upon them, their families, and the community. The special means which were appointed, were, indeed, rather the consequence than the cause of awakened feeling; yet they were necessary to its progress, and without them it would, without doubt, speedily have subsided.

"3. This revival illustrated the powerful influence of a church when awake, active, and faithful. Much was done by Christians to excite each other to duty; much to induce the penitent to flee for refuge to the Saviour. Christians were then seen and felt to be in earnest—to believe and to act on what they professed—to relax their hold on earthly pursuits and pleasures, and to seek first and chiefly to do their duty to God, and to their dying fellow-men. The result was, a general solemnity—a conviction, even among the most thoughtless, that God was here, that religion is a reality, and that the only true wisdom is to give it immediate and earnest attention. The minds of all were open to personal exhortation and reproof, and conversation and personal influence were instrumental of the happiest consequences.

"4. In this work was seen the immense value of religious instruction. Those who were most interested, and who were soonest brought to repentance and submission, were, in general, those who had been thoroughly taught the truths of the Bible, who knew their duty and obligation, and who, when the Spirit touched their hearts, had no shield of error or ignorance, no cavils or objections to interpose, to blunt the edge of conviction. They saw the claims of conscience and of God, and felt them to be irresistible. Such a revival is eminently the time, when the seeds of truth sown in the youthful mind spring up and bring forth fruit. In one of the congregations, of one hundred hopeful converts, seventy were members of the Sabbath school.

"5 In this work was eminently illustrated the practical importance of pressing upon sinners their obligations to *immediate* repentance. The impenitent were called on, without a moment's delay, to cease their rebellion against the authority of God, and accept of proffered mercy; they were told that to *delay* was to *refuse;* that nothing effectual was or could be done till the heart was yielded up to God; and that this work demands no length of time, no series of means, no protracted efforts, but might be, ought to be, must be, done *now;* that there is no other accepted time but the present moment; and that God now commanded them to repent. Such appeals were not in vain; and in many instances, during the sermon or the address, it is believed, the heart surrendered itself to the Saviour. No other mode of dealing with men can reach their case, or serve but as an opiate to their consciences in regard to present duty."

ACCOUNT OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

The school in the first parish has about sixty teachers, and 500 scholars. That in the Edwards Church has thirty teachers, and 200 scholars. The teachers are in general intelligent, and nearly all pious, and professors of religion. Some of them are middle-aged; but most are men and women from twenty to thirty years of age. The scholars are from every class of families, including the most refined and respectable. About three-fifths of them are children under fifteen years of age; of the remainder, some are adults, from twenty-five to sixty; but the majority, youths of both sexes. The schools are held one hour each Sabbath, after the morning or afternoon service; they are opened with prayer. All the classes study the same lesson, which is a passage of the Bible, in course; a book of questions adapted to it is used; and the pupils are expected to commit the passage to memory, and be able to answer all the questions. The teachers meet, usually on Saturday evening, to discuss and prepare the lesson. One of their number, or the pastor, presides, and the meetings are opened and closed with prayer. These meetings are regarded as highly interesting and useful. Prayer-meetings have at times been held by the teachers on Sabbath morning, with particular reference to the duties of the day, and the results have been very happy. The teachers are expected not only to explain and enforce the lesson, but to use every proper means to promote the eternal welfare of their pupils. The great and ultimate object which they have in view is their conversion and salvation; and, in dependance on God, they labor and pray for this blessing. They endeavor, by exhortation and influence, to persuade them, without delay, to devote themselves to the service of Jesus Christ.

There are large libraries in each school, books from which are given out every Sabbath, to be retained not exceeding a fortnight. Care is taken to admit no works into the library without careful examination of their character. They are numbered and charged to each scholar when received.

All absences are noted, and the teachers or the visiters (a board appointed for the purpose in the first parish school) are expected, every fortnight, to visit the families whose members have been absent, to notify the parents of the fact, and inquire the reason.

The monthly concert for Sabbath schools is well observed, and is usually very interesting. There is, in each school, a missionary association, comprising most of the scholars, who contribute monthly for some benevolent religious charity. The funds of one of these are now applied to establishing a school in Ceylon; those of the other, in supporting a home missionary at the West. They will probably raise, during the year, 200 or 300 dollars.

Of course, all the labor connected with the Sabbath school is gratuitous. It blesses those who teach not less than those who are taught. It is the hope of the church; it is the great preventive of moral deterioration in our land; and the most powerful antidote to those evils which seem to threaten our popular government.

LETTER XXIII.

My dear friend—On the Monday, September the 1st, I left Northampton to proceed on my way to Meredith. I need not say that I had much regret on leaving; but it was qualified considerably by the hope that I should meet my brethren again at Hartford.

We passed through Amherst; and I may as well remark, that during my stay at Northampton I visited that place a second time, and Dr. Humphrey, with Mr. Adams, the pastor of the church, were so obliging as to come over and spend a morning with me at Dr. Penny's. This college is excellently situated on elevated ground, and in a country at once open, varied, and grand. It itself has a good and handsome appearance, but is not on so large a scale as the number of students would suggest, for they board in different families in the village. Professor Hitchcock, known advantageously to the public by his productions on geology, attended me over the premises. The accommodations for the general uses are decidedly good. There is a library of about 7,000 volumes; and there is an apparatus which cost 5,000 dollars, a recent purchase at Paris. It is a young institution; but it has grown rapidly, and it has done so without impairing its vigor.

It is, however, chiefly remarkable for several revivals which have occurred in it in succession. Certainly revivals in this connection are of the most interesting character. Dr. Humphrey was kindly at great pains to satisfy my inquiries on the subject. Since then I have seen the account drawn up by Mr. Abbott; and it is so important, and I can so fully confirm it by the information I received, that I do not hesitate to make the following extracts:—

"In 1827, the state of religion was very low in this college. Faithful religious instruction was given on the Sabbath, at the chapel where the students were required to attend, and we were accustomed to hold also a meeting for familiar religious instruction one evening during the week. At this meeting, however, scarcely any were present; a small portion of the actual members of the church were accustomed to attend, but never any one else. If a single individual, not professedly a Christian, had come in for a single evening, it would have been noticed as a rare occurrence, and talked of by the officers as something unexpected and extraordinary. Our hearts ached, and our spirits sunk within us, to witness the coldness and hardness of heart towards God and duty which reigned among so large a number of our pupils. Every private effort which we could make with individuals entirely failed, and we could see, too, that those who professed to love the Saviour were rapidly losing their interest in his cause, and becoming engrossed in literary ambition and college rivalry, dishonoring God's cause, and gradually removing every obstacle to the universal prevalence of vice and sin.

"There was then in college a young man who had been among the foremost in his opposition to religion. His talents and his address gave him a great deal of personal influence, which was of such a character as to be a constant source of solicitude to the government. He was repeatedly involved in difficulties with the officers on account of his transgressions of the college laws, and so well known were his feelings on the subject, that when at a government meeting, during the progress of the revival, we were told with astonishment, by the President, that this young man was suffering great distress on account of his sins, it was supposed by one of the officers that it must be all a pretence, feigned to deceive the President, and make sport for his companions. The President did not reply to the suggestion, but went to visit him; and when I next saw him, he said, 'There's no *pretence* there. If the Spirit of God is not at work upon his heart, I know nothing about the agency of the Spirit.'

"That young man is now the pastor of a church, active and useful, and, when commencing this narrative, I wrote to him to send me such reminiscences of this scene as might remain upon his mind. He writes me thus:—

"'Very dear sir,

"'My obligations to you as a friend and instructer, make me anxious to fulfil my promise, of drawing up a sketch of the revival at Amherst College during the last two or three weeks of April, 1827. I have been delayed, partly by sickness and the unusual pressure of duties here, partly by the difficulty of settling in my mind a clear idea of what you wish, and partly by the impossibility of reviving the memory of facts and impressions in the exact order of their occurrence. If this communication should reach you too late to answer your purpose, it will at least prove my wish to yield you such assistance as I may.

"'For a considerable time previous, the subject of religion in college had fallen into great neglect; even the outward forms were very faintly observed. During nearly two years, in which I had been connected with the college, I had never heard the subject mentioned among the students, except as matter of reproach and ridicule. At least, this is true, so far as my intercourse with the students was concerned. Those who professed piety, either through timidity or unconcern, seemed to let the subject rest, and were chiefly devoted to indolence or literary ambition. But while religion was shamed and fugitive, irreligion was bold and free. A majority of the students were avowedly destitute of piety; and of these a large portion were open or secret infidels; and many went to every length they could reach, of levity, profaneness, and dissipation. So many animosities and irregularities prevailed, as to endanger the general reputation of the seminary.

"'Some of the students who were differently situated from myself, may perhaps have noticed preparatory movements on the common mass of mind, indicating an under-current of feeling, gradually gaining strength, and preparing the community for the results which were to follow. But I saw none; and none such could have been generally apparent. Upon myself, the change opened with as much suddenness as power.

"'The first circumstance which attracted my attention was a sermon from the President on the Sabbath. I do not know what the text and subject were, for, according to a wicked habit, I had been asleep till near its close. I seemed to be awakened by a *silence* which pervaded the room; a deep, solemn attention, which seems to spread over an assembly when all are completely engrossed in some absorbing theme. I looked around, astonished, and the feeling of profound attention seemed to settle on myself. I looked towards the President, and saw him calm and collected, but evidently most deeply interested in what he was saying—his whole soul engaged, and his countenance beaming with an expression of eager earnestness, which lighted up all his features, and gave to his language unusual energy and power.

"'What could this mean? I had never seen a speaker and his audience so engaged. He was making a most earnest appeal to prevent those who were destitute of religion *themselves*, from doing any thing to obstruct the progress of the revival which he hoped was approaching; or of doing any thing to prevent the salvation of others, even if they did not desire salvation for themselves. He besought them, by all the interests of immortality, and for the sake of themselves, and of their companions, to desist from hostilities against the work of God.

"'The discourse closed, and we dispersed. But many of us carried away the arrow in our hearts. The gayest and the hardiest trembled at the manifest approach of a sublime and unwonted influence. Among some who might have been expected to raise the front of opposition, I resolved not to do it, but to let it take its course, keeping away from its influence, without doing any thing to oppose it; but neutrality was impossible.

"'It was probably with an intention somewhat similar to that which prompted the meetings which the irreligious students held by themselves the year before, that the following plan was formed. A student, who was temporarily my room-mate, importuned me to invite one of the tutors to conduct a religious meeting in my room. I told him I would, if he would obtain the promise of certain individuals, ten in number, whom I named, that they would attend. I selected such individuals as I was confident would not consent to be present. In a short time, he surprised me with the information that he had seen them all, and that they had consented to the proposal. Of course, I was obliged, though reluctantly, to request the tutor to hold such a meeting. Most of us repaired to the place at the appointed time, with feelings of levity or of bitter hostility to religion. My room-mate had waggishly placed a Hebrew Bible on the stand. Whether this circumstance, or the character of his auditory, suggested the subject which the tutor chose, I know not; but, after opening the meeting with prayer, he entered into a defence of the Divine authority of the holy Scriptures, from external and internal evidence, which he maintained in the most convincing manner; and then, on the strength of this authority, he urged its promises and denunciations upon us as sinners. The effect was very powerful. Several retired deeply impressed, and all were made more serious, and better prepared to be influenced by the truth. So that this affair "fell out rather to the furtherance of the gospel."

"'My own interest in the subject rapidly increased, and one day, while secluded in my apartment, and overwhelmed with conflicting emotions of pride and despair, I was surprised by a visit from the President. He informed me that he had come with the hope of dissuading me from *doing any thing to hinder the progress of the revival.* After intimating that he need feel no apprehensions on that point, I confessed to him, with difficulty, the agitation of my thoughts. Apparently much affected, he only said, "Ah, I was afraid you would never have such feelings." After remaining silent a few minutes, he engaged in prayer, and retired, advising me to attend a certain meeting of my class-mates for prayer. I felt very much like the Syrian general, when offended by the supposed neglect of the prophet; for I thought he would have seized the opportunity to do some great thing for the relief of my laboring mind.

"'With feelings still more excited, I repaired to one of my class-mates, who had the reputation of being one of the most consistent Christians among us. I asked him, with tears, to tell me what I should do to be saved. He, too, betrayed his wonder, and only resorted to prayer with me, in which he could do little but say, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on *us*." Long afterward I learned that when he left me, to join a circle assembled that evening for prayer, he told them that my inquiry for the way of salvation made him feel as if he needed to learn it himself.'

"I have thus followed out this particular case, in order to give to my readers, by means of a minute examination of one specimen, a clear idea of the nature of the changes which were effected. There were, however, many other cases, as marked and striking as this; so that any person who was a member of college at that time might be in doubt, after reading the preceding description, which of half a dozen decided enemies of religion, who were at this time changed, was the one referred to. In fact, the feeling went through the college—it took the whole. Nothing like opposition to it was known, except that, perhaps, in a very few cases, individuals made efforts to shield *themselves* from its influence; and one or two did this successfully, by keeping themselves for many days under the influence of ardent spirit! With a few exceptions of this kind, the unwonted and mysterious influence was welcomed by all. It was not among Christians a feeling of terror, of sadness, and melancholy, but of delight. Their countenances were not gloomy and morose, as many persons suppose is the case at such a time, but they beamed with an expression of enjoyment, which seemed to be produced by the all-pervading sense of the immediate presence of God. I have seen, in other cases, *efforts to appear solemn*—the affected gravity of countenance, and seriousness of tone—but there was nothing of that here. Hearts were all full to overflowing, and it was with a mysterious mingling of peace and joy—an emotion of deep overwhelming gladness in the soul, though of a character so peculiar that it expressed itself in the countenance by mingled smiles and tears.

"The ordinary exercises of college were not interrupted. The President held two or three religious meetings during the week, but recitations went on unchanged, and I well recollect the appearance of my mathematical classes. The students would walk silently and slowly from their rooms, and assemble at the appointed place. It was plain that the hearts of many of them were full of such emotions as I have described. Others, who were still unrenewed, would sit with downcast eyes, and when it came to their turn to be questioned, would make an effort to control their feelings, and finding that they could not recite, would ask me to excuse them.—Others, known heretofore as enemies of God and religion, sat still, their heads reclined upon the seats before them, with their hearts overwhelmed with remorse and sorrow, and eyes filled with tears. I could not ask them a question. One morning, I recollect, so strong and so universal were these feelings, that we could not go on. The room was silent as death. Every eye was down; I called upon one after another, but in vain; and we together prayed God to come and be with us, and bless us, and to save us and our class-mates from sin and suffering, and then silently went to our rooms.

"The buildings were as still this week as if they had been depopulated. The students loved to be alone. They walked about silently. They said little when they met, as men always do when their hearts are full. Late in the evening, they would collect in little circles in one another's rooms, to spend a few moments in prayer. I was often invited to these meetings; and it was delightful to see the little assembly coming into the room at the appointed time, each bringing his own chair, and gathering around the bright burning fire, with the armed chair placed in one corner for their instructer, and the two occupants of the room together upon the other side. They who were present at these meetings will not soon forget the enjoyment with which their hearts were filled, as they here bowed in supplication before God.

"On Tuesday and Thursday evenings we assembled in the largest lecture-room, for more public worship. It was the same room where, a few weeks before, on the same occasions, we could see only here and there one, among the vacant gloomy seats. Now how changed! At the summons of the evening bell, group after group ascended the stairs, and crowded the benches. It was the rhetorical lecture-room, and was arranged with rows of seats on the three sides, and a table for the professor on a small platform on the fourth. The seats were soon full, and settees were brought in to fill the area left in the centre. The President was seated at the table; on either side of him the professors; and beyond them, and all around, the room was crowded with young men, hungering and thirsting after the Word of God.

"I recollect particularly one of these meetings. It was one of the earliest after the revival commenced, and before us, crowding the settees in the open area, were gathered all the wild, irreligious, vicious, and abandoned young men which the institution contained. There they were, the whole of them; all enmity gone, opposition silenced, and pride subdued; and they sat in silence, gazing at the President, and drinking in all his words, as he pressed upon them their sins, and urged them to throw down the weapons of their rebellion, and come and submit themselves to God. The text for the evening, if I recollect right, was this—'Notwithstanding, be ye sure of this, the kingdom of God has come nigh unto you.' Every person in the room felt that it was nigh. He spoke in a calm, quiet, but impressive manner, and every word went to a hundred and fifty hearts.

"We listened to the sermon, which was earnest and impressive, though direct, plain, and simple; it told the ungodly hearers before us that the kingdom of heaven was nigh them, and urged them to enter it. We knew—we could almost feel they were entering it; and when, at the close of the meeting, we sang our parting hymn, I believe there was as much real, deep-flowing happiness in that small but crowded apartment, as four such walls ever contained.

"When the indications of this visit from above first appeared, it was about a fortnight before the close of the term, and in about ten days its object was accomplished. Out of the whole number of those who had been irreligious at its commencement, about one half professed to have given themselves up to God; but as to all the talent, and power of opposition, and open enmity—the vice, the profaneness, the dissipation—the revival took the whole. With one or two exceptions, it took the whole. And when, a few weeks afterward, the time arrived for those thus changed to make a public profession of religion, it was a striking spectacle to see them standing in a crowd in the broad aisle of the college chapel, purified, sanctified, and in the presence of all their fellow-students renouncing sin, and solemnly consecrating themselves to God. Seven years have since elapsed, and they are in his service now. I have their names before me, and I do not know of one who does not continue faithful to his Master still."

In the close of the day I reached Brattleborough. A gentleman had been taken into our stage, who had been overturned in his way from Boston, and greatly hurt. Mr. Matheson had kindly sent me word that I could get on by the stages so as to be in time at Meredith; but I soon found that he had been misinformed. It was still very difficult to obtain from the coach-masters any thing like certain information on the route I wished to take. Each one was for urging his coach, though it would take you thirty miles out of your road.

On the morning of the third, I started again for Oxford Bridge. The coach was to leave at three o'clock, but I was called at two; and, five minutes after, I was summoned to enter it. I had been taught to reckon on this before. The ride was very beautiful and varied. Bellows Falls made a striking picture. The height of the fall is inconsiderable; but the river dashes down through the vast masses of gray granite rock in noble style. From the sides of the cascade, the rocks, which have escaped the ruin, stand up in wild and abrupt forms. The pretty village, with its pretty church, and two or three superior cottages, crown the scene. It is both handsome and romantic. This was once a favorite resort with the Indians; they came to fish, and to while away the time, charmed by the beautiful forms and melodies of nature, they knew not why. There are still on some rocks, which have suffered least by the attrition of the waters and of time, a few efforts to represent the human countenance, which discover more skill than we usually ascribe to them.

Oxford Bridge received us before nightfall. The inn at which I rested till morning is among the best I have seen for cleanliness and comfort. The people occupying it were decidedly religious, and I like to connect the proprieties of life with true religion.

At four o'clock I was again in the stage. I had been ready some time; for it was now behind the hour named; but it was on a cross-road, and not exposed to competition. A very heavy fog lay on the ground; and being alone in the coach, I had difficulty in keeping warm. The sun afterward broke out, and the day became very hot. I found that the stage would only pass within ten miles of Meredith, so that I was obliged to leave it, and seek some other mode of transfer. I engaged a wagon and its owner to take me; and after dining, and waiting the pleasure, or leisure, of the party, we moved on our way. The dearborn in which I was conveyed was no place for enjoyment, for the seat was so small that we were obliged to sit on each other in turn, and the road was so rugged as to threaten to jerk us out together; yet I did much enjoy the ride. We wound our way through granite hills and rocks, sprinkled with cedar and fir, and disclosing to you, in succession and at intervals, the animated river, the beautiful bay, and the expanded lake, dotted with islets. As we approached nearer to the lake, there arose insensibly on its margin, and among the trees, the village to which I was bound. It looked exceedingly lovely and quiet in the summer lights of evening. It seemed a delightful retirement for an association of ministers; and reminded me forcibly and pleasantly of Him who, with his disciples, often retreated for converse and prayer to the margin of Gennesaret.

As I arrived, many persons who had to go to a distance were leaving. Still, however, the evening, or candlelight services were to come. But as some of the services had passed, and as I have not had an opportunity of reporting the order of such a meeting as the present, it may be desirable to look back to the commencement.

This was an Association of the brethren and churches of New-Hampshire. It assembles at different places; and this was the first occasion of its being convened here. It had been feared that the interest was too weak to afford the needful accommodation; but these associations, as they pass from place to place, are reputed to carry a beneficial influence with them; and there was a strong desire, on the part of the people and pastor, that it should be held at Meredith, as a means of advancing the interests of religion. They met in a noble spirit the claims made on their hospitality. Every house was open, and every house was full. Two or three families had twelve, eighteen, and twenty guests. The inns also were full. I found a room at the inn at which I alighted just vacated; and thinking it my first and last chance for a separate accommodation, I engaged it; but I was not allowed to answer any charge on its account.

Let me also remark, in passing, that the general circumstances of this place are interesting. The church here was built by common subscription, and was to be a free church; that is, open equally to the use of all, whatever their religious persuasion. As the persons who had settled here were mainly Universalists, it was practically theirs. Some efforts were made by the Home Missionary Society in its favor, and an interest was excited on the side of orthodox opinion and true religion. The Congregationalists have, by their greater numbers and influence, secured it to themselves, and have an excellent pastor in Mr. Young. The church under his charge is only ten years old; it was at first organized with nine members; and it has now 100, with an adult attendance of 400; and the people are full of youthful zeal and activity. There are, besides, 100 children in the Sabbath-school. The Universalists reckon still about 300, and meet in slack numbers at the court-house. The total population is not above 1,000.

The ministers and members of the Association began to arrive on the Monday evening, and held a concert of prayer. The regular sittings were to commence the following morning, and to last for three days. Early prayer-meetings were to be held on each morning at half past five.

On Tuesday, at eight o'clock, the business began. A moderator was chosen; and sundry committees were appointed to dispose of business that might arise. At eleven, a sermon was preached. Two other public meetings were held, and these, with the duties of the committees, occupied the rest of the day.

On the Wednesday morning they met again at eight o'clock for business; at eleven, the claims of the Education Society, and at three, those of the Bible Society, were pleaded by suitable statements and speeches. In the evening, an address was made in favor of the Sunday School Union and the Peace Society, by their agents respectively. I was present at these latter services; and though on interesting subjects, they were not very engaging.

On Thursday, we met at eight o'clock for business again. Some minor questions were disposed of. A report was brought up on the state of religion, which wore an encouraging aspect, while it implored more decided help. Resolutions were passed in favor of the Peace Society, and condemnatory of slavery. At ten, the meeting in favor of the Home Missionary Society was held. Dr. Peters made a short statement, and called on me, as having arrived from the West, to support him. I was constrained to obey the call, and to lead the meeting in prayer. A subscription, in a liberal spirit, was then begun in favor of the Society. Many who subscribed in their own name, now did so in the name of their children; and Mr. Matheson was requested to offer prayer for them. The meeting was longer than usual, but none were weary of it. It was of a highly exhilarating and pious character; and certainly served the interests of an admirable Society.

At two o'clock, Dr. Cogswell delivered an address in behalf of the Missionary Society; and at three, Mr. Barnham preached, by previous appointment before the Auxiliary of the Home Mission Society. At the close of these exercises, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. I was called upon, supported by Dr. Tucker and Mr. Matheson, to preside, and there was no refusal admitted. The area and aisles were full of devout communicants; and nearly one hundred and fifty pastors were present. It was a delightfully solemn exercise; and would have been more so to me had my engagements been less responsible.

The whole was to close by a sermon in the evening, and I was urged to preach. But I was already much exhausted, and entreated that the service might rest with Dr. Tucker. Many persons regarded the sacramental engagement as the last best thing, and departed; and a thunder-storm came on with rain, so that the evening attendance was not large. The sermon was excellent and impressive; truly orthodox and strictly practical. It was an excellent close. The Governor of the State and Judge Darling attended most of the services.

From this summary of particulars, it may be inferred that this meeting of the Association was highly interesting and profitable, especially as it approached the termination. Those who were speaking of it, in comparison with similar meetings of the same body, expressed themselves with emphatic pleasure. And this evidence was by no means limited to the effect of one or two felicitous meetings; it was to be found in the temper of the people. They were certainly much under the influence of pious sentiment. It was delightful to observe that the early prayer-meetings were attended with uniform avidity; from 300 to 500 persons being present on those exercises. It was equally delightful to find that, for the time, the very inn in which I tarried was converted into a sanctuary; and all its chambers were made in succession to echo with the voice of solitary or social prayer and praise. At night I sunk to rest, and in the morning I awoke, with the strains of supplication on my ear. The pastors discovered a large measure of piety and charity; and they were, without doubt, strengthened in its expression by the example of the father of the Association, Dr. Church.

Indeed, when I look back, and consider what was the spirit of the people, and what the occasions for its exercise, I rather wonder that the results were not greater than they were. And I deliberately think, that they would have been of a most remarkable character had there been less to do, and had one definite object been before the people. But, instead of this, the objects claiming attention in the short space of time were truly perplexing for number. Recently, all the great societies have had a natural desire to obtain notice at these convocations of the churches. They, therefore, one after another, have been grafted on to these meetings; while they have to dispose of the interests and business of the Association. What is local and familiar is sacrificed to what is general and vast; but neither the home nor the foreign interests were administered so efficiently. In this instance, though the business of the Association was not above an average, it could not be justly regarded; and so many public societies sought to be heard, that they were in danger of being heard and forgotten.

The direct effect on the people, which is the point to which I would particularly allude, was certainly unfavorable. The rapidity with which their attention was called from object to object, might afford passing amusement, but it neutralized impression. I never felt myself much more in a whirl of business and of bustle than in this retired village; and you well know how very contrary even religious bustle is to religious influence. This people show, by their protracted meetings, that they can appreciate the importance of keeping one only object before the attention for a considerable time, and this principle must be applied to correct the evils which a happy excess of business has brought upon the Associations.

Because these various and bustling claims had allowed one such little opportunity of mingling in quiet with the brethren, I requested that we might meet to breakfast, and hold a conference on the Friday morning. This was very cheerfully acceded to; and about twenty of the pastors gave us the meeting. I need only remark here, that this conference was affectionate, candid, and pleasant in the highest degree; and to us, as a delegation, certainly the most important. We closed it in prayer, and parted with many, many fraternal greetings.

We were not to leave till noon by the stage, and Dr. Crosby, whose kindness to us has been cordial and unceasing, proposed an excursion to the hills. This was most agreeable to me, as I could not endure to quit so enchanting a spot without some acquaintance with it. Time was precious, and away we went. But it would require sheets to report to you what we saw. Let me hasten over it. Suppose yourself to have made, gradually, an ascent of some thousand or eleven hundred feet, and to have attained a standing on a bold eminence, commanding all the objects beneath and around you; and yet not so high as to destroy their importance. Now the finest objects in nature, and on their most magnificent scale, are before you. The hill on which you stand runs off in slopes, and is finely clothed. Behind that swell which rises at its foot, is almost hidden the little village of Meredith, chiefly detected by the gray smoke which comes curling up from the trees around it. There are the two beautiful bays which lie before it. And then, over the extensive foreground, are eight or nine lovely lakes, of various form and dimensions, separated and adorned by the pine-clad rocks and hills, which cast their dark shadows over their peaceful and lucid waters. And there, to the right, is the lake Winnipiseogee, the mother of these waters, spreading itself out in all its magnificence; and, large as it is, appearing the larger for being partly concealed by the bold projection of the hills. It is studded by innumerable islands, some of them showing only a rocky pinnacle, and many of them having a diameter of one or two miles. The eye can hardly rise from this scene; but when it does, it finds every thing in perfect harmony. Here the lands run down in fine slopes, and shoot away into the vast distance, forming as noble a vista as can be seen. Everywhere else the land rises and falls most admirably; gathering strength with the distance, valley after valley, and hill after hill, till the hills resolve themselves into the mountains, and the gray mountains and fair blue sky perfect the wonderful picture. Conceive of all this, and much more than this, with all the improvements which sun and cloud, light and shadow, can give to it, and then say whether it is not wonderful! But words are poor things here. It is the very finest thing I have seen in New England, and I must not forget it. We were greatly urged to stay here over the Sabbath; and it was with much regret that we yielded to a sense of duty, in parting so hastily with such a spot, and with such friends.

LETTER XXIV.

My dear friend—About one, on the 6th, we left, as intended, for Concord, on our way to Lowell; the brethren, Bliss, Eastman, Baird, and Peters, being of our company. We arrived in pleasant time, and found others of our friends here. The Rev. Mr. Boutelle, the pastor of the principal church, would gladly have detained us over the Sabbath; but we were obliged to deny ourselves. Religion has thriven in this place, and it would have been gratifying to have witnessed its effects. I made myself, in some degree, master of it by conversation, and this was the most that was allowed by the pressure of other claims.

The next morning we proceeded with Dr. Peters. He was about to go to Lowell, to plead the home mission cause, and I had determined to attend him. Mr. Matheson stopped for the Sabbath at Derry. On this busy line we found some outside seats, and improved coaches; and, after a pleasant ride by the Mammoth road, through a wild and interesting country, we arrived in time to take our seats at the *table d'hote* of a good and commodious inn. We sought the brethren in the afternoon, and were urged by the Rev. Mr. Twining to make his house our temporary home. President Day and Professor Silliman, both of New-Haven, and the brethren of the town, did us the favor of a call, and we made our arrangements for the ensuing Sabbath.

Lowell is situated at the confluence of the Concord and Merrimack rivers. It is one of the largest manufacturing towns in the whole Union, and supplies one the most remarkable instances of rapidity in growth. Twenty years ago this spot was a wilderness. Then a small factory was built, which cost only 3,000 dollars. There are now more than twenty large mills, five stories high, with 3,000 looms, and 8,500 spindles, upwards of 5,000 operatives, and a capital exceeding six millions and a half of dollars. The total population is 13,000.—The water power is very fine, and skilfully applied by means of reservoirs and canals; it is capable of working fifty more mills. The advantage to the comfort and appearance of the town in the possession of this power is very great, as it allows a vast business to go forward without the nuisance of universal smoke. This class of objects is rare in this country, though common in ours, and I was interested in a new course of observation.

It might be expected in this case, as in every similar one, that many fruitful causes of evil would come into action; but it was pleasing to find a corrective and antagonist power brought universally and successfully to act against them. Especially there is one feature in the state of this community that is peculiar and hazardous. There are not less than 4,000 young women attached to the mills, who have been drawn here by the hope of reward, abstracted from all the safeguards of their families, and transferred suddenly from the utmost retirement to promiscuous society. They are mostly the daughters of farmers, and have laudable intentions in coming. The family has every thing but ready money, and this is a method of getting it. Many of them are well educated; they might teach at school; but they prefer this employ, as it gives them better remuneration. Others thirst for education; they come for six months, and then disappear; and again they come, and again they disappear. In the one instance they are procuring the costs of education, and in the other education itself. They bring with them a sense of independence and rectitude, and this disposes them to adopt means which contribute greatly to their preservation. Instances of sad defection and vice will of course occur, but they are remarkably "few and far between." The steady girls who work in a mill, band together as a sort of a club, and keep up a sense of honor through the establishment. If any one is suspected of bad conduct, she is reprimanded and suspended; and if bad conduct is proved against her, she is reported to the managing party, and a petition is presented for her removal. In an unquestionable case, they would leave the mill if the prayer of the petition was refused.

In many cases, where the evils are thus escaped, great good arises to the individual. Placed in new circumstances, where they are called to act for themselves for the first time, great energy, and sometimes great elevation of moral character, is elicited. The means of religion, too, are supplied to them with greater advantage. Many are brought under its influence, and those who are, are furnished with opportunities for benevolent and religious services, which they could not have had in their original and isolated circumstances. There are, of this number of young women, for instance, about 1,000 who are united to Christian churches, and about the same number who are in regular attendance on religious means.

It is, however, generally admitted, that whatever may be the advantages, these occupations mostly disqualify them for the quiet duties and cares of domestic life. In fact, this must, in a measure, be the effect, for there is nothing to exercise the domestic virtues; and it is likely that many may gain a taste for society, and appearance, and independent action, which they may not afterward overcome. The dress, indeed, of the whole body, when not employed in the mill, was remarkable. It was not amiss, usually, in itself; but it was above their state and occupation. One was surprised to see them appear in silks, with scarfs, veils, and parasols.

The care which is shown to their welfare and safety by the heads of the factories, is also very worthy of praise. Boarding-houses are built for them by the corporations or companies. Persons of good character are put into them, and the rate of payment is determined for them. These housekeepers are tenants-at-will; rules are laid down for their conduct, and transgression is followed by expulsion. They give and receive certificates of character with the young women.

The community at large are alive to the possible evils of their situation, and watch and labor to counteract them. Because temperance here has to encounter strong temptation, it has taken a most decided form. There is not only the usual Temperance Society; in addition to it is "The Total Abstinence Society," whose pledge extends to "wine, cordials, and strong beer." This, too, is the favorite society; it has 1,900 members. I do not now judge the principles on which it acts; of course its influence must be great in promoting the sobriety of the town. There is also a considerable confederation here, under the denomination of "The Lyceum." It is a society enrolled for moral and literary purposes. There are reading-rooms, books, and weekly lectures, to meet the one branch; and for the preservation of the public morals there are five committees appointed, each composed of not less than five members. Their duty is to take cognizance of five vices—intemperance, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, gaming, and lewdness. They visit, examine, and confer confidentially for this purpose, and adopt such means as their discretion may suggest. The lectures are made to assist this object.

On the Sabbath morning, I worshipped at Mr. Twining's church. It is of fair size, and well attended. President Day preached, on the anxieties of parents for the best interests of their children.

In the afternoon, I attended a communion service at Mr. Blanchard's. Members are admitted at this service, and I was glad to observe the order. We began, as usual, by singing and prayer. The persons to be received were then called out by the pastor. There were eleven; six by letter, and five on profession. They came as they were called, from their seats, and stood in the centre isle before the minister. The Confession of Faith was then read, and their assent taken to it. Then three persons, who had not been baptized, submitted to that ordinance in our usual mode. Afterward the Church Covenant was read, and their assent asked; and when the portion of it which pledges the church as a party was read, all the members rose and stood, to express their assent. Prayer was offered on their account, and they took their places. An address was then given, and prayer offered, followed by the distribution of the bread; and address and prayer were renewed, and followed by the distribution of the wine. And the whole closed by a short address, prayer, and the benediction.

I should think not less than 500 persons were at the table. Only two deacons were employed in the distribution; they have eight plates and cups under their care. One deacon attended on the pastor. I was struck by the great excess of females present; I should think they were as seven to one. This is accounted for by upwards of 200 of the members being composed of the young women of the factories. Mr. Blanchard spoke of them as being exemplary and useful. They labored with much advantage in the Sabbath schools, as they have thus many of the younger girls under their care. In all these schools there are no less than 2,500 children, and 1,500 of them are factory girls.

This is the church of which much has been said in America, and recently even across the Atlantic, relative to the disuse of wine at the Lord's table. It has mostly been said in mistake or exaggeration. The fact is, that there is in this community an "Abstinence Society;" and the matter has been discussed; but the utmost that was done, was to resolve "that no wine should be used which had alcohol in it." In practice, the effect has been to use a harmless preparation, which they call wine, and with which the most scrupulous are satisfied. To my taste it was like one of our British wines diluted with water. I have confidence in the excellent pastor, that he would not break up the peace of a society by such a question, or establish terms of communion which Christ has not enforced.

In the evening I preached to the United Congregations, and a collection was taken up, as the phrase is, on behalf of the Home Missionary Society. Dr. Peters was in the pulpit, and made a short statement on the subject. There was a large attendance, and by a serious people.

The morning of the 8th I spent in calls, and the exploration of the town. It has an animated and pleasant appearance. Everywhere the signs of improvement are abundant. The streets were at first lined with wood cabins; these are quickly vanishing before the smart and lofty red brick house and shop; and where they still linger, they offer to the eye a singular contrast. I visited the principal factories. They are very like our own; but have a cleaner aspect, from the absence of smoke. Their machinery looks heavier than ours, from the circumstance of wood being employed instead of iron for the stronger parts. Many persons are found here from the mother land; and the agents, or foremen, are mostly Scotch or English.

Professor Silliman was tarrying in this town, to deliver a course of lectures on Geology. He kindly invited me to a private view of his specimens and drawings. They were good and various, and a few of them exquisite.

In the evening I met the Professor to tea, at Mr. Edson's, an Episcopal clergyman, of liberal views and pious character. Here was the church and the parsonage all in English style. We had pleasant intercourse, and then adjourned to the lecture-room. Dr. Silliman was to deliver his first lecture this evening. The subject was "Primitive Rocks." He has excellent qualities for a popular lecturer; fluent, simple, animated, and gentlemanly. All could understand, and all were interested. There were about 500 persons present. Ten lectures were to be given; and the charge for the series was one dollar and a half.

On the following morning I took leave of the friends here, at eight o'clock, for Andover. Professor Silliman called, and obligingly gave me an introduction to his family at New Haven, in case of his not having returned. An Englishman, also, foreman of the machine factory, who had heard me on the Sabbath, came to say farewell, and put thirteen dollars into my hand. He remarked he had been putting it by for some good use, and he would like to have it given to a society in the old country.

Nothing worthy of note occurred on the way, except that we were overtaken with one of the most sudden and violent storms which I had witnessed. We had called to the coachman to stop, and look to the luggage, and get the curtains closed round us; but he drove on. The driving rain fell in sheets, so that before I could get the curtains fastened on my side, I was wet through. My predicament had at least the charm of novelty; for it is no usual or easy thing to get completely wet within a stage-coach. What was quite as bad, my portmanteau and dressing case were once more soaked through; an evil which a minute's attention would have prevented. The drivers generally take little care of the luggage. On many of the lines the proprietors give notice that they will not be responsible for it; and this is equal to an advertisement to their men to neglect it, and to the robber to prowl for it.

Happily, I was near to Andover when the storm came on, and on reaching the dwelling of Dr. Woods, I at once found the kindest reception, and the opportunity of relieving myself of wet garments. While I was in my dressing-room one of the most singular claps of thunder broke on us that I ever heard. The rain had ceased, but the heavens were still heavy. It was just over us. There was no rumbling or rolling either before or after it; it was just one clap, resembling, only so much more powerful, the discharge of a tremendous cannon. It shook the house and the ground; and within half a mile of us, it struck a large tree adjoining a house, split it, and shattered all the windows of the dwelling.

You cannot well conceive of a spot more eligible for its purposes than is that occupied by the Institutions of Andover. It is a fine piece of headland, embracing about 150 acres, and dwelling in light and air. On looking down its slopes, in one direction, you see the pretty village crouching among the trees, and showing here and there its white gables and turrets. And beyond it, and all around you, is spread a fine and extensive country, beautified by hills, rich with woodlands, and animated by cultivation. It is enclosed by the outline formed of the Temple Hills, the Blue Hills, and the Monadnoc, some of them standing away at a distance of forty and sixty miles.

The whole of this elevated and commanding platform is in the possession of the trustees, and this allows them to keep it select. It is appropriated to its uses with much advantage. On the right hand side of the road, and receding from it, are the dwellings of the officers and professors, and the Mansion House, or Hotel. All these are detached; of considerable size; with double fronts, fore-courts, and gardens, and composing good elevations. On the left hand, and therefore in front of these dwellings, is an extensive opening of many acres, rising on the eye, laid down in grass and gravel walks, and planted with fine trees, and kept in a state of preservation very uncommon here. At the head of this verdant and shady area is placed the Theological Institution, composed of three parts; a handsome chapel filling the centre, and two colleges becoming the wings. On the one side there is the Phillips Academy, and on the other the Classical School, and the dwelling of a professor; the angles are all left open, and the eye takes in the distant landscape. The entire aspect of these objects is very grateful to the eye; and the finish and order of the estate, and its sensible adaptation to its proposed end, make it as grateful to the mind, and secure its approbation.

The origin of this extensive foundation is remarkable, and perhaps I may not have a better occasion to refer to it. Dr. Spring, the father, I believe, of the present Dr. Spring, of New York, was pastor of a church at Newburyport. Some of his people at that time were very presperous in business. He was of a generous mind, and rejoiced in their prosperity; and he was of a pious and lofty mind, and desired to stimulate them to proportionate exertion. There were two especially with whom he did not labor in vain, Messrs. Bartlet and Brown. Having prepared his way, he got a meeting with them, and applied to Mr. Woods, now Dr. Woods, of Andover, to attend it. They engaged in free conversation. It was admitted that something ought to be done; they were ready to do something: what, among many claims, would it be best to do? Dr. Spring inquired what they would like to do? Would they like an Academy? It was much wanted, for the use of the ministry. They were quite willing. How should they begin? He suggested, that they might make a commencement by securing Mr. Woods, who, with the aid of a preceptor, might take six young men. "Well," said Mr. Brown, "I will give 10,000 dollars." "Why," said Mr. Bartlett, "did you not say 20,000, and I would too?" Before they parted, Mr. Bartlett observed to Dr. Spring, "Let the work go on, and you may look to me." Dr. S. knew his man, and was satisfied and thankful. He went to Salem; saw his friend Mr. Norris there; told him of what it was proposed to do, and of what had been done; and obtained another 10,000 dollars.

It appeared that similar intentions, without the exchange of opinions, had been entertained by Mr Abbott and Mrs. Phillips, of Andover; and that they were willing to apply 10,000 dollars each to a like use. An overture was immediately made to them, and immediately accepted. But, in coming to a definite arrangement, there were difficulties which made delay, and threatened to prevent the execution of the plan. These difficulties were connected with difference of religious creed; but at length the matter was adjusted, and in favor of orthodox principles.

Thus the good work began. It has uniformly been under wise and efficient management; and its resources have been fed time after time by its original friend, Mr. Bartlett. In addition to his first gift, he built the chapel, which cost 50,000 dollars; afterward, one of the wings, and several houses for the professors, as well as endowed several professorships. It is thought that, in various ways, he has not given to this object less than 200,000 dollars; and there is reason to believe that all his benevolent intentions are not yet fulfilled. He is, I think, the only original trustee now living. He was present at this anniversary; is about seventy-eight years of age, and has a portly, intelligent, and venerable aspect. He was at first a shoemaker in Newbury, and became, in the end, for talents and success, a first-rate merchant.

There are then, in fact, three institutions matured here; and they are perfectly distinct, although they are held and managed by the same trust. The Academy supplies only an English education, and is meant to prepare young men as teachers; a sort of normal school. The classical school is for boys, and meant to qualify them for college; and the Theological Institution receives pious young men, who have had collegiate or equal advantages, and prepares them for the ministry. They are all well appointed. The accommodations for the divinity students are good. The chapel is really handsome. There is a fair philosophical apparatus, and a considerable library; not less than 11,000 volumes, and more select than many.

My arrival was the more pleasant, as I met with so many of my former friends; and among them, the Lieutenant-governor Armstrong and his lady, and Drs. Codman, Woods, Stuart, and Skinner. Mr. Matheson and myself met the trustees to dinner at the Mansion House, and afterward went to hear a sermon, which was called an oration, to the students, from Dr. Wheeler, of Burlington College. The subject was, "The manifestation of truth to every man's conscience." The discourse, if I may venture to criticise it, showed good mind, and power to say good things, with good feeling and expression. But it wanted harmony. There was a frequent effort to be fine, which ended in being turgid and abstruse. He appeared to have studied Coleridge and Chalmers, and with bad effect. It was, however, an interesting exercise.

The next day was really the day. We were all accordingly summoned to assemble at or before the Mansion House, at eight in the morning, that we might go in procession to the chapel. I was rejoiced to find in the muster new accessions of our former friends. The candidates, or students, were first; then came the alumni; then the trustees, professors, visiters, and ministers, amounting altogether to about 300 persons. We got into line, and moved forward; and had you seen it wind along among the trees, and athwart the grass-plots, with the morning sun sparkling on it through the trembling foliage, you had not deemed it a bad spectacle.

When the head of the procession reached the chapel doors, instead of entering, it paused; and the students and alumni filed off, and formed a line on each side, and uncovered, as to seniors and benefactors; while the remaining portions of the procession uncovered to them in turn, and moved on through their ranks to their places in the chapel.

I need not be particular in stating the order of service, as it was very similar to that which was adopted at Amherst Commencement. The exceptions were, that the speakers were supplied with a stand and a Bible, and that their address lay written before them, although they made little or no use of it. Besides this, the subjects were of a more theological complexion, and the exercises were suspended midway, for the purpose of dining, and renewed in the afternoon.

As it must always happen, the exercises were of various character and merit. Generally, they were delivered with fair action and accent; but with little that was free and graceful. There was less declamation and bad taste than might have been expected; and, with good average talent, there was much right feeling and just distinction. They discovered less vanity, and more directness of purpose, than is usual in these exhibitions. To be sure, they were older than is common with us; still their danger would be rather to err from want of prudence than want of zeal. As a whole, the exercises were of a very refreshing and promising character; highly creditable alike to the teachers and the taught.

The congratulatory addresses at the close were not used. Instead of them, some verses were sung. Dr. Woods, who presided, looked to me to offer the concluding prayer and benediction. The people showed that they could unite the spirit of true devotion with the avocations of the day. They were interested; though weary, and the place so crowded, the profound silence was affecting. It gave to our last acts great solemnity.

After the services, we called on the widows of Dr. Porter and the Rev. Mr. Cornelius. Dr. Porter was president of this college; and Mr. Cornelius was well known by his labors, as secretary to the Foreign Missionary Society; it owes, perhaps, as much to him as to any one person. The church has lost in them two of her most gifted and pious sons. This day, while one of joy to others, was one of extra grief to these widows; and they required the gentle sympathy of their friends. Mrs. Cornelius is left with six children. She seemed gratified with an opportunity of intercourse. I, in turn, was gratified to learn from her, that so excellent a man as her husband had had communion of spirit with me, through the medium of the Missionary Sermon. I left this house of quiet mourning, with its widow and fatherless children, with much concern. But "God is in his holy habitation."

We took tea at Professor Stuart's, with many friends. A Mr. Styles, from Georgia, came, and begged an introduction, and expressed much affection and pleasure at the visit of the Delegation. He had been an attorney, at once worldly and successful, and even opposed to religion. Suddenly his wife died; he fell under the stroke; gave up the world; studied at Andover; and returned to preach the faith which once he denied. He has now labored in this cause for twelve years, and been very useful. Throughout, his attention has been chiefly directed to the welfare of the slave. Before he left, he and Dr. Stuart retired with us, and they both engaged in prayer with much tenderness and simplicity.

After tea, most of the friends moved off to chapel, to hear a concluding sermon by Mr. Dickenson. Meantime, Drs. Beecher and Woods came in, and we had got into a corner of the room with our host in a good round conversation. I was not willing to leave such an opportunity without improvement; and we spent the evening together most agreeably, and to me most profitably.

On returning to Dr. Woods', we found ourselves in the bosom of a large and affectionate family circle. We closed our intercourse with a common act of domestic worship, which was delightfully solemn; and then sought repose from the fatigues of the day.

On the following morning we breakfasted at Mr. Farrar's, the treasurer of the Institution, in company with Drs. Church and Wisner, and other friends. Mrs. Farrar is the grand-daughter of President Edwards; and it was a real gratification to meet with a branch of his family. We afterward visited again the schools and colleges; had some pleasant intercourse with Dr. Woods and his family; took a hasty refreshment at Professor Emerson's; and left in a carriage which had been procured for us by the zeal of Professor Stuart, when other means of conveyance had failed.

Though thus hasty, I know of no visit that has been more delightful. The Woods family, of which I saw most, is full of sweet natural affection. Dr. Woods is greatly blessed in his children, and they in their father. On every side, indeed, there was an overflow of kindness. The remembrance of Andover will be sweet and sunny to me!

LETTER XXV.

My dear friend—We were now making our way into Maine, and taking the most interesting places in our course. Our first object was Salem, to which our friend's carriage was to convey us. The quiet of this ride assorted well with my state of mind; and the passage through the cool air refreshed the spirits, under excitement and separation. The scenery had no remarkable features, but it was not uninteresting. We wound our way along through heads of granite rock, partly covered with trees, which found a precarious and dwarfed existence on their impenetrable sides. These and the roadside were enlivened, and even beautified, by the great abundance of the barberry shrub, which was now in fruit.

On reaching Salem, a gentleman immediately came up and greeted us. He said we had met on the platform at the Boston meetings. I found from him that we had about an hour and a half to wait for the stage which was to take us onward; and engaged him to acquaint us with the things in the town best worth knowing. The Museum is the lion of this place. We made a hasty survey of it; and it is unusually good and extensive, considering where it is found. It arose in a very laudable spirit. This town enjoyed an extensive trade to the East; and it was thought it might be made to contribute to science, as well as to opulence. A society was formed; and all those were eligible as members who had doubled the Cape, or who had vessels that did. Each master or supercargo was supplied with a journal, in which he was to make notes; and he was expected to collect, as occasion offered itself, such curiosities as might illustrate the character of the people and of the regions which they visited.

We ascended to the top of our hotel, to take a bird's eye view of the town, and to observe in the distance the spot where the persons were burnt, who were condemned for the sin of witchcraft. What lamentation, that even here the fires of persecution should have been enkindled!

The towns along this sea-board were mostly of early settlement. Salem was among the earliest, and is more than two centuries old. It is, after Boston, one of the most populous towns in New-England; and, allowing for that nakedness which is so common on the sea-shore, is very pleasant. It has a fine harbor; but its trade has fallen away greatly. There are, however, upon it no marks of dilapidation or decay.

At four we took leave of our friend, and started for Ipswich. We arrived at the close of day; and having refreshed ourselves by tea, we went in search of the school here, which is superintended by Miss Grant. I had met this lady at Cincinnati; and although she had not returned, she had prepared Miss Lyon, who acted as principal in her absence, to receive us. The evening was pleasantly and usefully employed, in obtaining, by free conversation, the details of the establishment. It is one of high repute in New-England, and will require attention elsewhere.

The temperature here changed in the night very suddenly. I was awoke twice with the cold; and, in the morning, found my thermometer, which had been in the chamber all night, at 46°. The brethren called on us early, and were deputed by Miss Lyon to request that we would open the school by prayer. I excused myself, as I had devoted an hour to writing, and Mr. Matheson went. I afterward walked out with one of the brethren. The town stands on a rock, and is relieved by pretty declivities and a fine stream. I was shown a head of granite rock, on which George Whitefield stood, and preached on those words, "On this rock will I build my church," &c. There is now a church standing on part of it; and it is not unlikely that it owes its existence, in a great measure, to his apostolic labors.

I called to take leave of my obliging friend, Miss Lyon. Nothing would satisfy her but that I should meet the school. I did so; and we united together in an act of worship.

At eleven o'clock, we went on to Newburyport. Here we were met by Dr. Dana and Mr. Bannister; and were received with much courtesy and cordiality at the residence of the latter gentleman. He has a most comfortable house; it is not only like ours, it is quite English; but English in the olden style. The forms, carvings, cornices, and patterns, such as I have seen a hundred times; and the beautiful limes in the fore-court were literally brought from England.

We had a conference with the pastors here; and afterward went to the church, which is enriched with the remains of Whitefield. The elders of the church were present in the porch to receive us. We descended to the vault. There were three coffins before us. Two pastors of the church lay on either side; and the remains of Whitefield in the centre. The cover was slipped aside, and they lay beneath my eye. I had before stood in his pulpits; seen his books, his rings, and chairs; but never before had I looked on part of his very self. The scull, which is perfect, clean, and fair, I received, as is the custom, into my hand. I could say nothing; but thought and feeling were busy. On returning to the church, I proposed an exercise of worship. We collected over the grave of the eloquent, the devoted, and seraphic man, and gave expression to the sentiments that possessed us, by solemn psalmody and fervent prayer. It was not an ordinary service to any of us.

More care should be taken to preserve these remains, and less freedom used in the exhibition of them. There are three slabs before the pulpit, to record the interments beneath. But, recently, Mr. Bartlett has erected, in one angle of the church, a splendid monument to the name of Whitefield. It was prepared in Italy, and bears the following epitaph, from the pen of the excellent Dr. Porter; himself now needing, from some kindred hand, the like office:—

THIS CENOTAPH
IS ERECTED, WITH AFFECTIONATE VENERATION,
TO THE MEMORY OF
THE REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD,
BORN AT GLOUCESTER, ENG., DEC. 16, 1714;
EDUCATED AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY; ORDAINED, 1736.
IN A MINISTRY OF 34 YEARS,
HE CROSSED THE ATLANTIC 13 TIMES,
AND PREACHED MORE THAN 18,000 SERMONS.

As a soldier of the cross, humble, devout, ardent, he put on the whole armor of God, preferring the honor of Christ to his own interest, repose, reputation, or life. As a Christian orator, his deep piety, disinterested zeal, and vivid imagination, gave unexampled energy to his look, action, and utterance. Bold, fervent, pungent, and popular in his eloquence, no other uninspired man ever preached to so large assemblies, or enforced the simple truths of the gospel by motives so persuasive and awful, and with an influence so powerful on the hearts of the hearers.

He died of asthma, Sept. 30, 1770;
Suddenly exchanging his life of unparalleled labors
for his eternal rest.

On leaving the church, we called on Mr. Bartlett. He occupies a good house; but lives in a very plain style; and has evidently more pleasure in bestowing than in consuming his property. We met, in haste, at a friend's to tea, and to enjoy some last words with the brethren; and were thus engaged, when the mail called for us to go on to Portsmouth. The ministers here are excellent and useful men. Religion is in a thriving state; and during the last winter, much serious concern obtained among the people. The town has a clean and agreeable appearance, and many of the residents are very respectable.

Portsmouth is a sea-port and naval establishment; and is usually spoken of as an abandoned and wicked place. During our stay, nothing occurred to confirm such an opinion, and there was some testimony to the contrary; at least, as it affected its present condition. On arriving, I was glad to get near to a good fire, in a room of the inn open to common use. Here were several persons of the town in full chat. Among other things, the Temperance cause gained attention, and was more leniently dealt with than might be expected from a tap-room company. All allowed that a great change had been wrought; and one of them argued against its continuance from this circumstance. "Why," he exclaimed, "three years ago, the people would get drunk four days in the week; now, they will not drink at all. It is impossible that this can continue." There was a wicked hope at the bottom of this prediction, which gave strength to the admission in favor of the town.

On the next morning, at eight, we took the stage to Portland. There was added to a low temperature a sharp wind, which made the ride a cold one; and there was little on the road, beyond its novelty to fill the attention. The Rev. Mr. Johnson met us at Saco, and urged us to divide our services for the Sabbath. Mr. Matheson, therefore, stayed here; and I went on to Portland, where the friends were expecting my arrival. In accordance with previous invitation, I took my residence at the Rev. Mr. Beckwith's.

Portland is a populous town, containing about 14,000 persons. It has an extremely fine location on the ridge and side of a hill, running down to the water, and having a beautiful bay on the one hand, and harbor on the other; and, beyond both, the vast ocean. The harbor is completely land-locked, and yet possessing an easy and safe access to the sea; and the projecting lands, which shut it in, present so many capes, of different formation to the sight, as greatly to raise and ornament the scene. It is very considerable as a shipping port; and its fair waters are enlivened by the constant movement of a great variety of vessels. The main street has the advantage of running along the ridge of the hill. It is wide and cheerful; it is decorated by the town-hall, custom-house, and a church, which has a portico, with granite columns; and its higher extremity terminates with a tower, called an observatory, used for nautical and pleasurable, but not scientific purposes. From this point of sight, which is 140 feet above the level of the waters, you get a commanding and combined view of earth and sea, of great extent.

On the day after my arrival, the Sabbath, I preached at Mr. Dwight's church in the morning, and at Mr. Beckwith's in the afternoon, to considerable and attentive congregations. In the evening, an annual sermon was to be delivered by the Rev. Mr. M'Ginnis, in favor of the Female Orphan Asylum, lately established in this place. He is a Baptist minister, of good repute here; and I had pleasure in the prospect of attending the service. The other churches were closed on the occasion; and the congregation was made up by a contribution from all. The service and the object are both popular with the people; and the place was very crowded. I was pressed to take a seat in the pulpit, as is very common here; but, as a hearer, I did not enjoy so conspicuous a station, and I declined it. Besides which, being in the pulpit is the next step to partaking in its duties; and I was already exhausted, and had much desire to hear. The usual service went on. The singing was rather theatrical, but it was a special occasion; and professed singers seldom neglect any occasion for display. The sermon was read; it was superior as a composition; but it was somewhat above the congregation. The closing appeals were good, and such as I had been familiar to at home. The preacher closed; the children sung; and a collection was about to be made, when he came forward again to the front of the pulpit, and said, he understood that they were favored with the presence of a minister from England; and that he had, for many years, been devoted to some orphan establishments in that country; and solicited it as a great benefit to this infant Asylum, that I would oblige the congregation with some particulars relative to those institutions. I was confounded; for I had never spoken to the preacher, and knew not that my name, much less my engagements, had ever been before him. But, in an instant, the eyes of all present were directed towards me, and a movement made to let me pass. I had no option. To have risen and declined the request was as trying as to comply with it; and, as to comply was the more grateful part, I obeyed the bidding, and went to the pulpit. I scarcely know what I said. Briefly, I gave them a sketch of the origin and advancement of the London Orphan Asylum; and, by a reference to its difficulties and success, used its history as an encouragement to their incipient exertions. My observations were then made to fall in with the preacher's address, and to support his appeal. It was most kindly received; and the collection was greater than it had been on any former occasion. Mr. Cutter, the Mayor, and his lady, sought an introduction after the service, and invited me to return and stay with them. An invitation which I declined only on the ground of prior engagement.

From this day's exercise, although it was evident there was a large proportion of religious persons in the town, it did not appear to me that religion at this time was in a thriving state. Their pastors had been removed; the people had got unsettled, and in some cases disappointed; and though other men of talent and piety had been chosen to stand in their places, it required some time to put forth a pastor's influence, and to gather together that which had been scattered, or enliven what had become torpid. Payson, too, was gone! and for his flock, as yet, no shepherd had been found!

The Monday, being the only day remaining, was a very busy one. I visited the town, received calls and made them, and sought information. At noon I had an appointment with the Ladies' Committee to inspect the Orphan Asylum. It has within it twenty-three female children; they are not all orphans. The dwelling is clean, and managed with economy and care. I felt half at home amid the little fatherless family. We sang and prayed together; and took a respectful leave of the managing ladies. Of course, there was nothing to learn. America herself has no London Orphan Asylum; it would be absurd to expect that she had. Happily, at present, she does not need these charities as we do; when she does, she will learn of us, and rival us.

We dined at Mrs. Payson's the widow of Dr. Payson, with Dr. Humphrey, Mr. Nettleton, and other friends. I felt, as you may suppose, an interest in the family and in the house. Yes, in the house! This was the very dwelling in which he lived, and wrestled and prayed: and there was the very chamber, the very couch, where he communed with heaven, till he scarcely knew whether he was "in the body or out of the body."

After dinner, agreeably to appointment, the brethren from the country came in, and we held a conference. About twenty were assembled. It was a delightful interview. Prayer was offered by Messrs. Nettleton and Johnson.

In the evening we had to attend a public meeting. It was held in the church that was Payson's. It is the largest in the town, and it was very full. There were three prayers, and three addresses. Dr. Humphrey, Mr. Matheson, and myself, gave the addresses. As a deputation, we were introduced to the congregation by my esteemed friend, Mr. Nettleton. The service was long, but it was not felt to be so. It appeared to have made a good impression.

By this time, about forty of the ministers had come together; some of them from great distances. As we could not hope to meet with them on the morrow, they stayed after the service, and we were introduced to each other. When our duties were closed, I amused myself, while waiting for a conveyance, with looking over the place. One of the elders attended me. He pointed to the pulpit, and said, emphatically, "That is the place, sir, where Payson *prayed*." I was struck with this remark. It gave me Payson's peculiarity in an instant. I had thought that whatever might have been his power as a preacher, it was greatest in prayer. I was now sure of it.

On the morning of the 15th, we had to leave, by the steamboat, early for Boston. Mr. Cutter kindly took us to the wharf in his carriage; and he, with Dr. Humphrey and other friends, saw us to the ship. All our pleasant meetings were now beginning to be dashed with sorrow, from the prevalent idea that we were parting—perhaps for ever.

The town had a fine aspect as we moved out of the harbor. As we got farther out, the haze which is common here, closed in around us, like a gauze curtain illuminated by the growing lights of the rising sun. Every thing was mist, and every thing was hidden, except a pretty fishing sloop, which lay sufficiently near to be seen, surrounded by the haze, and glowing with light. It had an indefiniteness and a lustre about it which made it look unreal, and it presented the most perfect picture of repose in an object and on an element almost always agitated. It was lovely and fascinating; and supplied an evidence how readily, when nature is the painter, an ordinary and insignificant object may be made illustrious.

We had a charming run; a good sight of Lynn, Salem, Marblehead, and Nahant, on our way; and reached Boston at five o'clock, having been ten hours in making a distance of ninety miles. Mr. Matheson went to Mr. Stoddard's; and I was kindly welcomed to my former accommodations in the family of Lieutenant-governor Armstrong.

LETTER XXVI.

My dear friend—I believe, in my former hasty visit to Boston, I took no notice of its topography; yet it ought not to be passed over in silence. Every where it meets the eye in imposing forms, and nowhere, perhaps, so forcibly, as by the entrance we made to it yesterday from the water. The expanded waters are themselves fine objects, being relieved by a variety of islands and headlands of very picturesque character and position, and animated by the number of vessels which are seeking egress or ingress to this port. From these, and above the shipping, the town rises on the three hills which compose its site, crowned with its domed and turreted State House. These hills spring about 100 feet above the level of the water; and the State House rises about 120 feet above them; and they have, from the lower surfaces, to a great distance, a commanding and magnificent effect.

The town of Boston is more like an English town than any other in the Union. It often reminds one of Bristol, though it is not enriched with such fine landscape scenery as is that favorite city. Its streets of business are narrow and irregular; but those of more recent date, and for domestic use, have more freedom. It has been outrun in population by the other great cities of the seaboard; but, for its size, it has still the greater number of wealthy and well-educated residents; and there is a proportionate number of commodious and handsome dwellings. It has, besides the State House, an Athenæum, a market-place, picture-gallery, halls, and reading-rooms, which would be good in Bristol or Liverpool. There are some recent erections of stores and warehouses on a large scale, faced with a fine white granite. When you enter the narrowest and poorest portions of the city, you meet with nothing that offends you. Poverty here is deprived of half its evil, by having for its wedded companion decided cleanliness. Indeed, it can be said to exist here only in a comparative and mild sense; for the poorest have enough, and competency is wealth. For casualties, however, charity is not asleep; she stands with open door at the hospital and infirmary; and her helping hand is ready in a thousand ways to aid those who are lowest to a better standing.

But the advantage which Boston has, as distinguished from its rivals, is to be found in what is called the common, or mall, but which has a better right to the name of park than many things so named elsewhere. It consists of an opening in the heart of the city of upwards of seventy acres. You could not choose the land to lie more handsomely than it does. It is bounded, as you may expect, by the finest houses and churches in the town. At its highest point it is perfected by the State House; and from this point it runs off in beautiful slopes and swells, to the waters which separate Boston from the adjoining country. These waters are more than two miles wide, and, broken by the land, they have the air of a confluence of lakes and rivers; and beyond them is seen, among the wooded hills, the smiling villages and hamlets which are the offspring of the parent city. The park itself is kept in a verdant state, with excellent walks, and has a very cool and refreshing aspect, from it natural basin of water, and its fine overshadowing trees. On a fine summer's evening, when this scene is animated by the families of the worthy citizens, the elder moving down the shaded avenues, and the children, buoyant with life, chasing the elastic football over the green, I know nothing of its kind more admirable.

I cannot dismiss this spot without expressing a fear that, in their excess of love, the Bostonians may spoil it. I observed with regret, that a number of young trees had been recently planted over this park, which, if allowed to grow up as they stand, will entirely destroy the charming effect of this picture. What had been previously done, had been done with great taste and efficiency; but if the present plantations are realized, there will be a few French avenues, and nothing more.

On the morning after our arrival I attended my friends to an exhibition of the Horticultural Society. It is made in the Public Hall—a large room, with galleries in chapel style. It is frequently called the Cradle of Liberty; since it was here that the celebrated resolutions were passed to resist the tea-tax. The room is decorated with several pictures, and at this time the galleries were filled with young pines, and among the pines were suspended a variety of singing-birds; rather a forced attempt, certainly, to bring the freshness and melody of the woods into the city. To the eye, however, it was more grateful than a vacant space. For the area, there were along the sides of the walls, and resting against them, galleries filled with rare and curious plants; and in the centre of the room were tables covered with the handsomest specimens of fruits and flowers that could be produced by the members. And everywhere there were gay festoons, and garlands of flowers, suspended from table to gallery, and gallery to ceiling. The specimens, which were really the subject of exhibition, were, for the age of the institution, and the circumstances under which they were produced, exceedingly good, and discovered great zeal and practical skill on the part of the contributors

When the company had had leisure to inspect and admire the productions, an address was delivered before the Society by Mr. Gray, an intelligent merchant of the place. It commended the subject to their attention and pursuit, by an exposition of its advantages and their facilities. It was a very sensible address, and composed in good taste and liberal spirit; and was, in fact, an evidence of the humanizing and elevating influence which nature exerts on her true disciples.

In the afternoon we made a visit to Cambridge and Mount Auburn. This college, or university, is the oldest in the Union, and has high claims to consideration and respect, though it has ceased to be the friend of orthodox opinions. There is a sweet village-green here, surrounded by detached cottages, professors' residences, and two churches. The colleges are of various dates, and conform to no plan, either in elevation or arrangement, and occupy a flat surface. Nevertheless, with their verdant courts, and their ancient trees, they have, together, a venerable and interesting appearance.

The library, museum, and philosophical instruments, are worthy of attention. The library is one of the largest and best in the country. It has upwards of 40,000 volumes, and some of them very rare and precious; they are about to erect a suitable room for its reception.

Recently a law-school has been added to this establishment. Judge Story, the professor in this department, was at pains to inform us relative to it and the fellow-colleges. Here is also an excellent library, remarkable for possessing a complete set of the Law Reports of Great Britain. The American Quarterly issues from this University, and does credit not only to it, but to the country, as a literary production.

Mount Auburn is about two miles beyond Cambridge, and is a place of burial. It embraces no less than sixty acres of ground, and is a late purchase of the Horticultural Society, with the intention of forming at once a garden and a sepulchre. The land is fine, clothed with young wood, and has beautiful undulations, affording alternately the most quiet little dells and pleasant outlooks. There cannot be better scope for English landscape-gardening than it supplies; and a skilful hand might soon place it above Pere la Chaise. It can never be so rich in tombs as this is; but Pere la Chaise has no sense of retirement about it. This, even as it is, gives you the sense of silence without sadness, and retirement without gloom. But I am jealous of the hand of the mere horticulturist; and there are already reasons for this distrust. Formal beds and flowers, assorted by their genus, least of all accord with a cemetery. Now, it is not uncommon to see flowers crowded together over the new-made tomb; and these not the humble daisy, violet, and primrose, which might spring from the sod and sleep on its bosom, but showy and glaring flowers, evidently fixed on the soil by an intrusive hand.

A great many interments have been made here already. There is one just finishing, of great pretensions and expense; but money has been unskilfully applied, and has ruined it. It is full of small parts and small ornaments, which destroy its unity and power. There is one also for Spurzheim, which pleased me best; it is simply a tomb, of massive parts, and has only his name cut on its side in bold and deep characters. There is also a neat monument for the amiable Hannah Adams. She was the first person interred in this ground, and the following superscription is on the tomb:—

TO
HANNAH ADAMS,
HISTORIAN OF THE JEWS,
AND
REVIEWER OF THE CHRISTIAN SECTS,
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED
BY HER FEMALE FRIENDS.
FIRST TENANT
OF MOUNT AUBURN.
SHE DIED DEC. 15, 1831.
AGED 76.

Because the drive to this place is very pleasant, and because the walks within are equally so, it has become quite a place of fashionable resort; so that it may be said that the pleasure of the people of Boston consists in going to the grave. There were, I think, some dozen of carriages, and a number of saddle-horses, in attendance when we went; but it did not materially affect the quiet of the place; it is so extensive, and a party is so quickly lost in the numerous paths which wind about the acclivities.—And all do not go for purposes of recreation. As we made a sudden turn in one of the secluded walks, we came in sight of a tomb which had been just erected, and there were two newly-made widowers standing over it, who had stolen from the crowd and the world, to gaze in solitude and silence on the spot which enclosed all that was dearest to them on earth. We shunned them, lest we should seem to intrude on their sorrows.

On the 17th we attended a council to which we were summoned, for the purpose of forming a church, and ordaining Mr. Jacob Abbott as an evangelist, at Roxbury, about two miles from Boston. You will like to know the order of proceeding. The first business was to choose a moderator; usually the senior minister present is chosen; but on Dr. Jenks pleading excuse on account of deafness, Dr. Codman was appointed. Then a scribe for the occasion is chosen. The moderator offers prayer; and then, on explaining the purport of their meeting, challenges any persons present to say whether they are prepared to offer themselves to be examined as suitable to come into a state of church-fellowship. A member of a committee of arrangement, Mr. Abbott, arose, and stated that forty-five persons by letter, and six on profession, were ready to offer themselves, and had been approved by the committee. A committee of two of the council was appointed to examine and report. They reported that the letters were examined, and were regular and satisfactory; but that they had not examined those who offered themselves on profession; and they submitted that, as they had been examined by Mr. Abbott, an accredited minister among them, it was unnecessary. The report was accepted, and the usual examinations waived on the special ground taken.

Mr. Abbott further reported, that the committee advised him (Mr. Abbott) to offer himself for ordination as an evangelist; and that he was prepared to be examined to that issue. Special reasons were required for his desiring to be ordained as an evangelist, and not as a pastor; and in this case were deemed sufficient. He then presented his certificate of education, and his license to exercise the ministry; and stood for his examination. A vote was taken to refer the leading inquiries to the moderator; but several of the council soon took part in them, though always careful to do it through the chair.

The examination was limited to the opinions of the candidate on dogmatic theology, church discipline, and his experimental acquaintance with the truth he professed to acknowledge. When the examinations were finished, the moderator announced that the council would be alone. Immediately all strangers, including the candidates for membership and ordination, withdrew. The deliberations of the council continued some time, but they were confidential. There was a want of unanimity; and it was therefore thought advisable to see Mr. Abbott again. The examinations were renewed, and explanations were candidly given. The candidate was then requested to retire, and a vote was taken, "that the council do proceed to the ordination of Mr. Jacob Abbott."

The order of the ordination service was then agreed to, and the council adjourned to the Baptist Church, at which the service was to be, as affording better accommodation. We had been pressed to take part in the service; but the examinations had been so much longer than usual, as to make it necessary to leave immediately, to comply with other engagements. The following is the order of service, as it was printed for the use of the congregation:—

Formation of the Church.

READING THE SCRIPTURES. HYMN.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS—REV. MR. BURGESS.

ORGANIZING THE CHURCH AND CONSECRATING PRAYER—REV. DR. CODMAN.

HYMN.

"'Tis done—the great transaction 's done;
I am my Lord's, and he is mine:
He drew me, and I followed on,
Rejoiced to own the call divine.

"Now rest, my long divided heart,
Fix'd on this blissful centre, rest,
Here have I found a nobler part,
Here heavenly pleasures fill my breast.

"High Heaven, that hears the solemn vow,
That vow renewed shall daily hear;
Till in life's latest hour I bow,
And bless in death a bond so dear."

RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP TO THE CHURCH, REV. MR. WINSLOW

Ordination.

ORDAINING PRAYER—REV. MR. GILE.

CHARGE—REV. DR. WISNER.

RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP TO THE CANDIDATE, REV. MR. N. ADAMS.

HYMN. ADDRESS—REV. MR. BLAGDEN.

CONCLUDING PRAYER. DOXOLOGY. BENEDICTION.

There was one circumstance of interest in this case. The first church in Roxbury had Eliot, the missionary for its pastor; there had been no orthodox Congregational church from that time. It would be revived in the engagements of this day; and the associated saints were to take the name of the Eliot Church. Mr. Abbott was still to labor among them; although he was unwilling, in their existing condition, expressly to assume the relationship of a pastor.

We hastened to town, to attend a meeting of merchants on the subject of making mercantile pursuits auxiliary to missionary objects. We met at Cowper's Rooms. The notice was short; but thirteen gentlemen out of twenty, attended. We explained the design of the meeting, the objects to be attained, and the especial facilities which merchants, as such, had towards their attainment. We stated what had been done in New-York and in London; and solicited candid opinion on the important subject. Many interesting and affecting statements were made; especially of the abuses practised on the sailor when on shore. Communication followed communication, till each one seemed to wonder that, when so much evil existed, and so much good might be done, so little had been attempted. The consequence was, that they unanimously resolved on an adjourned meeting, to which other pious merchants should be invited; and a sub-committee was appointed, to consider and arrange the business. The subject continued before these gentlemen during our stay; and possibly, before this shall pass from my hands, further information may arrive.

In the evening, we met, at Mr. John Tappan's, a party of about forty persons. I gained information from him on the subject of the slavery question.—Dr. Beecher, whom I was to have met here relative to that matter, had arrived before me. Some meetings, however, had been held, and a plan was under discussion. I was invited to attend a meeting of the provisional committee, but was unable. If the subject is well managed at this crisis, it may do every thing; but I have my fears. The party was very agreeable, and well informed. We were mostly on our feet, forming little groups in the different rooms; and participating of coffee, tea, cake, lemonade, ices, and fruits, which were served in succession. Our intercourse was closed, as usual, with an act of worship, and we retired between ten and eleven o'clock.

While on this visit, I inspected the State Prison, the Athenæum, the Schools, the State House; and obtained the particulars of the Savings Bank and other institutions. I was particularly concerned to know what were the pursuits and the progress of the children in the colored schools; and I certainly think their parts are, on an average, equal to those of the whites; they are, perhaps, usually, quicker, though not more solid. The master here, who had had considerable experience in both, assured me that it was quite as easy to teach the blacks. It was somewhat curious to hear them addressed as master and miss. Here the colored population are free; and the circumstance of bond or free enters materially into the development of the faculties; especially those of the superior class.

On the 19th we attended a convention of ministers, called at our suggestion. We had upwards of twenty brethren present; and Dr. Stuart, who was visiting Boston, presided. We remained together about two hours, and received, in free intercourse, most important and cheering information relative to the state of religion. We took tea at Dr. Wisner's, and then hastened to a public and farewell meeting, which was to be held at Park-street Church. Supposing that such a meeting would be freely attended, it had been wisely made select, by announcing it as a meeting of pastors and churches. Such a notice, with us, would certainly have little effect in giving selectness to a meeting; but here it would be generally understood to limit it to the members of churches, and would, generally, be obeyed. In fact, on arriving at the place, we found it full, and, mostly, with members of the several churches. And it was truly a most exhilarating sight. We had before been sympathizing deeply with the orthodox, in the gradual introduction and prevalence of corrupt opinions, and in the reviving energy of the truth in more recent days; and here was the evidence before our eyes. I suppose 2,000 persons were present; and they were, for the most part, the choicest members of the various communities. The service was composed of three prayers and three addresses, with the usual singing. The prayers were offered by Mr. Blagden and Drs. Jenks and Codman. The addresses were taken by the Deputation and Dr. Stuart. The professor, in the name of the churches, congratulated us on our visit, expatiated on its good and kindly influence, and assured us, and the churches we represented, of their sympathy and affection.

At the close, we all rose, and sang that favorite hymn, "Blessed be the tie that binds," &c. We were six brethren in the pulpit; and as the sacred melody went to its close, we found ourselves spontaneously locked arm to arm. It was a very affecting and delightful service. We were of one heart, and one mind, and one voice; the only difficulty was in parting. Slowly the people moved away that night, and many were the affectionate greetings. But the last words would come, and the last lingerer must leave the now forsaken house of God. I had peculiar sensations on quitting that church. I had been within it so often, and on such delightful occasions; and it was now to receive me no more.

We had still to pass a couple of days in the city. On the Saturday, we dined at Dr. Codman's, with a number of esteemed friends. He resides at Dorchester, a delightful village, about six miles from Boston; and his residence commands a prospect which is at once rural and magnificent. Dr. Codman received his education in Britain, and he seems to have been prepared by Providence for the station he has been called to occupy. When heresy came in like a flood over Boston, it spread also over much of its vicinity. He saw one after another swept away by it, frequently his particular friends, but he remained firm; and when at last it reached himself, he stood immoveable. He was subjected to violent persecution for the truth's sake; and a determined effort was made to deprive him of the church in which he labored, but without success.

When almost every thing else was possessed by the enemy, Dorchester remained as a commanding and impregnable outpost; secure in itself, and waiting for the first opportunities of favorable action. Those opportunities have come, and have been improved; and our friend's firmness, conciliation, and extensive influence, have contributed, with other means, in no small degree, to the change which he has witnessed. He now rejoices in comparing the present with the past; he deserves and he enjoys the esteem and confidence of his younger brethren, as one who has borne "the heat and burden of the day;" and to him the words of a higher testimony seem peculiarly appropriate—"I know thy work, and thy labor, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them that are evil; and thou hast tried them who say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars; and hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast labored, and hast not fainted!"

Apart from his general influence, Dr. Codman's labors for his particular charge have been followed with the best results. Besides his other advantages, he holds a considerable patrimony, and has a consort qualified to unite with him in every plan of benevolence. Here are Sabbath schools, working schools, and an academy for superior education. The ignorant are taught; the sick find medicine and sympathy; and the poor are prompted to adopt methods of domestic thrift and decency. The whole village presents an excellent example of the effect of religion so administered. No children are left to grow up in ignorance; few persons abstain from a place of worship: and here, where every thing else is on a small scale, the schools and churches assume an imposing character.

On leaving our friend's hospitable abode, I returned to town with Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong, to attend a few friends at their residence in an exercise of prayer. Messrs. Tappan, Hubbard, and Stoddard, the Rev. Mr. Edwards, and Dr. Wisner, were of the party. It was a refreshing evening, and a suitable preparation for the Sabbath.

On the following day, the last of our continuance, we preached, alternately at the Old South in the morning, and at Dr. Codman's in the afternoon.—They were services I shall not forget. At the close of the afternoon service, Dr. Codman had to submit to his church an application which had been made to him to go as a delegate to England; and he solicited me to preside on the occasion. On requesting the church to remain, I was struck and gratified to find a *majority* of the congregation stay. In most congregations, on such a notice being given, how small a *minority* would have retained their seats! Dr. Codman explained the application, and submitted his views to them. I then addressed them. It was to me and to them an interesting subject. It was proposed and seconded, in the form of a resolution; and on taking the sense of the church, it was unanimously carried. There was certainly something remarkable in an English delegate being called to act on such an occasion.

LETTER XXVII.

My dear friend—On the morning of the 22d, at half past two o'clock, we quitted Boston for Hartford. The ride is not sufficiently interesting to justify me in detaining your attention on it. We arrived late in the evening, and sought at the inn immediate repose. Early in the morning our kind friends were about us, and saw us comfortably settled. I was received into the family of Mr. Hudson, an intimate friend of Mr. Boorman.

I had written previously to Dr. Hawes of this place, from Northampton, expressing regret that we had not been able to meet the brethren of Connecticut at their usual meeting, and stating the time when we expected to be at Hartford, in the hope that some of them might be brought together at that period. He had acted promptly to this end; meetings were arranged for the whole day, that we might not be idle; and so readily was the call obeyed, that we had a larger association of the brethren than had occurred for a long season.

Hartford is a pleasant and thriving town on the banks of the Connecticut, and is associated with interesting recollections. It was first settled in 1635, by a little colony from Massachusetts. About a hundred came, and among them was Thomas Hooker, the first minister of the place. It was quite an adventure, and they were nine days in coming. I saw his tomb; and it is remarkable that the church over which he presided has had ten pastors; and that the nine who have died all lie buried in one place. In the same ground is also the tomb of Winchester. It is singular, that while the heresy of this man has died out in our country, it is thriving as an exotic in America.

There is shown here as a great curiosity what is called the Charter Oak. It is considered to be an aboriginal of the forest; and though it has seen a city grow up about it, and generations pass away, it is still full of vigor, and crowned with living beauty. It is as sacred to the people as it would be to a race of Druids, from the following circumstances. Sir Edmund Andross was sent over in 1687, to demand the charter of the colony. He had a meeting with the responsible parties on the subject; and when Wadsworth comprehended his intentions, he threw his cloak over the table, extinguished the lights, and disappeared with the charter. It was carefully hidden in the body of this venerable tree, and remained there for many years. When there was nothing more to apprehend for it, it was taken out, and is now deposited in the office of the Secretary of State.

There is here also an hospital for the insane; an asylum for the deaf and dumb; and a college for the education of young men trained for the Episcopal church. They all contribute to ornament and commend the town. The asylum has acquired distinction, even in comparison with those of Paris and London; and is excellently conducted. The Episcopal college is a good establishment; and capable of accommodating about 100 pupils. It is not, I believe, in a very vigorous condition. The college bills for the year are fifty-two dollars; and the students get their board in private families at one dollar and a half per week.

Our first meeting was with the brethren at ten o'clock. We met in the lecture-room, connected with Dr. Hawes's church. There were no less than seventy or eighty present. We remained in conference and prayer till one. The conference was of the most fraternal and interesting kind. It related to the state of religion in the two countries. The communications on the subject of revivals were edifying; and the statements of Professor Goodrich, on the revivals among the students at Yale College, were such as moved him and all of us. They were very desirous to learn our state; and were cheered and grateful on receiving the communications we felt at liberty to supply. Particularly they were anxious to know, whether we had any thing approaching to the character of their revivals. I remarked that we had not the name; and that we had not, and were even jealous of, some varieties of the thing, as they might be found in the States; but that I thought we had in substance what they would be most disposed to approve. Without employing any names, I then gave them a brief sketch of a church with which I was intimately acquainted, relative to its progress, and the means employed to that end, during the last ten years. They were delighted, and exclaimed—"Why, this is a revival, and the only kind of a revival which we approve." Our sitting was very long considering our other engagements; but we were as brethren, and were exceedingly unwilling to part.

At two, we had to attend a special meeting of the Bible Society. The Association embraced four counties; and it had engaged to raise 5,000 dollars towards the assistance of Gutzlaff, in circulating the Scriptures among the Chinese. Nothing could have assorted with my wishes better; and I was happy to give my help to such a cause. The meeting was in the church, and was very well attended. It was conducted in the usual order of the platform meetings, and contributed to facilitate the object to which they were pledged.

One of the friends had open house to tea. There were several rooms occupied. One of them is honored with having witnessed the formation of the Missionary Society. Mrs. Sigourney was one of our party; and I was gratified with an introduction to her. We had a *tete-a-tete* of a few minutes; and had no fault to find with them, except that they were few, and likely to be final.

In the evening we attended the ordination of two brethren; the one about to leave as a missionary to the sailors at Marseilles, and the other as an evangelist. We met in Dr. Hawes's church again, and the place was very full. The service began by singing. Then an invocation prayer was offered, which noticed distinctly all the succeeding parts of the service, and craved a suitable blessing on each and all. Then the scribe read the minutes which led to this public service, and justified their proceeding. The ordination prayer followed, with the laying on of hands; it rested with me. The charge was given by Dr. Parkins, the father of the Association, and eighty-two years of age. It was composed of short, suitable, and pithy counsel, as from a father to his sons, and lasted about twenty minutes. The right hand of fellowship was then given. The pastor of the missionary, a junior pastor in the town, took this service. It is always made more of than with us; but I never saw so much made of it before. The address was composed and read, which destroyed that freedom which is the grace of gratulation and benediction. It was, I think, as long as the charge. The right hand was given three several times, and the manner altogether was too theatrical. It had been excellently done, had it not been overdone; but there was, after all, a warmth of heart that redeemed it. The instructions from the Sailor's Society to their missionary were then read by their agent. We afterward rose, and united in singing once more their favorite hymn, "Bless'd be the tie that binds," &c., and the service closed by prayer and the benediction.

Having breakfasted and united in domestic worship, we took an affectionate leave of the friends here, and left by the stage for New-Haven. The ride greatly improved in comparison with the last. The flowing river, fine rich valleys, towns and villages imbosomed in them, and surrounding highlands, in their various combinations, filled the eye, and exhilarated the imagination. We arrived at New-Haven early in the afternoon, and found Mrs. Whitney prepared with the most hospitable kindness to receive us. This excellent lady is the relict of Eli Whitney, Esq., the inventor of the cotton gin—the Arkwright of America. Though his name has been little honored in his own country, and scarcely known in ours, his genius has secured an important trade to the Southern States, and is annually bringing a large revenue to the government. He discovered the same force of mechanical genius in other ways; and though he sunk under the persevering ardor of his mind, and the discouragements common to the inventor, his family are deriving considerable advantages from his labors. I should offend against feminine and Christian delicacy, if I said how much, in this instance, property is made to serve the cause of religious benevolence. Mrs. Whitney is the grand-daughter of President Edwards.

We found that a public meeting had been arranged for us in the evening; so that we had to hasten our refreshments, and attend it. Meantime the professors and other friends did us the favor to call.

The meeting was at the Congregational Church, of which the Rev. L. Bacon is pastor. It is large and handsome, and was quite filled. Here we met with Dr. Beecher, and he took a seat with us in the pulpit. Prayer was offered; and the Deputation made addresses. After I had finished, Dr. Beecher followed. It was a very interesting service; nowhere had the New England people shown more readiness to receive the delegation with respect and affection.

In the morning, Mr. Matheson, who had been here before, left for New-York; I stayed over this day, and occupied it in making myself acquainted with this important town.

New-Haven is considered to be the most handsome town in the States; and every one inquires of the stranger whether he has seen New-Haven? I cannot exactly accord with this opinion; but, without comparisons, it is handsome enough, and has attractions of a higher class, to which few towns can have even a pretence. It is placed on a small plain, which is redeemed from tameness by the bay, with its fine headlands in front, and by the west and east rocks, with the distant peak of Mount Carmel in the background. This plain is laid out in squares; so that the streets cross each other at right angles. They are unusually wide; and on each side are planted with the drooping elm, which flourishes here in high luxuriance.

One of these squares is left open, as a green and promenade; and it is here that the great beauty of the town is concentrated. Round three sides of this large area, stand some of the best dwellings in the place. The remaining side is occupied by the several erections of the college; and in the centre of it are placed, with intervening distances, three churches and the State House. These buildings, especially the State House, are admirably adapted to become the principal objects of the picture; and the verdant foreground, with the breaks which allow the eye to take in parts of the old college, make, indeed, a noble sight. But the charm of this, as of other views, is derived from the overspreading foliage of the trees, which softens down the hard lines and bright objects delightfully, and which forms, as you pass about, those lovely vistas of light and shade in which the eye rejoices. New-Haven is a city in a wood, and a wood in a city. It wants, however, a strong sun to appreciate it. On a cold and heavy day it might appear cheerless; but give it a fine warm sun and a playful breeze, and whose shades shall be so refreshing? whose light so sparkling and animated?

President Day, Professor Goodrich, Dr. Skinner, and Mr. Bacon, obligingly attended me over the colleges. They are old; raised of red brick; and have little to commend them beyond their venerable and quiet aspect. The observatory on the central buildings is a copy of the Tower of the Winds. As a whole, they are spacious. In the year 1833, they accommodated 496 students; who were proportioned as follows:—theology, forty-nine; law, twenty-one; medical, sixty-one; resident graduates, six; seniors, seventy-one; juniors, eighty-seven; sophomores, ninety-five; and freshmen, one hundred and six. The expense of tuition and lodging is about fifty dollars; and of board in commons, seventy-five dollars. There is a good philosophical chamber and apparatus here, and an excellent chymical laboratory. The library has two departments; the general and the students': in both there are above 24,000 volumes. There is a picture gallery, which has one room devoted to the productions of Colonel Trumbull. I had seen most of his; but none equal to some of these. There were two that raised my idea of his talents. Most of those in the second room were daubs; and could only have been placed there to cover the walls, till something better should be obtained.

The gem of the place, however, is the mineral cabinet. Two French collections were purchased, and are its basis. For the variety and rarity of its specimens, as well as for its excellent arrangement, it is unrivalled by any thing in America, and surpassed by few in Europe. It has been secured at great expense, and is a noble effort; and it will exert a beneficial effect on every department of this university. I could not help observing, that while it was felt to be greatly in advance of every other provision, its tendency was to raise the rest to its own exalted level. Whether this was within the view of those who have pressed this purchase, I know not; but if it were, the movement was the offspring of true philosophy.

Dr. Dwight was the president of this college. The American Journal of Science and Arts may be considered as issuing from it, as it is conducted by Professor Silliman, whose name is familiarized in the Old and New World.

Schools, of every sort and grade, abound here to an astonishing degree. The whole town seems only a larger college for the purposes of education, male and female, adult and juvenile. From the celebrity of the spot, many are sent here for the purpose of education; and from its other attractions, many families settle here, to facilitate their children's instruction. The influence is general, striking, and most agreeable. Ordinary society has an air of selectness which seldom prevails. The people have an intelligence and refinement which you do not expect; and the tone of mind, and of morals too, is raised by the elastic and renovating element of knowledge and discipline in which they dwell. Offences seldom arise here; the poor-house is empty; and though the benevolence of the people has lately erected an hospital, there is seldom any one to need its aid.

We visited the burial-ground. It is considered the most beautiful in this country; and a traveller, following this impression, calls it "the Pere la Chaise." No two things can be more unlike than it and Pere la Chaise. It is of considerable extent; has a flat surface; and is kept with unusual care and in excellent order. These latter circumstances would be enough to commend it to most Americans as beautiful; from being differently situated, our tastes are different. After all, that taste must be strangely perverted which should prefer this cemetery to that of Mount Auburn.

But, to the description. It is, as I have said, large, well enclosed, and nicely kept. It is supplied with a great number of stones and monuments; some of them expensive and handsome; the favorite form, if my memory serves me, is that of a miniature obelisk of marble. That of Eli Whitney is very good. The custom is, never to open the same spot a second time; so that a family requires a considerable space for interment. This leads to the enclosure of large family plots, with white rails; which have not a good effect. The fine trees which abound elsewhere are excluded here. Nothing appears but some straight poplars, with their heads dying off; and which least of all are suited to a spot, already too formal by its flat surface and angular lines. Judicious planting might yet make it almost what it claims to be.

There was one portion of this cemetery that especially interested me. The interments of the old ground were removed to this. They have all been wisely placed together; and their broken tablets, weather-worn surfaces, and decayed inscriptions, were in striking contrast with the fresh, and bright, and marble monuments by which they were surrounded; it seemed to create a distinction in those regions of death, where all distinctions are annihilated.

I dined at President Day's, and met a party of friends, among whom were Dr. Beecher and Professors Goodrich, Skinner, and Fitch. It was a pleasant interview; but I had to leave early, to join some friends who had proposed to drive me into the suburbs, and to the Caves of the Regicides. This ride improves your opinion of the situation of New-Haven considerably. The surface of the ground becomes varied as you approach it; the East and West Rocks grow upon the eye, and stand out in imposing attitudes. Your way now becomes winding, and is gradually rising, till you find yourself fairly among the rocks, and shut out of the living world. Here, under the eye of a little cottage of the woods, we left our carriage, and began a sharper ascent, through the copse-wood and stunted trees, which ornamented a spot where they could find little nourishment. Still we ascended among the rugged rocks, often uncertain whether we had retained the right track, till we found ourselves on the head of the rock, and opposite the Judges' or Regicides' Cave. It is formed by a cluster of stones, of immense size, and thrown together as if by some great convulsion of nature. The crevices in these rocks form the cave. There is only one portion of these large enough for human habitation; and here, it is said, with certainty I believe, that Goffe and Whalley were concealed and succored for a considerable time. Though it could afford but small accommodations to the sufferers, it had some advantages. It has no appearance of a cave till examined; it is near the town, though completely concealed from it; and there are various ways of approach, to prevent detection or facilitate escape. On one of the rocks composing this cave is this inscription:—

OPPOSITION TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD.

The spot was full of moral interest. The troubles of England had then reached to this cave of the desert! A judgment, calmly given in Westminster, had pursued these refugees across the great Atlantic, over the Western world, and had shut them up in this desolate mountain-top, familiar with silence, darkness, and savage nature, and fearful of nothing but the face of their fellow-man!

When we had indulged our thoughts and observations a little, we ascended to the forehead of the rock, and climbed to the top of the cave, to look around us. The views are exceedingly fine. At your feet, every thing is bluff and bold, and yet beautifully clothed. To the right lay the plain we had left, with New-Haven, and its turrets and spires, half hidden in the trees; and beyond it, the noble bay and boundless ocean. To the left, the valleys and the waters ran up among the hills, showing distance after distance, till they were lost among the shadowy mountains. This was not spoken of as a point of sight; but, apart from the legendary interest of the cave, it is the finest spot to visit about New-Haven. Fancy disposed me to think that the Judges found in it some relief to the tedium and apprehension of their confinement. How often might they have reposed on these rocks; and while the person was concealed, the eye might have ranged over this prospect! And while looking on a scene so blessed of nature, and radiant with the blessed lights of heaven, how often might they have found their cares grow lighter, and their weary hours shorter!

In descending, we amused ourselves in collecting some botanical and geological specimens, with which this region abounds. A gentleman of our party, who had explored it with Professor Silliman, afterward very kindly supplied me with a complete set of mineral specimens illustrative of the Connecticut hills.

I met some friends to tea at Dr. Skinner's, and afterward made some calls. Among them, I visited Mr. Timothy Dwight, and was introduced to the widow Dwight, the mother of President Dwight. She is a venerable woman, full of years and of faith, and greatly blessed in her children.

I went in company with Mr. Dwight to church. Dr. Beecher was to preach on the condition of the West. It was well attended, though not full. The address was long, and rather a statement than a sermon. It was quaint in some of its parts, but energetic; the speaker was full of his subject, and it told on the audience. I took, at his request, the prayer after the sermon.

Dr. Taylor had arrived in the afternoon, and we were now introduced to each other. I met some of the brethren, previous to separation, at Mr. Bacon's, for an exercise of prayer. Professor Goodrich gave expression to our common desires with much wisdom, fervor, and affection. I reached home late; led the family worship; and retired, after a day of abundant but profitable occupation.

LETTER XXVIII.

My dear friend—I left New-Haven, with many regrets that my stay was so short, on the following morning at five o'clock. We had a fine run by steam through Long Island Sound, a distance of nearly ninety miles, in seven hours. The view of the town, as you get into the bay, is good; and as the Sound narrows, and you approach New-York, there is much to admire. It was my happiness to have Dr. Richards for a companion on this trip; and we spent a good portion of the time in profitable conversation. Dr. Richards is President of the Seminary at Auburn, and has had much experience in revivals in their various types.

Once more, then, and for the last time, I found myself at home with my esteemed friends, the Boormans. In four days we were to sail for England, and, of course, our time was over pledged. On the Sabbath morning, I preached for Dr. Spring. We united in an exercise of prayer before we left the vestry. I passed through his schools in the way to the church. There was a numerous attendance on the public service; and among those present were many whom I knew, and could denominate friends. Mr. Abeel, the missionary, was of the number. In the afternoon, I heard Dr. Skinner; and in the evening we attended a special missionary meeting. I had objected to it as a platform meeting; but it was conducted much in the way of our usual services, except that several addresses were made, instead of a more regular sermon. They rested with Messrs. Winslow, Abeel, Matheson, and myself. There was a large attendance, and the engagements were fulfilled in harmony with the sacredness of the day.

On the Monday we dined at Mr. Taylor's, with a party of friends. Dr. Beecher, and Dr. Ely, who had come on from Philadelphia to express his kindness to the last, were of the number. The intention in getting us together was, that we might be prepared to meet the merchants in the evening. Dr. Spring, and other friends to the object, had kept the affair distinctly in view; and a select portion of their body had been invited to give us the meeting. When the hour came, we had, indeed, a most cheering sight. The rooms were thrown open, and they were quickly filled with from fifty to sixty gentlemen embarked in mercantile interests, and professing to make those important interests contribute to the higher interests of religion and virtue. Mr. Perrit presided. Dr. Skinner offered prayer. The President then explained the object of the meeting, and looked to us to sustain it. I spoke, and was succeeded by Messrs. Matheson and Abeel. There was a fine spirit in the meeting. The whole subject, as it had been explained and enforced, was referred to an existing committee, to consider and digest.

More might certainly have been made of this meeting for its avowed and proper object, but there had been a strong desire on the part of some friends, and of Dr. Beecher himself, that the occasion might be also used in favor of the West. A hearing was granted to him; and he made a good use of it. His statements were similar to those at New-Haven, but they were shorter, and more in keeping. It was followed by a proposal to contribute, and a subscription list was laid on the table, to which many of his friends gave their names, with handsome sums. About 2,500 dollars were subscribed before we left. My only wonder was, that it was so small, knowing something of the men who were present. But the fact was, there was some division of opinion, not on the object, but on the propriety of attaching it to a meeting called for another purpose. Many were not prepared to meet this application, and some not to justify it. The object was of first-rate importance, and it was excellently pleaded; but it was somewhat out of place. From the same men, under other methods, four times the amount, in my judgment, would have been raised.

On the following day we dined with our esteemed and constant friend, Mr. Phelps. We had, of course, on the last day, many friends at the dinner-table. In the evening we had to attend a valedictory meeting. I would gladly have shunned it; but it appeared to be a means of usefulness, and it was very desirable to impress this character on our mission to its close. The prospect, however, of meeting the excellent of this city, and of many who had come from various distances to express their affection, to speak to them, to look on them for the last time, was, as it approached, overpowering. One little circumstance afforded some alleviation. I had sadly failed of all letters from home on reaching New-York; but half an hour before I went to the meeting, I received a letter from my church, of a most affectionate and cheering complexion. It was a word spoken in season.

The meeting was to be held in Murray-street church. It was built for the venerable Dr. Mason, and is the largest church in the city, and admirably adapted to exhibit the entire congregation. When we arrived, the place was crowded, so as to make it difficult for us to attain to the pulpit. It is large, and on this occasion served all the purposes of a platform. Dr. M'Auley, tne pastor, presided; and Dr. Spring looked to the fulfilment of the arrangements. Dr. Skinner opened the meeting by prayer.

It was then moved by the Rev. Mr. Patton, and seconded by Dr. Miller, of Princeton—

"That the intercourse between the churches in Great Britain and the United States, so auspiciously begun in the present year, is, in the judgment of this meeting, of high importance to the interests of vital piety in both countries."

It was moved by the Rev. D. Abeel, from China, and seconded by Dr. Ely, of Philadelphia—

"That, in the judgment of this meeting, peculiar obligations rest upon the churches of Great Britain and America to *unite* their efforts for the conversion of the world."

Dr. Ely, on this resolution being disposed of, begged permission of the chair and of the meeting to submit a letter, which, as Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian body, he had drawn up, and addressed to the Delegation of the Congregational Union. It was as follows:—

New-York, *Sept.* 30, 1834.

"*Rev.* Andrew Reed, D. D., *and Rev.* James Matheson, D. D., *Delegates from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.*

"My dear brethren,

"With more satisfaction than I can describe, or you well imagine, as the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, I introduced you to that Reverend Judicatory, in May last; and now, as the official organ of that body during its recess, and in behalf of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, which, under the spiritual government of one annual Assembly, embraces 32 synods, 118 presbyteries, 2,000 ordained ministers, 200 licentiate preachers, 300 candidates for license, 2,500 churches, and 245,000 communicating members, with more than a million and a half of their baptized associates in public worship, I bid you, on your return to England, an affectionate farewell. We thank you, and the Congregational Union, which you have represented in this country, not only among our ministers, but among the 900 orthodox Congregational pastors of New-England, for your fraternal, animating, and highly useful visit. You have rendered more dear than ever to us the land of our Puritan fathers, by your friendly, unassuming, pious intercourse with all classes of our fellow-citizens. We have great confidence in the candor with which you have surveyed the American people in their domestic circles; their public institutions of learning, civil government, and religion; their benevolent enterprise, and the common concerns of life.

"You have seen us at a time of greater political and religious commotion than we have ever before experienced since we became an independent nation; and you will have to tell of noisy elections, mobs, and ecclesiastical controversies; but you will tell the truth, without exaggeration and bitterness. You will be able to judge of the stability of our republican government, and of our voluntary religious associations, more accurately, from the shaking which they have experienced from these evils which you have been providentially ordered to see in our country, than had your visit occurred at some more favorable period in our history. For our own sake, we could have wished that you might have witnessed nothing but order, peace, brotherly love, and success in every good enterprise; but such as the American people are, in church and state, operating in their respective spheres without any statute union of the two, and without interference with each other, you now know us more thoroughly than any English travellers ever did before. You have visited not merely our public hotels, the Falls of Niagara, the Natural Bridge of Virginia, the Halls of Congress, the President of the United States, and a few of our churches, but our family circles, in log-houses, and neat village or city mansions. You must have formed your opinions of American society, talents, manners, and enterprise; you must have judged of our privileges, improvement, good qualities, and faults, from intimate acquaintance and close inspection; and not, as many former reporters to the British public, from passing through our canals, forests, and bar-rooms.

"Go home, then, brethren, beloved by the churches in these United States, to our fellow-Christians in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and tell them, that in religious and moral character, grace has made us much like themselves: that we love the Saviour whom they love; that we love their representatives tenderly, whom we have seen; and that our hearts shall be more and more knit to all British Christians whom we have not seen, in the fellowship of the gospel.

"We trust that, in May next, some of the delegates from the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in our country will return your most acceptable public visitation.

"In the mean time, may the God of our salvation waft you in safety to your families, congregations, and ecclesiastical Union, followed by the prayers and benedictions of tens of thousands of Christians on this side of the Atlantic, who highly esteem you in love, for your works' sake, and for the sake of Christ Jesus, our common Lord, whom you serve in the gospel.

"Ezra Stiles Ely

"Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."

On having read it, he submitted whether, if the congregation generally approved of it, and of its being presented to the Deputation, they would rise from their seats, as an expression of that opinion. It was a striking sight to behold that mass of people rise over the place like a wave of the ocean, and, like it, subside again!

Having received the letter from the hand of Dr. Ely, I was called on to move, and Mr. Matheson to second, the following resolution:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the signs of the times imperatively demand a more intimate union of sentiment and effort throughout the Christian world."

It was then moved by the Rev. Mr. Spencer, of Brooklyn, and seconded by Dr. Beecher—

"That while we give thanks to Almighty God for his gracious care of our beloved brethren during their voyage to this land, as well as for their frequent and untiring labors among us, this assembly now unite in humble supplication for their safe and comfortable return to their families, and the household of faith which they have represented, in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel."

Dr. Miller was then requested to give expression to this resolution, by thanksgiving and prayer.

The doxology was then sung, and the benediction pronounced by Dr. Spring; and we began to separate. But we were long that evening in separating. All were desirous of presenting their salutations, and some had come one and two hundred miles for that purpose.

To the people generally, it was evident that the meeting was delightfully interesting. Persons of various denominations and opinions, unaccustomed to meet, were brought together; and, though unused to sympathize, found their sentiments softened and blended. The exercises were sustained in the spirit of devotion and of Christian charity, and the spirit of love passed over the assembly. To me it was almost too affecting. I was looking on every thing, every face, every friend, for the last time.

On the following morning we had many friends calling, and many to breakfast. Afterward we had an exercise of worship. Dr. Cox read the Scriptures, and offered our prayers to God. Dr. Beecher made a short spontaneous address; and then, at my request, reduced the substance of it to prayer. We were strengthened by these engagements for remaining duty. The parting words, or rather separations and salutations, without words, followed. We took leave of the family which had been to us as a home; in which we had received the kindest attention; and which, though frequently inconvenienced by the number of calls and claims arising on our residence, were never discomposed or weary.

Mr. Boorman had provided an omnibus to convey us to the ship; and as many as could be accommodated went with us. At the steamboat, which was to take us down to the vessel, was also a host of friends. Most of them were proposing to go with us; but it rained hard, and, from the state of the wind, it was probable we should not sail; and we persuaded them not to be at inconvenience on our account. We took leave, therefore, of most of them; but Dr. Spring, Dr. Miller, and several other friends, determined to continue with us to the last. That short period, when you have parted with most of your beloved friends, yet still retain a few of the choicest, with the impression that they must be quickly surrendered, is full of feeling; but it balks expression. We reached the vessel; received the last farewell of our last friends, and went on board. Here there was nothing to occupy the attention; there was no prospect of sailing that day; the rain fell heavily around us; one's affections had been lacerated by a thousand partings; the last, the very last, had come; my heart within me was desolate.

The next day we were under way. But the weather was not favorable, and the vessel rolled greatly, so that we were nearly all, more or less, unwell, and had but little opportunity of looking about. I caught one last glimpse of the country I had left. That amazing continent, with all its cities and mountains, was now reduced to a thin dark line, running parallel with that of the horizon; and now it disappeared, and the sea and sky shut up the prospect.

The vessel by which we returned was the same that took us out. Two improvements had been made in this excellent line of packets since our arrival. The one related to the use of wine; you were now charged only for what you ordered, instead of paying a round sum and drinking at pleasure. Under the former system, persons least accustomed to wine were tempted to drink the most, that they might have the worth of their money.—The other variation, I am happy to say, is in favor of the Sabbath. It has been determined, so far as New-York is concerned, that the vessels shall not sail on that day; so that when the date of sailing falls on the Sabbath, it shall be understood to take effect on the following day. This is not only important in itself; it is valuable as an example.—This line of vessels has established itself by its promptness and celerity, and it thrives by it; but if it is not afraid to make this sacrifice in favor of the Sabbath, surely others are left without excuse.

We had a very full vessel, but our company was agreeable and obliging. Many were under a religious influence, and some were previously known to us. Among them was the Rev. W. Paxton, from Virginia. For the first three days we had faint or head winds to contend with, but afterward we made way surprisingly. We ran in six days about 1,500 miles. Of course, we had some fine sailing, and had two of our studding-sails blown away; but the motion was far less trying. I kept, on the whole, pretty well; the weather became much warmer and finer, so that I could enjoy the deck; and I suffered much less than in the voyage out. We had a couple of hawks come on board when we must have been 500 miles from land.

My comparative freedom from physical inconvenience left me at leisure to enjoy the scenes around me; and they did afford me the highest enjoyment. I cannot subscribe to the charge, that the ocean loses all its interest by its uniformity; it supplies the lover of nature with endless variety. I did not see it two days in the same condition, or assuming the same forms, or showing the same colors. I was literally surprised at the variety of its aspects; and all of them either suffused with beauty or magnificence. Now it swelled into grandeur and filled you with awe; now it was full of life and motion, and gave by sympathy a briskness and elasticity to your spirits; and now it lay at your feet, like an infant in slumber, so placid, so still.

It was a great advantage on this, as on other accounts, that we were indulged with such beautiful moonlight nights. It allowed me to be much on deck, and frequently alone. I think I never knew so fine a moon; certainly I never enjoyed it more.

One night I shall never forget. I had left the dinner-table to secure some retirement on deck. I sat down near the helmsman, who was silently directing our course. The breeze dwelt finely in the sails, and gave to the vessel her noblest appearance The sea was animated, but unbroken; and we were moving rapidly, but quietly, and with a pleasant undulating motion. A bright sun had just sunk down in the waves, and left his vermilion hues on the margin of the dark clouds which skirted the eastern horizon. Here and there a bright star appeared, dancing among the shrouds. Presently, the dark but calm clouds, sleeping on the waters, gave indications of a lustre not their own. Soon they were attenuated, and diversified, and illuminated, by a presence which was still unseen. And then the lighter and gauzy portions drew back like a curtain, and forth came, as from her pavilion, and in all her majesty, the queen of night. Her lustre shot across the dark waters, and turned them into a flood of quicksilver. The clouds quickly disappeared as she ascended in her career; and the stars, one by one, were extinguished by her brightness. The lines of the horizon, too, had vanished, so that the blue sky and blue sea seemed united and infinite. Over all this infinitude of space there were only two objects to be seen: the moon sailing silently through the ocean above, and ourselves sailing silently through the ocean below!

Although we were making so short and swift a passage, it was remarkable what anxiety there was on the subject of making land. On the fifteenth day some birds came on deck, and there was great joy, and many discussions whence they came, and the probable distance they could fly. Before there was a reasonable chance of seeing land, there was an eager outlook in the direction in which it was expected; and when the chance became reasonable, it is astonishing what eagerness was excited. The meals, which had been an object of so much attention, were comparatively neglected; and hour after hour they would be searching for land, and seeing only water, till the eye ached under the exercise. At length land appeared, but so mistily and cloud-like that it created doubt; it grew on the sight, and there were trees and cottages dimly seen, and there was the hopeful certainty of waking bliss.

I, too, although I had much enjoyed the voyage, exulted to see my native shores. I had, however, a sort of fear, with all the freshness of the New World upon me, lest the Old Country should suffer in the comparison. But when we passed Holyhead, and ran along the coast of Wales, that fear was exchanged for delight. I already owed much to Wales, and many times, but never more than on that morning. Penmaenmawr and his associates present a range of coast scenery such as is seldom to be seen, and such as I had not seen in the New World. I was thankful to have seen other countries, and to have thought better of them than ever; but I was thankful also to find that it was not at the expense of my own.

It was the Sabbath; and notwithstanding the excitement necessary to the circumstances, as we had no reason to think we should arrive early in the day, we proposed an act of worship. We had done so, both in going and returning, when the weather permitted. As usual, the passengers mostly complied, and we had, I hope, a profitable service. A gentleman of the Hebrew nation voyaged with us, and at this time joined in our service; he did so feelingly, and afterward expressed his gratitude.

We could not pass the bar in time, and were therefore obliged to wait for a steamboat. As we passed up the river, we saw several vessels stranded. I inquired the cause. "The cause?" said the master of the vessel; "why, we have had such a gale of wind these three days as has not been known for many years." We were most likely to be visited by it, and to suffer; and yet we did not even know of it, and had only wind to fill our sails! About fifty vessels were lost by these gales in the North Seas; and in going out, about sixteen vessels and 1,000 persons perished on the American coasts; and we made the passages in safety—the one in twenty-two, and the other in seventeen days. The captain, in allusion to this, said, "You are very lucky, sir!" I was constrained inwardly to say, "God is very good!"

It was night before we landed. I was weary and cold, and that I might have the advantage of a tepid bath, and accompany Mr. Paxton, I went to an hotel. We united in an act of devotional acknowledgment, and then retired.

I went the following morning to my kind friends, Mr. and Mrs. Bulley. We received great assistance from them and others in passing our luggage; we offered praise where last we had offered prayer, in connection with Dr. Raffles's church, and then we hastened to the metropolis. As it was not known at what time or by what conveyance I should arrive, I did not expect to meet any one till I reached my home. But at Islington a voice hailed me which I knew, and presently my deacons were around me, and embracing me!

They took charge of me and my concerns, and conveyed me, without a moment's trouble, to the threshold of my own door. Over it they would not pass; but when they had served me to the utmost, with a delicacy worthy of the Patriarch's friend, they instantly disappeared.

Thus was I brought again to the bosom of my family and my flock in peace. I had been absent seven months; I had travelled 13,000 miles, and had passed over the very line which the cholera fearfully occupied, and yet no serious evil had befallen me or my dearest interests. But the mission was eminently the subject of prayer; and I gratefully connect the many happy circumstances with which it was attended, to the affectionate and fervent prayers offered by the churches on either side of the Atlantic.

LETTER XXIX.

My dear friend—I have now disposed of all that I have to communicate in the form of narration. In this portion of the report it has been no part of my intention to exhaust my notes or my memory; but to limit myself in subject, and in detail, to those statements which, as they were most interesting to myself, I might hope would be most acceptable to you. There are some subjects which have been glanced at, and partially illustrated in the course of the narrative, which you will, perhaps, consider as worthy of further notice. These subjects, to avoid unsuitable digression, and to give them the attention which their high importance demands, I have reserved for separate consideration. Let me hope, that your interest is so far awakened that you will not be the less inclined to follow, because the subject assumes a graver and more settled aspect.

I can readily suppose, that on turning your thoughts in this direction, your first inquiries would be anxiously connected with that great religious phenomenon of this country—the Revivals; and it is, therefore, to these I would, in the first instance, direct my remarks. It was a frequent lamentation that we were not making our visit in the time of a general revival; but, while it would have been a source of great personal pleasure to have seen and felt more of the presence of religious influence, I think we could hardly have been placed in more favorable circumstances than we were, for the purposes of candid and calm observation. One of the most remarkable and extensive revivals ever known had passed over this people: it was sufficiently remote to mark the reaction which might attend it; and it was sufficiently near to be assured of its character and its history. My notices, though not wholly, will be mostly governed by either a silent or expressed reference to it.

I believe it is now well understood that the term Revival has become conventional, and that it describes the fact, that within a limited and comparatively short period, a church is greatly renovated in pious feeling, and a considerable accession is made to it from the classes of the formal and ungodly. Usually there is a previous state of spiritual depression amongst the religious people; and of irreligion and increasing wickedness in the neighborhood. The minister, perhaps, and some few Christians, in the recollection of better days, lay it to heart. They converse of it; they agree to submit it to prayer; they influence others; other means are adopted; and in proportion to the diligent and wise use of just and scriptural methods, is the blessing.

I feel that these simple remarks, without designing it, have nearly disposed of what has been deemed the mysteriousness of this subject; but I must endeavor to place it in other lights, and surround it with more exact information. You are ready to ask, how it happens, if true religion is to advance, that it advances in this particular form? My reply is twofold; first, that they expect it, and, secondly, that they labor for it, in this form.

First, *They expect it.* All who have some acquaintance with human nature, will easily perceive how greatly this must contribute to the end. Man, under religious influence, is still a free agent, and the influence that governs him takes its form from the current through which it flows. Suppose two persons to be equally earnest for their salvation, and the one to have become so under the ministry of

Whitefield, and the other under that of Wesley. The likelihood is, that the disciple of Wesley would but out with his conversion some physical expressions, because Wesley made them a test of conversion; while the disciple of Whitefield would show no such signs, because they were not demanded.

These expectations are created partly by habit, and partly by circumstances. Their habits are entirely on this side. They have not to acquire a taste for revivals; their difficulty would be to destroy it. They are mostly the children of revivals; their churches have been mostly raised or nourished in revivals; their whole history, and that of their country, is greatly the history of revivals. Their seasons of revival are only a variation on the approved and constant practice of their pilgrim fathers. They had, if Presbyterians, their four-day sacraments, which were protracted meetings; and, if Puritans, their solemn seasons of fasting and prayer, which were usually, in the highest sense, periods of revival. While, therefore, a revival, exactly after their type, would be deemed a novelty in a church with us; with them, a church that knew no revival would be the exception from the rule. Custom, then, which is second nature, feeds their expectation.

Then, their circumstances are favorable to these expectations; and in several ways. Sympathy is no inconsiderable agent in a revival; and sympathy has freer play with them than with most. They have fewer lines of distinction in society; and those few are much fainter; so that there is far less difficulty in coming together. And even the distinctions which do exist, are often deemed invidious and hateful; so that those who are, by any circumstance, distinguished, are glad of an occasion to place themselves on a common footing. In consequence, the churches and the classes which compose them, have more association. What is done in one is quickly known to all; and the report of a revival at New-York will vibrate, till it reaches Cincinnati; and the churches there, true to the fellow-feeling, will desire to possess its counterpart.

Especially, the circumstances of the people are those of uniform and great emergency. With a population advancing at the rate of one thousand a day, and a large part of this increase of unpromising character, the church would soon be overwhelmed, if she did not make some extraordinary efforts for her proportionate advancement. Then, the great passion of this people, in these buoyant and progressive circumstances, is hope; you might sooner destroy thought and action than depress them. But when this hope is found in alliance with religious character, it becomes Christian hope; and animates the Christian community as it does the commercial community, to high endeavor and irrepressible exertion.

This conducts me to the remaining portion of the explanation, which is, that *they labor* for the revivals they expect. As far as I could learn, this is uniformly the case. I know of no individual who would expect a revival independent of means; and I know of no church which has enjoyed a revival without the use of means. The means may be proximate or remote, more or less apparent, but always they do exist. Undoubtedly the most delightful change might happen, by a special communication of grace, without the intervention of any means; but I am now speaking only to the fact; and after carefully obtaining extensive information on the subject, I am prepared to say, that I know of no case in which means have not been employed.

There were, indeed, some cases which were reported to me before I visited the country, and some, also, while there, that were spoken of as unconnected with all means to the end. But I am now satisfied that the parties making such statements had too limited conceptions of the order of means; and, led away by the natural love of the marvellous, reported things to have happened without an instrumentality, when, in truth, it was only an instrumentality which they were too short-sighted to discern. It has been represented, for instance, that some revivals have begun quite suddenly, and before any means had been adopted to the end; and even when existing means were unfavorable. That, in some cases, even the minister has been taken by surprise; and that a revival has sprung up when the whole design of his frigid discourse was to keep it down. But on looking into these cases, it is found that less visible, though not less potent, means have worked to the issue. In a church so influenced, there has, perhaps, been a salutary sense of its depressed state resting upon it, and a desire for change; or there has been a striking revival in a neighboring town, which has awakened expectation to the event; or the papers, which they read in abundance, may have reported revivals at a distance, and thus have impressed some with desire and prayer for the like advantages. And in the instance of the good minister, who was laboring to cool down his people, is it not evidence that he thought them predisposed to catch at the flame; and if this was their state, is it difficult for any one, who is conversant with the human heart, to perceive, that the course he took was the very means to bring on an explosion?

These means, then, which imply a preparedness of mind, are always acting, with more or less force, on this people; and they are of the first consideration. They place them, in regard to the more ostensible means, in the relation of conductors to the electric fire; while, without this readiness for excitement, the ordinary means might be used and repelled. Frequently it has happened, and does happen, therefore, that the mere notice, that a revival has occurred in the vicinity, or that a revival preacher is about to visit the town, supervenes a revival on the one part, and a hostile combination to resist it on the other.

These observations may dispose of what is anomalous. But the general rule is, that, with whatever causation, Divine influence may be, at first, connected, an approved revival advances in the regular use of regular means; and that its advancement is mostly in proportion to the discreet, humble, and persevering use of those means. You will expect that I should glance at them.

1. I would name *the preaching of the gospel with earnestness and fidelity*. It is generally admitted, that the momentous truths which concern our salvation are made very prominent in these periods of extraordinary effort; and that on this circumstance the soundness of a revival greatly depends. The sovereignty of God; his righteousness, in condemning the world for sin; and his free election of any to eternal life. The holiness, the spirituality, and the inflexibility of the moral law; the entire alienation of the heart from God; the complete obligation of the sinner, as a moral agent, to repent and do all that God requires, without delay; his voluntary and inexcusable disobedience, and his certain rejection of the gospel, till his heart is subdued by Divine influence; his need of an infinite Saviour, to make atonement for his sin, and an infinite Sanctifier, to renovate him in the love of God; and his entire dependence on Divine grace to accept, and justify, and save him. These are the truths which are then delivered with life, and carry life to the soul.

The preaching exercises, at such a time, are *more frequent* than is usual. Their occurrence is suggested by convenience and necessity. The extra services are taken, perhaps, on one or two evenings of the week, or other parts of the day, as may suit the attendants. Sometimes a whole day, or more, in connection with the Sabbath, is set apart for the purpose; and, in that case, it would receive the modern appellation of a protracted meeting.

2. *Visitations.* These frequently take the lead; as you will remember they did in the case of Morrison, in revivals. The pastor; or the pastor and a brother minister; or a pastor with his elders; or the elders, two and two, acting under his arrangements; are usually the persons making these domiciliary visits. They are short, serious, and devotional, and are kept to the single object they have before them.

3. *Special Meetings for Prayer.*—They are regulated by the call there is for them; and are often attended by fasting. They are, when rightly used, the soul of revivals, and animate all the services. The hand of God has, by them, been most directly acknowledged; the offence of man most freely confessed; and the blessing that was devoutly sought, was abundantly granted.

4. *Conference or Inquiry Meetings.*—These are instituted for those persons who have become anxiously concerned for their salvation; and who need the more exact guidance and encouragement, which discreet conversation can best supply. The pastor, with assistance, if the numbers require, passes amongst the inquirers, and in an under voice, invites them, in turn, to express their state of mind, and seeks to advise them in their difficulties. Exhortations and prayers are connected with these exercises. These meetings are often continued beyond the period of revival, and are carefully used in favor of young converts, that they may be confirmed in the faith and experience of the Christian life.

The instruction which is regularly given in the Sabbath schools and in Bible classes, should, though not of a periodical character, be considered as contributing, in an important degree, to a sound and extensive revival. The young persons, who have been thus trained in religious knowledge, are in a state of preparation to admit and feel the power of the truth; and when they are placed in new circumstances in relation to it, and it is applied with unwonted force to the conscience, it is usually with the happiest result. Their previous knowledge facilitates the introduction of life, and regulates it when introduced. The first rush of living feeling over the heart is controlled by an informed understanding. They give the more sure and pleasing evidence of conversion at the time; and are expected most to adorn their profession afterwards.

Still, perhaps, in the diligent use of these means, you are at a loss to account for the great effects, which are common to these seasons of revivification. Let me explain it in some measure.

1. These periods are looked to as the great seasons of ingathering; and from this circumstance, the ordinary additions to the church are less, and the periodical additions greater. In a revival, a great portion of the church may have been recovered from what they deem a state of declension, and these are frequently numbered amongst the fruits of revivals. Very many have, perhaps, waited for a revival, to adopt an open profession, or to make a full surrender of themselves to the Saviour. So that these accessions are much larger at one time than is usual; though their average of increase may not surpass that of our healthy and prosperous churches.

2. Then, the mere enumeration of the approved means, does not supply you with a just idea of the use that is actually made of them. It is the *spirit* of the occasion, which gives it its character and means. Life pervades every thing. The people are raised above the ordinary level of existence; the mind, the imagination, the passions, are all wound up for unusual action. The very notice of a revival awakens every one. Some look to it with joy, as the day of their salvation; others shrink from it with fear and trembling, lest the contagion should touch them, and with the apprehension that it will; and others band themselves together, and resolve to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and harden their hearts, lest they should see, and hear, and repent, and be saved. None are indifferent—none are unmoved. You will, at once, see that this offers a fine field for Christian service. Usually, our great foe is Insensibility; but he is the first victim in a revival.

The way in which the means are used is surprising. All who, in this state of high excitement, have come under the influence of the truth, are ready for extraordinary action. For the period, but one object is before them, and it *possesses* them. They have found mercy, and they thirst to bestow it; they have dishonored God, and they thirst to glorify him. They become missionaries for the time; and they move about in their families and their connections, warning, teaching, and entreating, with tears, that they would be reconciled and saved. The services of the sanctuary are imbued with this "healthful spirit of grace." In the psalmody, the prayers, the preaching, there is life. There is a reality and a solemnity in every thing, which is itself a means of conversion; and which, if the ungodly shall witness, the probability is, that he will be "convinced of all, and fall down and worship God." The ministry, at this time, has an uncommon degree of simplicity, decision, and pungency about it; and of this the ministers are fully aware On one occasion, on hearing a sermon, which was good as a composition, but not efficient, I remarked, "Would this do in a revival?" The answer was, "Oh, we don't preach so in revivals." On another occasion, when I had reason to complain of some flat and fine singing, I observed to a brother minister, that it was enough to extinguish a revival; the reply was, "Oh, that is not the way we sing in our revivals." I have nothing to do just now with this admitted difference, except as a cause working to a given result.

3. There is yet one other particular which may assist you to comprehend this important subject. In the application of the means used at these periods, great efforts are made to bring them to bear on the negligent and irreligious portions of the community. These classes are visited without scruple; sermons are delivered, and prayer meetings are held expressly for their benefit; notices are given of these services, and they are canvassed by pious and zealous persons for their attendance, as they might be for their votes at an election. Tracts and books are lent; and if the first or second application fails, it is not the last; so that by "violence" those are frequently brought to the church who were never brought before. At Cincinnati, in the late revival, this was frequently done, and with the greatest success. On one occasion, a sermon was delivered to the young men of the town; and by these efforts the church was completely filled with this class of persons. The Christian community, accustomed to assemble there, finding that their places were wanted, retired to another place, and continued in prayer, that the address made to them might be successful. Such methods as these will account to you for that measure of increase which is common in revivals, and which would not be possible, if the effort were limited to the congregation.

This brief description will unfold to you, though imperfectly, what may be denominated the approved revivals of this country; and I presume that, as a matter of detail, there is nothing that can meet your judgment offensively. Before I pass to other views of the same subject, I am desirous of confirming and illustrating this statement by some considerable extracts from "The Narrative of the late Revival in the Presbytery of Geneva, in the State of New-York." It is one of the most satisfactory accounts with which I have met; it can be entirely relied on; and it is the more important, as it arises in a district where much, and perhaps just complaint has rested:—

"The year past has been, to the churches within our bounds, emphatically a year of the right hand of the Most High. In no year, since the settlement of our country, have we witnessed so many and such signal triumphs of the Redeemer's cause; or recorded so large an accession to the number of his professed followers, as the year which we are now to review. All our churches, which have enjoyed the stated means of grace, have been visited with revivals during the past year.

"The first special indication of a work of grace appeared in Geneva, early in the month of June, 1830; and the first subjects of it were members of the Female Seminary. At the close of the first week, after the attention became general, eight or ten were rejoicing in hope, and an unusual seriousness pervaded the minds of all. A weekly prayer meeting was appointed, for personal conversation with those who were inquiring; another for those who were indulging a recent hope; and a season of prayer was observed, at the same time, by a small number of the church. Others, not connected with the seminary, soon became interested in the work; and though it was not powerful or general, it continued, with various degrees of interest, through the summer and fall: every week furnishing some new cases of hopeful conversion to God. Several seasons of prayer and religious conference were observed by the church, which were generally well attended, and apparently happy in their results; yet the members generally did not take that deep interest in the work which they ought to have felt, and which might have been expected. The revival, however, continued slowly, but steadily to advance until December, when the number of hopeful converts amounted to more than forty."

"From the middle of January until near the last of March, the number of conversions was from twelve to twenty in a week; but, notwithstanding the power of the work, no irregularities were witnessed, no crying out in public worship, no boisterous expressions of joy, no audible sighing or groaning, and, indeed, little else than the natural expressions of a soul deeply impressed with its guilt, or calmly reposing, by faith, upon the Lord Jesus Christ. From the last of March until the first of May, the work was less powerful; though no week passed without witnessing some new cases of conversion. It was about one year from the time of its commencement before it entirely subsided. The whole number, who have expressed a hope of renewing grace, is about two hundred and seventy; of these, forty or fifty were members of the Female Seminary, most of whom, residing in others places, did not unite with the church in Geneva. The number who have united with the Presbyterian church is more than two hundred, making the whole number of the church, at the present time, five hundred and fifty-one.

"The *means* that have been most blessed in the progress of the work, have been the preaching of the gospel on the Sabbath, and at the stated lectures, and the ordinary performance of parochial duty; to which may be added, special meetings for prayer and religious intercourse. The course of weekly labor has been, three services on the Sabbath; a meeting for inquiry, and another for prayer, on Monday evening; a service, addressed, more particularly, to the unawakened, on Tuesday evening; social prayer meetings in different sections of the village, and lectures in the more distant neighborhoods, on Wednesday evening; the Bible class, followed by a season of prayer, on Thursday evening; a meeting for the instruction of the young converts, and another for prayer, on Friday evening; and on Saturday evening, a prayer meeting for a special blessing upon the labors of the Sabbath. The day was principally employed in visiting from house to house. The meeting of young converts was one of peculiar interest. Its object was *instruction* in the leading evidences of Christian experience and the practical duties of the Christian life: not only to guard young Christians against self-deception, but to imbue their minds with religious truth, to instruct them in doctrinal knowledge, and thus to lay a broad, and deep, and permanent foundation of Christian character. This service has uniformly been performed by a clergyman, and is still continued.

"To these general means may be added, the personal exertions of many members of the church, and of the young converts, generally in a way of individual influence. This influence was exerted, not in the public meeting, but in the private interview. The young converts did not become exhorters, nor arrogate to themselves the prerogatives of teachers; but testified their interest in the cause, by their personal exertions to bring others to a knowledge of the truth. A protracted meeting of three days' continuance, was held about the middle of April. The services were ably conducted and well attended, and the interest, for the time, was considerable; but, so far as the conversion of souls is concerned, the permanent results, if any, were very small. It is now more than a year and a half since this work commenced, and from eight to ten months since, the greater portion of its fruits were gathered in, and, thus far, the subjects generally appear well. In the admission of members to the church, it has been a general rule for the pastor and some of the elders to acquaint themselves, by personal interview, with the case of each individual previous to his examination by the session. In all cases several weeks, and in most cases, from two to three months have elapsed, after they experienced hope, before they were admitted to the church. All have been publicly propounded, and have been received in the presence of the congregation. In testimony of the increased interest which has been excited in the cause of Christ, it may be observed, that the appropriations for religious charity have been nearly doubled the last year. The church now sustains one foreign missionary, at an expense of six hundred and sixty-six dollars; thirteen home missionaries, at one hundred dollars each; nine scholarships, of the American Education Society, at seventy-five dollars each; which, in addition to the appropriations for the Bible, Tract, Sabbath School, and other objects of benevolence, amounts to more than *forty-five hundred dollars* the past year.

"The present state of religion is, in some respects, quite interesting; several conversions have recently occurred, though there is not properly a revival. The public services are well attended; entire harmony of sentiment and feeling prevails in the church; the Sabbath School has about three hundred members, and the several Temperance Societies in the town more than eleven hundred. Four or five young men have commenced study, with a view to the ministry. The Female Seminary is flourishing, and several hopeful conversions have occurred recently among the pupils. A Manual

Labor School has been opened in Geneva, with peculiarly favorable prospects. It has now between sixty and seventy members; about forty of whom may be regarded as the fruits of the late revivals, and are in a course of preparation for the gospel ministry. Most of the young men sustain themselves at an expense not exceeding from fifty to seventy-five cents per week, and facilities are afforded them to earn, by their own labor, more than sufficient to defray this expense. The Lyceum is not a theological nor a collegiate institution, but strictly a preparatory school, designed to fit young men for an advanced standing in college, or for the counting-room, or for any other situation in which a thorough, systematic, and practical education is required. It promises results highly interesting to the church of Christ."

"Early in February a favorable state of religious feeling began to be apparent in Penn-Yan. Several days of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, were observed; and the church renewed their covenant with God and each other. One individual before the first fast, and two soon after, gave evidence of a change of heart. The next week an inquiry meeting was appointed, at which ten or twelve persons were found anxious for their salvation.

"The meeting for inquiry was continued weekly, and meetings for prayer and religious instruction were attended almost every evening. The meetings for prayer were, for the most part, strictly prayer meetings. Sometimes a word of exhortation, or a hymn of praise, occupied a moment between the prayers; but usually the meetings which were appointed for prayer were employed chiefly in that exercise. The work continued with undiminished interest till the opening of the spring, when, by the pressure of worldly business, it began obviously to decline. At this time a protracted meeting of four days' continuance was tried with happy effect. Ten or twelve were added to the number of hopeful converts as the result of this meeting; and a much larger number from neighboring congregations professed to have been born again.

"The services of the protracted meeting were a season of prayer at sun-rise, three sermons each day, and a meeting of inquiry, and another for prayer, at the close of the second service. Prayer meetings were also attended in smaller circles in different places in the village. During this meeting, and through the whole revival, all the services have been characterized by perfect order and regularity, both as to time and manner. No public meetings have been continued after nine o'clock in the evening. In the instructions that have been given to the young converts, great care has been taken to guard them, if possible, against trusting in a false hope. Many, whose hope at first was strong and sanguine, were on being instructed in the nature and evidences of a change of heart, induced to relinquish their hope entirely, and have since given conclusive evidence that it was at first but a delusion. This course of instruction and personal examination has, in all cases, been previous to their presenting themselves for admission to the church. The number received to the church is 123, and there are, probably, twenty more who will unite at a suitable time. The work, in all its leading features has been of a most precious character. While members of the church have been active and engaged, they appear to have manifested a deep sense of their dependence and unworthiness. In the early stages of the work, and while the church seemed relying on an arm of flesh, a desire was expressed by some to call in the aid of some itinerant evangelist, and that a course of measures might be introduced, which had been said to have been employed with success in other places. But the people of God were soon brought to see and to feel that in God alone was their hope, and no wish was afterwards expressed for any other means than the means of God's own appointment, nor any other aid than the aid of the Holy Spirit; and, with the exception of a morning prayer meeting, they enjoyed neither in preaching, nor measures, nor manner, nor means, of any kind, any thing, different from what has been common in the churches for many years.

"When we compare the present condition of this congregation with what it was six years ago, the change is surprising. Then but one family, where prayers were regularly attended, was found in the whole village; but one man, except the minister, to lead in a public prayer meeting; no Sabbath school, no religious association of any kind, except a small female prayer meeting, and the church was then so small and scattered, that twenty-five could hardly be collected. Now there are more than fifty praying families; more than fifty who can lead, in an acceptable and edifying manner, in public prayer; a flourishing Sabbath school; an auxiliary to almost every benevolent society in the land; and a church of more than 200 members. The church is happily united in sentiment and measures, and the various objects of Christian benevolence are sustained with increased interest and efficiency. In September, 1831, the pastor relinquished the charge of the congregation, being called, in the providence of God, to another department of Christian labor.—The church have, with entire unanimity, elected another pastor, and have the prospect of soon enjoying again the privileges of a settled ministry.

"The state of religion began to assume a more interesting aspect in Seneca Falls early in the autumn of 1830. For two or three years previous to this, the prospect had been gloomy in an unusual degree. Several perplexing cases of discipline had occurred, one after another, in rapid succession, till it seemed as if the very foundation was parting asunder, and the whole fabric crumbling down. But even then there was praying and weeping in secret places. Some there were who even then could look through the darkness and the storm, and could lay hold upon the promises of God. A female prayer meeting, the monthly concert, and some other meetings, called together a few constant souls, who knew where their strength lay, and there they were strong in the Lord.

"For a year or more previous to the close of 1830, favorable appearances had been witnessed, and some hopeful conversions had occurred. An increasing sense of the necessity of a revival was manifested on the part of Christians, and a kind of expectation was entertained by some, that the blessing was in store, and would be bestowed soon. A general impression prevailed that something must be done, and done soon. At an evening prayer meeting, it was proposed that each Christian present should engage to converse faithfully with at least *one* impenitent sinner the next day, and several engaged to do it. The result was manifestly favorable. Some time in December, at a little prayer meeting, an unusual spirit of prayer, an earnest wrestling of the soul with God, was manifest. Towards the close of the meeting, a request was made to the impenitent who were present, and who desired an interest in the prayers of God's people, to signify it by rising. Five or six arose. This was the first *public* expression of anxiety on the part of the impenitent. A general visitation of the congregation was now commenced, and many were found anxiously concerned for their souls. The meetings became crowded, attentive, and solemn. On one occasion, near the close of the evening service, it was proposed to such as were resolved to submit to God that night, to signify it by rising; seven arose, and all but one were the next morning rejoicing in hope, and that one embraced a hope soon after. The same experiment was tried two or three times afterwards, but not with the same success. It was, upon mature consideration, judged more safe, and more in accordance with apostolic usage, to press upon sinners the duty of immediate submission, and to do it without delay; to surrender themselves at once to the Lord Jesus Christ, and leave it there. Meetings for the anxious inquiries, conducted in the usual way, were attended with very favorable results. These meetings were evidently much blessed. The work soon extended to other parts of the town, where frequent meetings were held, and the same general course of measures pursued. The work continued through the winter, and resulted in the addition of one hundred and twenty-seven to the church.

"In April, a protracted meeting of three days' continuance was attended, it is thought, with *some* good fruits. The preaching was designed to urge upon sinners the duty and the reasonableness of immediate repentance, and the renunciation of every self-justifying excuse. 'But,' says the pastor, 'I am afraid, that the sovereign efficacy of Divine grace, and the reason of its necessity, were presented with less frequency than I now think should have been done.' Though these truths were often exhibited, illustrated, and enforced with the greatest plainness, yet it is now believed that a still greater prominence should have been given them."

The report, in closing its account of all the churches, concludes by the following observation:—

"This work, in its general features, has not been essentially different from former revivals, except that it has been more powerful, more extensive, and has enrolled among its subjects an unusual number who had been openly hostile to the truth. Less opposition has been manifested than is usual in revivals of so much power, and less, perhaps, than is usual has occurred in its progress, in which a captious, unbelieving world would find occasion to complain. The doctrines which have held a prominent place in the preaching generally, are the plain and humbling doctrines of the orthodox faith; the doctrines of our standards; of the Reformation, and of the Bible. These have been exhibited, not as matters of controversy or as problems, but as matters of fact and of faith. While sinners have been taught to regard the depravity of their hearts as total, they have been also taught to regard it as consisting in their own voluntary rebellion against God, 'whereby,' as our confession of faith expresses it, 'we are utterly *indisposed* to all good,' 'and wholly *inclined* to all evil.' Not the want of a power, but the want of an inclination to do the will of God. The inability predicable of the sinner in his depraved condition has been represented, as the standards of our church very forcibly express it, as an 'inability of *will*,' regarding the sinner as bound at all times to keep the whole law, and to do the whole will of God. The doctrine of Divine sovereignty and Divine decrees, the doctrine of election and effectual calling, of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, justification by faith, and the final perseverance of the saints, together with all those leading truths which have long been designated, by way of distinction, the 'doctrines of grace,' have been constantly kept in view as the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, and the only permanent foundation of Christian character.

"The labor generally has been performed by the pastors and stated ministers; assisted in prayer meetings and parochial visiting by the elders and other members of the church. The young converts also have exerted an important influence, by personal conversation, and in meetings for social prayer. It may be mentioned, as one distinguishing feature of this revival, that the converts generally seem to have imbibed, in an unusual degree, the spirit of missionaries. No sooner did they indulge a hope that they had themselves accepted the invitation to the marriage feast, than they were ready to go out into the highways and hedges, and compel others to come in, that the house might be filled, and the table furnished with guests. In some instances the labor of itinerants was employed, but with few exceptions, with no very obvious success. Seldom, perhaps, has the case been known, in which God has so obviously honored the means of his own appointment, in distinction from those of human invention, and the labors of a stated ministry in distinction from those of itinerant evangelists, as in the revivals within our bounds.

"The means which have been most commonly employed, and most obviously blessed in these revivals, have been, in general, no other than the ordinary means of grace. In several of our churches protracted meetings were held; in some instances with desirable results, but in others without any apparent effect, other than might be expected from the preaching of the word in other circumstances. In some places, the practice of calling out those who were awakened, at the close of public worship, to take what was called the '*anxious seat*,' was adopted. This practice was by no means general at any period of the revival, and in some instances, where it was at first introduced, it was afterwards discontinued, from a full conviction that so soon as it ceased to interest by its novelty, no beneficial results were accomplished by it. In most of our congregations, the usual method of holding 'inquiring meetings,' for personal conversation and instruction, has been found to secure the attendance of a much larger number; to afford greater facilities for instruction suited to the condition of each individual; and to be, all things considered, the 'more excellent way.'

"The religious services generally have been orderly, still, and solemn. Never interrupted by loud and boisterous expressions, nor painful to the ear of piety by an irreverent and affected familiarity with sacred things. No quaint and questionable expedients have been resorted to for the purpose of effect; no audible praying of females in promiscuous assemblies; nothing, in short, in the way of means or measures, except as above specified, which has not been common in conducting revivals of religion since the days of Edwards. From some of these remarks, a few of our churches are to be excepted. These churches, however, were, with perhaps one exception, without pastors, and the innovations which have been made upon the ordinary modes of worship, have been introduced by itinerant preachers, who do not belong to this Presbytery. But few, if any, of these innovations are now regarded as improvements, and facts have shown that generally, if not universally, the revivals have been most powerful, of the longest continuance, and most desirable in their results, in those places where there has been the least departure from the ordinary methods of conducting revivals in the Presbyterian church."

LETTER XXX.

My dear friend—It would certainly be pleasant to me not to disturb the impression which the former interesting statements will have made on your mind. But while it is impossible and unnecessary that I should present to you the whole material I have collected on this important subject, it is my first duty to see that what is stated shall be so equal and proportionate, as to give you a true opinion of the whole case. Already, perhaps, you will have wondered that nothing objectionable has occurred; since much that has previously reached you in other ways, has more or less of this character. The fact is, in this, as in other instances, that what is objectionable and extravagant, wins notice; while what is excellent and approved seeks the shade, and remains unknown. Revivals have often been used as advertisements. A feeble, or a vain man, doubtful of his standing, or thirsting for illegitimate distinction, has looked to a revival, as he would call it, as his instrument. In his case the bolder measure was the better; he has committed himself to daring experiments, looked for hasty and dashing results, and has sent them, without delay, in dashing terms to the newspapers. Many of these statements have reached, unhappily, this country, and have warped many minds from a calm and just opinion. Let me, however, assure you, that these occurrences are as much the cause of lamentation to the wise and humble of that land, as they can be to ourselves; and that to take up a judgment of the case before us from them alone, or chiefly, would be as unjust as to determine the character of religion at home, by the extravagancies of Irvingism.

Apart from these unworthy instances, it is to be admitted, that a course of action in connection with revivals has recently sprung up in many of the churches, which has created great division of opinion and feeling. These practices have received the appellation of "New Measures," and they have the countenance of many in the leading denominations; and of the ministers who use them, some are of excellent talent, and undoubted piety. The two measures by which they are chiefly marked, and for which they are mostly blamed or applauded, are protracted meetings and anxious seats. The first of these, indeed, existed before, and the principle of them enters into the nature of a revival; but they existed under other names, and had a different character. In the earlier revivals, the meetings were made more frequent than ordinary, as the case seemed to require, and often a day would be entirely set apart for fasting and prayer. Sometimes a freer demand on time might become, from the interest of the occasion, desirable, and sometimes, where there was a predilection for the Scotch sacraments, or where the people, from being greatly scattered, found it very difficult to come together, four days, inclusive of the Sabbath, would be thus employed.

But with the friends of the New Measures, the protracted meeting does not arise out of the urgency of the case; it is a component part of the system. It is, agreeably to its name, rather one lengthened meeting, than a number of meetings, admitting of intervals for worldly and social duties. It is seldom less than four days in duration, and is often run out to seven or more.

Undoubtedly, the discreet use of the protracted meeting, by giving solemnity to a special occasion, by fixing the attention on one subject, and by causing the whole power of truth and sympathy to bear on the conscience and affections, may be attended with the most happy and striking results. But the evils of making it an essential part of a system appear to be, that an undue importance may be given to it, at the expense of ordinary and stated means; that the means supplied may be so far in advance of the spirit to use them, as may abate, rather than improve desire, and end in weariness; that many excellent ministers, in meeting the claims of such a period, will break down under them, as indeed they have done, and be unfitted for their fair share of labor. Besides, where the length of the meeting becomes amongst the people the popular test of its excellence, there will be no bounds to this easy mode of competition. Already a seven day meeting has a sound of reputation about it, which is denied to one of three or four days. Of course, empirical teachers have taken advantage of this impression, and have outdone all outdoing. They have held, some of them, fourteen days; some twenty-one; and recently an attempt has been made to hold a forty days' meeting. This party, then, if length be excellence, has excelled all; and has, moreover, the benefit of a number which is frequent in Scripture, and is associated with sacred recollections. As you might expect, long before the forty days were expired, all patience and all feeling were exhausted. The pastor whom he professed to assist, I was told on the best authority, sought to meet his congregation on the usual evening, for the usual service on the following week, and he could not get enough people together to compose a prayer-meeting.

The other measure which has been lately adopted, and which is, I believe, altogether new, has received the somewhat barbarous and canting denomination of "Anxious Seat." The practice is so styled from the circumstance, that after a sermon which is supposed to have impressed the people, a seat, or seats, before the pulpit, and in the face of the congregation, is cleared, and persons willing to profess anxiety for their salvation or conversion to God, are challenged to come forward, and to use them for that purpose. They are then made mostly the subjects of particular address and supplication.

Now I have, on several occasions, seen this practised, and have carefully sought information relative to it from its friends and its foes. I can readily believe that the employment of it may have been attended with decided evidence of usefulness in many cases. And I can as readily understand that a pious minister, truly awake to the importance of his work, and weary of the delay and indecision of many who wait on his ministry, may have, from the best intentions, ventured on such a measure, rather than to stand in perpetual doubt of those he pants to save. Besides this, I well know, that a congregation may be brought to a certain state of feeling, which may authorize some special movement on the part of a pastor, who finds himself in exact sympathy with them, and which nothing could justify under other circumstances; and in such an untried and affecting situation, should his earnestness commit him to some indiscretion, it would be any thing but marvellous. Yet, after the best consideration of the subject, and the fullest admissions in its behalf, it does appear to me, and is, I believe, appearing to many who have tried it, to be, as a measure of action, unwise and unsafe.

1. In the first place, I am disposed to submit, that we have no right to establish such measures. It is certainly not an apostolic method. It is not within the limits of our commission. It is our duty to urge the authority of Christ on the conscience, and to insist on an entire submission to it; but, as I conceive, we have no right to make this particular movement the visible test of that submission. It is an undue encroachment on the rights of a congregation assembling on the authority of Christ, and professedly for his worship; and there is no reason why they should obey such a call to show their discipleship.

2. It is a bad auxiliary to the success of the ministry. That some good may arise from it, is not denied; this may be predicated of the worst things. Its general tendency is not to support the effect of the preached word, if it is wisely administered. Where it is introduced as a novelty, there is, indeed, excitement enough; but it is of the wrong

complexion. I have seen a whole congregation moved by it; but their attention has been withdrawn from themselves to others; or from what was spiritual in themselves, to an overt action of no importance any way to their welfare. The question has then been amongst the people, "Will *any* go? Will *they* go? Shall *I go?*" Questions which many are glad to entertain, as a diversion to the conscience, from more serious and inward inquiry.

3. Then, as an evidence of character, it is certainly among the worst that can well be employed. It is a measure highly inviting to the ignorant, the vain, and the self-conceited; and it is equally repulsive and difficult to the timid, the modest, and reflective. I can hardly conceive of a delicate and well-educated young female, being able to meet such a demand in the face of a large congregation, unless she regards it as a duty to Christ, and a term of her salvation; and then, in obeying, she does violence to those feelings, which are the safeguard and the beauty of her character. I have seen such young persons shrink and shudder at the call, through modesty, and then comply through fear; and, when complying, writhing from distress under hysterical tortures. But who has a right to exact all this amount of suffering? And is it not the worse, if it is not only unnecessary, but prejudicial, to the end proposed, by diverting the attention to a bodily service, from what alone is of acknowledged importance?

4. Let me again observe, that where it is used as an evidence of state, it is likely to lead to hazardous and precipitate conclusions. I know that many ministers are very guarded on this subject; but with this caution it is difficult to prevent the anxious inquirer from regarding it, and similar signs, as evidences of condition. And in many instances, especially among the Methodist denomination, the anxious seat, or the altar, and the acts of rising or kneeling, are in reality, if not with formal design, made terms of state. They are used too, not only to express the reality of awakened concern; but as tests of having "submitted to Christ," "found hope," and of being "true converts." Such notices as the following are common in the several religious papers:—

"Last Sabbath day I attended a camp meeting; it was orderly and solemn; and thirty-one professed to *indulge hope*."

"On Saturday, an awful solemnity was on the assembly. On Sabbath morning three persons *gave themselves away* to Christ, and *were admitted to the church*."

"A protracted meeting began on Monday. On the following Saturday the session examined twenty-one; *all of whom were next day admitted to the church*."

"On the second day of the meeting, the *anxious* and the *converts* were called on to separate themselves from the rest of the congregation."

"On the last day," at another meeting, "about four hundred, if I mistake not, assembled in the anxious room. The converts being called on to separate themselves from the anxious, about one-third *declared themselves converts*."

A revival preacher, after delivering a sermon, called on the anxious to meet him in the lecture-room. About two hundred obeyed. He called on them to kneel in prayer; and he offered an alarming and terrific prayer. They arose. "As many of you," he said, "as have given yourselves to God, in that prayer, go into the New Convert-room." Upwards of twenty went. "Now," he said to the remainder, "let us pray." He prayed again in like manner. He then challenged those who had given themselves to God in that prayer, to go into the New Convert-room. Another set followed. This was repeated four times. The next morning he left the town, having previously sent a notice to the newspaper, stating, that Mr. ——— had preached there last night, and that sixty-one converts professed religion.

Need I multiply cases? or need I remark on those I have adduced? Apart from the last, which is too blame-worthy to be common, has not the *spirit* of these measures a strong tendency to beget, on the part of ministers and people, an impatience of results; not of actual determination of mind, which we cannot ask, nor the sinner yield too soon; but of outward and visible evidence, when, in truth, the case does not really admit of such evidence? Regeneration is, indeed, the work of an instant; but the evidence of it is the work of time. The mere assurance on the mind that I am converted, is not evidence to me; and the mere assertion of it can be no evidence to others. The proper fruits of conversion are the only safe evidence in either case; and there has not been time to produce or ascertain them.

The effect of such a course is, undoubtedly, to create a fearful amount of premature and unscriptural hope, and, therefore, of dangerous and destructive delusion. The effect again, on the church, is to fill it with unconverted, ignorant, and presumptuous persons, and to produce defection on the one hand, and corruption on the other. And this, in fact, has been the result. Of revivals *so managed*, it is considered that not one fifth, sometimes not one tenth, have stood; and many of those who have remained in the church, have given painful evidence of the want of renewed character and conversation. If one half of those sixty-one, who were so hastily reported by the minister to whom I have referred, to be converted on one evening, should retain a false hope through life, and die with it in their right hand, where would the responsibility lie? or who would dare to incur such responsibility?

5. Besides the objections to the new measures thus taken, it must be stated, that they seem to have the faculty of generating a spirit worse than themselves, and which is chiefly to be apprehended. Rash measures attract rash men. Those who would have felt it difficult enough to manage an argument, or discriminate between a right or wrong affection, are struck by what is so tangible and so visible, and so capable of impressing the grosser and animal sensations. Without the power, and perhaps the piety of their teachers, they quickly usurp their places. As they have attained their stations by deviating from the usual way, they reckon that it is only to be retained by the same course; and their onward and devious path is tracked by the most unsanctified violence and reckless extravagance.

In fact, a number of young and raw men, previously unknown to the ministry, and without pastoral experience, instead of giving themselves "to reading, meditation, and prayer," have chosen this shorter method to ministerial efficiency; and the effect, wherever it has reached has been exceedingly calamitous. They have announced themselves as the revival preachers; and have chosen to itinerate over the church; unsettling every thing, and settling nothing. They have denounced pastors, with whom they could not compare, men of tried and approved piety, as hypocrites, formalists, "dumb dogs," and as "leading their people to hell." They have denounced the Christians who have listened to them; and have made submission to their mechanism the test of their conversion. They have addressed the sinner, under the name of fidelity, in harsh, severe, and bitter terms; and have been covetous either of submission or opposition. The endearments and ties of relative life have been sacrificed to the bitter zeal which has taught the child to disrespect the parent, and the parent to cast off the child. They have made, as many have recently in our own land, great, if not full pretensions to inspiration; and have taught people to rely on impulse and impression in offering what has been called the prayer of faith. They have encouraged females to lead in prayer in promiscuous and public assemblies; and, in fact, have revived all the irregularities of the Corinthian church, as though they had been placed on record, to be copied, and not avoided.

The consequence has been most disastrous. Churches have become the sport of division, distraction, and disorder. Pastors have been made unhappy in their dearest connections; they have stayed to mourn over diminished influence and affection; or they have been driven away to find in calmer regions a field of renewed labor. So extensive has been this evil, that in one presbytery of nineteen churches, there were only three that had settled pastors; and in one synod, in 1832, of a hundred and three churches, only fifty-two had pastors; the rest had stated supplies. The general effect has been to discourage revivals in their best form; to cast down the weak, to confound the sober-minded, and to confirm the formalist; and to dispose the censorious world to "speak evil of the good way."

I was, as I have remarked, just in time to observe these effects; and while it is needful that I should report them, I must be careful with you, as I was with myself, that a wrong impression should not be received from them. They followed on the great revival of 1831; but they are the mere sediments of that flood of life, which went over the land, and blessed all things where it came. Much as it may be lamented, and right as it is to use it for future caution, the evil is as nothing compared with the good consequent on revivals generally. That evil, too, is subsiding. Those ministers of most talent and character, who were carried away partially by the heat and interest of the period, are now reviewing their course. The madness of others will make them perfectly sober. The leading ministers of the country, and amongst them the best friends of revivals, have entered their testimony against them. The following extracts of a letter written by my esteemed friend, Dr. Beecher, will show you with how much wisdom, as well as determination, it is done. It will also, if I mistake not, powerfully illustrate a portion of the subject I have endeavored to place under your attention:—

"To some of the consequences of a revival, conducted under such auspices, I beg leave now to call your attention.

"It will become more and more exceptionable. Urged by circumstances, men will do things, which, if in the beginning they had been predicted, they would have said, 'Are thy servants dogs, that we should do these things?' By degrees, however, all landmarks will be removed, and what was once regarded as important will be set at naught, and what would once have produced horror will be done fearlessly. There is nothing to which the minds of good men, when once passed the bounds of sound discretion, and launched on the ocean of feeling and experiment may not come to. But the evil, which may flow from those who commence these aberrations, is but a drop of the bucket in the ocean of disorder and misrule to which they may open the door. There is nothing so terrible and unmanageable as the fire and whirlwind of human passion, when once kindled by misguided zeal, and sanctioned by conscience, and the idea of being reviled and persecuted for doing God service. They who did the deed may repent of it early, and stretch out impotent hands to stay the evil; and weep over the desolation without being able to repair it. The restoration of Davenport to sanity, and his subsequent confession, did not repair the moral desolation which his conduct and principles had made.

"Another of the evils to be apprehended, is opposition on the part of good men, and the consequent disunion of the churches by a civil war. The peculiarities of the system I have recognized cannot go through the churches without opposition. Splendid by its early power, many have yielded to it who disapproved, for fear they might quench the Spirit; and many have been silent, because they feared that they might speak against a work of God. But when the work shall have given out its distinct character, and put off the natures of love and gentleness, &c. and put on those of wrath and strife; when other reformers shall hasten on to new discoveries, and surpass their predecessors as much as these surpassed others, and denounce them as they denounced those who could not go with them; when stripling imitators of pious men having nothing in common with them but their imprudence, without their age and moral power, shall go out to outrage humanity, and caricature revivals of religion; then will these irregularities be met, and then the collision will be keen and dreadful. For, in every church, there is wood, hay, and stubble, which will be sure to take fire on the wrong side. All your periodical Christians, who sleep from one revival to another, will be sure to blaze out now; while judicious ministers, and the more judicious part of the church, will be destined to stand, like the bush, in the midst of the flames; while these periodical Christians will make up, by present zeal, for their past stupidity, and chide, as cold-hearted formalists, those, whose even, luminous course, sheds reproof on their past coldness and stupidity.

"Another evil to be feared, is, that it will unavoidably array a large portion of the unrenewed part of the community against revivals and religion; and produce infidels, scoffers, Unitarians, and Universalists, on every side—increasing the resistance seven-fold to evangelical doctrine; withdrawing, in proportion, the voluntary support of the gospel; and consigning the precious cause of Christ, which ought and might govern public opinion, to the hands of a feeble, despised, dispirited few, who watch the holy fire upon the deserted altar of God. All forms of error will grow rank from the aliment of such violence done to the laws of humanity and to the laws of God. The extravagances of the pious in the time of Cromwell threw back the cause of vital piety in England for two centuries, to a state of imbecility and scorn, and has furnished topics to grace the pages of infidel historians, poets, and orators, through every succeeding generation.

"Another effect to be deprecated is, that it will prevent the great evangelical assimilation which is forming in the United States, and paralize general efforts as much as private churches. The rumor of extravagance would soon begin to press hard upon the friends of revivals in New England; who could not and would not take the responsibility of justifying what they disapproved, and would be compelled, in self-defence, publicly to clear themselves, as having no part nor lot in such matters. There is also a large portion of the church out of New England, which is evangelical, but which is acquainted with revivals more by the hearing of the ear, than by eye-sight and experience; and who, between doubt and fear, are approaching the happy day, when the breath of the Lord may breathe upon them. Upon all these, a revival of extravagance and disorder would exert a deadly influence, and for one generation, at least, protract the form without the power of religion. While all the enemies of evangelical doctrines and of revivals, would keep a jubilee, that these days of hated light had gone by, and given place to the reign of reason and formality.

"Another thing to be feared is, that meeting in their career with the most determined opposition from educated ministers, and colleges, and seminaries, all these in succession would be denounced, and held up as objects of popular odium, and a host of ardent, inexperienced, imprudent young men, be poured out, as from the hives of the North, to obliterate civilization, and roll back the wheels of time to semi-barbarism; until New England of the West shall be burnt over, and religion disgraced and trodden down as in some parts of New England it was done eighty years ago: when laymen and women, Indians and negroes, male and female, preached, and prayed, and exhorted, until confusion itself became confounded. There is nothing so powerful as the many waters of human passion, and nothing so terrible as the overflowing of such a scourge; and a dispensation so calamitous would be more intolerable, as it is so utterly needless, and would come so unexpectedly in the very dawning of a bright day. The nature of the gospel, and of the human mind, and the mode of exhibiting truth and conducting revivals, have been developed, and practised with such success, that in New England, and to a great extent through the nation, the conviction is established, that they are the work of God, and most benign in their moral influence upon the present as well as the future life. Extensively opposition is silenced, and the public mind is fast preparing to come under the influence of faithful preaching, and the Holy Ghost. In New England, revivals are becoming more frequent in the same places, and more general in their extent. There seems to be a joyful and rapid spread of the work of God: but one overflowing of a violent, ungoverned revival, would snatch the victory from truth, and throw revivals back at least fifty years. It would be the greatest calamity that could befall this young empire. The perversion of the popular taste, and the extinction of the popular prejudice against learning, and a learned ministry, where an enlightened public sentiment, coupled with enlightened piety, is our all, would be to us, nearly, what the incursions of the northern barbarians were to the Roman empire. It would stop all our improvements, and throw us back in civilization, science, and religion, at least a whole century. It would constitute an era of calamity never to be forgotten, and be referred to by future historians as the dark age of our republic. There are parts of our nation, to which I might refer you, which were burnt over by such a revival some twenty years ago, where the abiding evils may still be seen in the state of society which has followed. And there, too, with all their extravagances of falling, and groaning, and laughing, and jumping, and dancing, were regarded by many, and by some very good men, as a new dispensation of the Spirit—a new mode of conducting revivals with power; and those who rode on the foremost waves, thought themselves to be, and were thought to be, raised up to be reformers in their day. Oh, my brother! if a victorious army should overflow and lay us waste, or if a fire should pass over and lay every dwelling in our land in ashes, it would be a blessing to be coveted with thanksgiving, in comparison to the moral desolation of one ungoverned revival of religion; for physical evils can be speedily repaired, but the desolation of moral causes is deep and abiding.

"Dear brethren in Christ, you must not, for a moment, suppose that I do not fervently love you; or that I ascribe to you, *in extenso*, all the defects to which I have alluded; but that I have drawn the outlines of a moral chart, which such a disastrous revival, as your present course could not fail to lead to, would amply fill up, I have not a doubt. That you will appreciate my motives, and not be offended, I cannot but believe; and I have equal confidence that you will appreciate the considerations which I have suggested, and will, as fast and as far as possible, supersede our fears, by a course that all good men will approve and rejoice in."

LETTER XXXI.

My dear friend—I have thus, with some are, and not, I hope, at too great length, endeavored to possess you with the result of my observation on the interesting and momentous subject of revivals, both in the forms which are deemed objectionable, and in those which are generally, if not universally, approved amongst this people. I am ready to suppose, that in passing through the account with awakened attention, it may have suggested such questions as the following; and of which you would be glad to find a solution. Are no evils attendant on the approved revivals? Are these evils capable of a remedy? Are the fruits of these revivals equally good with those produced under ordinary circumstances? Would not a continued advancement in knowledge and piety be preferable to these occasional movements? Are revivals to be expected for our own country? If practicable, are they, on the whole, desirable? Let us just glance at these inquiries, so proper to the subject, and so important in themselves.

Are there any evils attendant on the approved revivals?

Yes, there are. They are liable to run out into wild fanaticism. The extravagances to which I have referred grew out of an approved revival; they were not consequent from it, but were incidental to it; they were an unlovely excrescence on one of the fairest reforms in the history of the churches. A revival is a crisis. It implies that a great mass of human passion that was dormant, is suddenly called into action. Those who are not moved to good will be moved to the greater evil. The hay, wood, and stubble, which are always to be found, even within the pale of the church, will enkindle, and flash, and flare. It is an occasion favorable to display, and the vain and presumptuous will endeavor to seize on it, and turn it to their own account. Whether such a state of general excitement is connected with worldly or religious objects, it is too much, and would argue great ignorance of human nature, to expect, that it should not be liable to excess and disorder.

The evils to which this state of excitement exposes, may, however, be greatly qualified, if not wholly prevented. I know, indeed, some imagine, that they are already so fully master of the subject, that they can adjust the whole affair as they would a machine, and determine before hand how it shall act, and where it shall stay. But I do not admire their mechanism; it is too nice and too complicated, to be wise in itself, or useful for the occasion; and I freely confess, that the churches, both here and there, have something yet to learn on the question.

The churches in the States have indeed had considerable experience in these revivals, and there is undoubted advantage in this. The ministers have looked carefully at the subject, and have taken wise consultation on it; and there is obtaining amongst them a general agreement, as to the methods which are most effectual and approved. This is well; still I should rely for the prevention of evil, as also for the educing of good, not so much on the organisation as on the *spirit* of the revival. The spirit of the true revival is humility and prayer; and if this were made prominent and predominant, as a sign and a test, by ministers and churches, it would strangle in its birth the evil spirit of vanity and vexation.

As far as instrumentality may contribute to the end desired, nothing appears of such importance as a wise and influential superintendence. The ordinary mind may do for the ordinary occasion; but here is an occasion in which every thing is extraordinary, and which, like the storm at sea, will call for the utmost sagacity and steadiness of character. The management of such a period should never be allowed to pass into the hands of the untaught, the inexperienced, and the froward. Most of the extravagance which we have to lament has arisen from this source. The people have seldom gone astray until they have been led astray. In every case which has come to my knowledge, where a revival has been conducted by discretion, no blameworthy excesses have followed. The churches should look carefully to this. They could not employ their associated functions better, than by discountenancing, on the one hand, those self-constituted itinerant revivalists, untried and unknown in any other capacity, and who rise to notice by trampling on better men than themselves; and by claiming, on the other hand, in this best, but most onerous and most difficult of services, some of her best men; men of large pastoral experience, of great success in pastoral life, and of not only unfeigned but eminent piety.

Perhaps, however, the evil to which the revival, as it now exists, is most liable, is the danger of relapse. That there is room for this complaint must be admitted; and it is open to two or three remarks.

First, where revivals are pressed into excess, they carry the seeds of this evil in their own nature. We are so constituted, that our nature seeks indemnity for all violence done to itself. Excess of excitement brings excess of exhaustion, as surely as night follows day. Hence, when those have managed a revival who have not known where to stop, they have been confounded to find, instead of the results they expected, a deep sleep come over the people, from which none could awaken them.

When revivals are allowed to take, in common expectation, a periodical character, there is danger of reaction. Those who have received benefit by a certain method, if they may calculate on its return, will be disposed to look to it exclusively. Hence, some churches have an exaggerated hope in the extraordinary means, and almost no hope in the use of the ordinary; they have obtained a dispensation to slumber through the intervals, on the promise of being thoroughly awake at the revivals. These circumstances, connected with a partial reliance on the same causes, have affected many ministers. They wear an air of despondency, and often preach under its chilling or paralysing influence, except they are expecting a revival, or in the midst of one; and, on this account, if such men would be more efficient in a revival than most, they would be less so at any other period.

This evil might be mostly prevented, by not allowing them to receive an intermitting and periodical form. Care should be taken to show that they are of a special and an extraordinary nature; and are not of equal importance with the means that are ordinary. They should be made subservient to, and not subversive of, the regular institutions of Divine mercy. They should be regarded as a remedy for a disease, and not as the aliment of vigorous life; to be used only as occasion required; and which occasion ought not, in fact, to arise.

After all, the reaction, on the whole, has been inconsiderable with the approved revivals. Where it has occurred most sensibly, the state of the church subsequent to the revival, as compared with the state previous, has still been a decided improvement. And in the best cases, which are very numerous, and still increasing, where the crisis has been regulated by a just and holy discretion, there has been no relapse. The state of excitement, through which they have passed, has, indeed, disappeared, for to be healthy, it must be transitory; but it has left upon its subjects that ardor of life, which has made them ready, with delightful elasticity, for every good word and work.

I think, then, these observations may dispose of the second as well as the first inquiry.

Are the fruits of the revivals equally good with those produced under ordinary circumstances?

I should say, decidedly, Yes, quite as good, and frequently better; only admitting that the work is real, wisely managed, and associated with proportionate instruction. Persons, so converted, are surrounded by more affecting circumstances, and receive deeper impressions. Perception is more awakened, conviction is more pungent, prayer is more ardent, the will more resolved. There is a prostration and a solemnity of feeling which is never forgotten. There is, therefore, greater evidence of character, stronger motives for progress, and, as an effect of these, more decision of conduct. Most of their active and devoted Christians have been born in the revivals; and their most intelligent, pious, and successful ministers, have either received the truth at these seasons, or have had their incipient character formed and moulded in them.

This is as I should expect it; and it is in harmony with my experience. I have never found that those make the best Christians, who have taken the longest time in coming to a decision. On the contrary, conversion, when it has been long in developing itself, has been of feeble character; the subject of it has often been in doubt as to its reality; and in doubt and darkness, he has held a cheerless and unprofitable course between the church and the world, neither party being certain to whom he belonged.

Would not a continued advancement in knowledge and piety be preferable to these occasional movements?

Undoubtedly it would, if the average result of the supposed uniform movement were equal to the occasional one. But is not this a begging of the question? Do we know any thing, in fact, of this continued and uniform advancement? We are speaking of a mode of life; and all modes of life, known to us, are subject to the alternations of declension and progress. Is the spiritual life, whether personal or social, exempt from these vicissitudes? Has it no winter, and may it know no spring? In the course of twenty years, where is the church that has not had a comparative season of depression? And, at such a time, what could have been a greater blessing to it than a sound revival? And might not such a revivification have been expected, in the use of the means of grace, in a special form, and with condensed power, as a remedy for a diseased and dangerous state?

Besides, let us take the best of the case, and suppose that the churches are not sinking into declension, but are making gradual and uniform advancement; have we ever known any churches in so happy and palmy a state, as that the blessings meant to be conveyed by a revival would be superfluous? Have we not a thousand congregations, and these the most prosperous, to which, as it relates to one half of their body, the blessing of a revival would not be as life to the dead?—who are untouched by ordinary means and who require a last remedy—if, indeed, there be such remedy—and who appear as though they would perish if it is not applied?

Are revivals to be expected for our own country?

This important question, I am aware, has been frequently answered in the negative, on both sides of the Atlantic. But I am surprised that it should; for it must be in forgetfulness of the nature of the subject, and of the history of the facts. A revival, in the just sense of the term, is not local or circumstantial in its nature; it is a mode of life in the church, and wherever the church is found, it is found. The Acts of the Apostles is a history of the early revivals. The reformation from Popery was a glorious revival; and that from formal and dormant Protestantism, by Wesley and Whitefield, no less so. Of these, our country has partaken equally with America in the ineffable advantages. Wales and Scotland, too, have been familiar with revivals down to the present time; and more in the American type, because in a greater parity of circumstances, although they have not been so much known or reported.

More than this: I am not afraid to state, that all the essentials of a revival are to be found in very many of our churches at this very hour. This is not much known, and may, to many, seem a startling assertion. What has occurred in one church, from diffidence, has not been communicated to others: this may be right, but I begin to fear it is wrong. The effect has been, that the aid of sympathy and example has not been called in; and the movement has not been so simultaneous, or so extensive, as it would otherwise have been.

But certainly, a good influence has been over many of our churches. Expectation has been created; special effort has been made; and on the expectation of prayer, and the labor of love, the promised blessing has come freely down. The slight illustration I gave of a case to the brethren of Connecticut, (and the half was not told,) satisfied their judgment, and filled their hearts with holy joy and thankfulness. A multitude of such cases may, I am persuaded, be supplied.

Are revivals, on the whole, desirable?

After what has been said, need I pause on this question? I speak not now of type or circumstance, but of a true revival; and I should say, it is unspeakably desirable. It is the one thing desirable. For ourselves, for our families, for our churches, and for the nation, most desirable! It would heal our divisions; humble our spirits; and convert us from the insignificant and perishable, to the unseen and eternal. It would infuse into our efforts for the world's conversion, intelligence, life, and power; and a measure of this comprehensive and decisive character, whatever may be its type, by which, not a few, but a multitude may be gathered to Christ, is demanded by the emergency of the times, and by the spirit and grandeur of prophetic testimony.

I have now spread before you what appears to me material on this very interesting subject. I might have taken a wider field of observation; but this would have required a volume of itself. The subject is, indeed, worthy of that more enlarged attention; and it will not escape my anxious thoughts. Meantime, I hope what I have stated will furnish you, though with a limited, yet with a correct miniature representation of the case.

In closing this letter, let me just remark, that I have spoken of the method of revivals as a means to an end. If I have not made the influences of the Divine Spirit, as necessary to originate, sustain, and prosper such special methods, a distinct feature of the discussion, it is not that I have been insensible to its essential importance, but that it has not fallen within the range of my design. The whole economy of revivals, whatever that economy may be, will, without this agency, end in disappointment and confusion. But while, on the one hand, the best methods would fail without this influence; and while, on the other, it is to be admitted in the highest sense, that the Spirit of the Lord is not straitened; it is still to be fully understood, that he is pleased to attach his blessing to the use of adequate means, and in proportion to the use of them, and the spirit in which they are employed.

This, then, authorizes a concluding remark, which is by no means least in importance. It is this: that special circumstances demand special means. If the church has fallen into a manifest state of depression and worldliness; if she is making but slow and feeble advances in comparison with her privileges, the claims of the times, and the fair interpretation of the will of God, concerning her; if, within, she is afflicted with disorder, division, or lethargy; if she fails to shed forth a saving influence on the world around her; or if that influence and agency is not attended with a just measure of success; then her circumstances are special; and they require not that we should devise new and special means for her help, but that we should give special use to the ordinary means, and thus confer on them the charm of novelty and the force of condensation.

This is to me the material point. All that we have hitherto seen of spiritual life, personal or social, teaches us that it has a strong tendency to decline. That the uniform use of the same means, administered in the same forms, like the continued exhibition of the same medicines, have a tendency to lose their first power. That should they be increased to any amount, even till they turned the church into a monastery, and be *regularly continued*, the effect still promises to be the same. The ordinary means require to receive a special character; but if this speciality of character were allowed to be permanent, it would become ordinary.—Many have erred here, and have deprived themselves of the power of giving to the means entrusted to them an extraordinary character. Nothing more fully claims the serious attention of the devoted pastor; nothing in his whole course of service, will be a surer test of his discretion and efficiency.

LETTER XXXII.

My dear friend—Having given a separate consideration to one peculiar exhibition of religious influence, I will now proceed to offer some information on the subject of religion generally. Some visible order will assist the distinctness of your conceptions; and what I have to communicate may, for the most part, fall under the following running heads: *Religious Opinions*, *Religious Denominations*, *Religious Economy*, *and Religious Societies*.

I have adopted the head of *Religious Opinions*, not for the purpose of making an excursion over the wide field of the church, and collecting together all the strange and amusing anomalies which may possibly be found there, and which are incident to our state of imperfection; but for the purpose of referring to those important differences which have recently created much discussion in the States, and considerable attention and anxiety at home. If these differences spread into other denominations, they are chiefly found in the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies. These bodies are, as you know, decidedly Calvinistic in their professions; the one formed on the Westminster

Confession, and the other mostly recognising the Saybrook Platform, which is of kindred spirit.— The complaint is, that a considerable minority have been guilty of a faulty and dangerous aberration from these standards of orthodoxy, and of propounding sentiments in conflict with them. A friendly hand describes the points of difference as follows:—

"Sinners can repent without the grace of God, but never do. The nature of mankind, by which they are children of wrath, consists in their innocent natural appetites, which in time, always suggest motives which occasion sin and moral death. God has willed the existence of all sin, and yet every sin is contrary to his will. No sinner ever uses the means of regeneration, while a rebel against God. In regeneration, the sinner's wickedness is gradually reduced to nothing. The Spirit of God never operates directly on the heart of the sinner; but only on the truth, or on the motive, so as to give it an overpowering efficacy."

This is sufficiently metaphysical, certainly. The following summary, though from a warm friend of orthodoxy, is, I have strong reason to believe, drawn by a careful hand, and with much concern to make an impartial statement.

"The doctrines referred to are such as these. That we have no more to do with the first sin of Adam, than with that of any other parent. That he was not constituted the covenant head of his posterity, but was merely their natural progenitor. That there is no such thing as original sin; that infants come in the world as perfectly free from original sin, as Adam was when created. That to speak of innate, corrupt inclinations, is an absurdity; that by human depravity, is meant nothing more than the universal fact, that all the posterity of Adam will always begin to sin, when they begin to exercise moral agency. That the doctrine of imputed righteousness is imputed nonsense. That the human will determines itself. That the impenitent sinner is, by nature, in full possession of all the powers necessary to a full compliance with all the commands of God. That he has plenary ability to repent and believe, without the special aid of the Holy Spirit. That if he labors under any kind of inability, either natural or moral, which he could not himself remove, he would be fully excusable for not complying with God's will. That man is active in his own regeneration; in other words, that his regeneration is his own act. That it is impossible for God, by a direct influence on the mind, to control its perceptions and choice, without destroying its moral agency. That we have no evidence that God could have prevented the existence of sin, or that he could now prevent any that exists, without interfering with the moral agency of man, and converting him into a mere machine. That he would, no doubt, be glad to do it, but is not able. That he elected men to life on a foresight of what their character would be; and that his sovereignty is confined to the revelation of truth, and the exhibition of it to the mind."

These statements are, indeed, of a startling character, especially as found in fellowship with the Westminster Confession. I have good reason to know, that they faithfully represent the opinions of many; but, at the same time, the wiser and more educated of those who have adopted the New Divinity, have never yielded themselves to such unphilosophical and heretical conclusions in their freest speculations. Recently, the most conspicuous and eminent men in this discussion, have made a protest on many of the charges which have been brought against them, which, in itself, is gratifying; and it will, without doubt, contribute to suppress the extravagances which have created apprehension. By this protest, they deny that they maintain the self-determining power of the will; they deny that they maintain, there is no tendency to sin in the nature of man; that sin consists in a mere mistake as to the means of happiness; that the Spirit, in regeneration, acts merely by the presentation of the truth; and that God could not exclude sin from a moral universe. They divide the doctrines of the Reformation and of Calvanism into primary and secondary. The primary are: The entire depravity and ruin of mankind by nature, as the result of the sin of Adam;—Justification, by faith, through the atonement of Christ;—The necessity of regeneration by the special or distinguishing influences of the Holy Spirit;—The eternal and personal election of a part of our race to holiness and salvation;—and the final perseverance of all who are thus chosen to eternal life. And to these articles they profess to yield their full consent.

If these conflicting statements shall appear to have a neutralizing power, and shall lead us to the conclusion that the differences are not so great as feared, they are still considerable. The pupil, in his ardor and his ignorance, will usually leap to conclusions from which the professor would shrink; and whatever may have been the caution of a few pious and intelligent men, these speculations have carried many, who saw none of the difficulties, into the wildest opinions of moral power and human perfectibility which the wildest Pelagianism ever produced. The evil has certainly been great. The seeds of division and animosity have been widely sown. The people have been led to distrust their teachers; the pulpit has been familiarized to fine, but insignificant and perplexing distinctions, instead of important and simple truth; and as the dispute and practice of religion seldom go together, it has been checked in its advances over the people. The peace and fellowship of brethren in the associations and presbyteries have been interrupted; the principle of *elective-affinity* presbyteries, unknown to the constitution of the church, has been made necessary; memorials on memorials have been presented by appellant and defendant; the chief business of the General Assembly, at its last session, was to deal with these differences; and so far from the determinations of the supreme tribunal being accepted as final, they have given birth to an Act and Testimony, and the calling of a convention previous to its next sittings.

While these differences are greatly to be deplored, and at first create much alarm, I do not, on a better acquaintance with the case, look on them with despondency or surprise. There are existing causes which may account for them, and there are also causes at work which may restrain and regulate them.

One source of these discrepancies is certainly the fondness which this people have, at least those of New England, for speculative opinion. Many have delight in metaphysical inquiry, though very few can master it. It is astonishing how much has been written in this discussion, and most of it with acuteness and power; though little of it with that command of the subject which reduces the complex to the simple, and sheds light where darkness was before. The men mostly engaged in it are of unquestionable piety; and, in their greatest aberrations, have not adopted opinions from dislike of Calvinism. They appear to have had, on the one hand, an ardent passion to arrive at the ultimate reasons of things; and, on the other, to relieve Calvinism of the burden by which they thought it to be oppressed. At present, unwilling to think they have labored so long in vain, they flatter themselves that they have succeeded. When they shall have had time to look more soberly on the subject, the will find that the burden still remains. All they have done, all any can do, is to change its place, not remove its pressure. The difficulty is not, as many have supposed, proper to Calvinism; it is common to it, to Arminianism, Socinianism, and Deism; or rather it is common and proper to our very nature, when we seek, with our limited powers, to comprehend the relationships of man to infinity and eternity.

Yet, while it is professed that these discoveries, so far from weaning them from the great doctrines of Calvinism, have established their attachments, much humble caution is required. The very reference to discoveries in this connection is somewhat ominous, as it implies a forgetfulness of historical testimony which is improper to the occasion. I say not, that no farther light shall be thrown by devoted study on the relations and harmony of revealed truth; but I do say, that this discussion has little claim to such honor or distinction. This New Divinity is, in fact, many centuries old, and for as many centuries it has been exploded.

It has been considered, that, at least, these speculations are made safe, by preserving a distinction between the doctrines of religion and the philosophy of the doctrines. I have no objection to the distinction within just limitations; but if an aspiring mind is misled by it to place equal reliance on his reasonings about the doctrine, which will be to him the philosophy of the doctrine, as on the doctrine itself, I know of nothing that is more to be apprehended. He has already forsaken the proper ground of faith, which is the will of God; and if once the philosophy of the doctrine shall be in opposition to the doctrine itself, it is easy to see which will become the victim. Let us be careful, then, of a philosophy which is "heady and high-minded," and which is "falsely so called;" it will assuredly lead from Calvinism to Pelagianism; from Pelagianism to Socinianism; and from Socinianism to Theism. All heresy, the most subtle, the most mischievous, from the time of Origen to the present, has wormed its way into the church under these refined pretences; and we have nothing to learn on this subject, beyond what the schools and the schoolmen have taught us.

The existing circumstances of the churches may also account in a measure for these differences. Without doubt, a large proportion of the churches renowned for "old orthodoxy," were cold and formal in their orthodoxy; and were little awake to the wants of the world. Their boasted Calvinism, too, was but a profile, and frequently a distorted representation of the truth. The doctrine of divine grace was often so presented, as to become a soporific to the Christian, as to embarrass the preacher in his earnest and persuasive appeal to the conscience, and as to leave the sinner discharged from his sense of obligation and responsibility. When the breath of life passed amongst the people, it cannot be matter of wonder, if this state of things was "tried so as by fire." Many who had been awakened to seek their own salvation, and were intent on the salvation of others, became impatient of their bondage, and, in casting away their bonds, were in danger of losing their armor also. They saw that certain opinions attached to the prevalent system impeded their course; they did not pause to ascertain whether they were indigenous and essential to it, or a mere excrescence; and in rejecting a system which gave a disproportionate view of the doctrines which have affinity to the Divine sovereignty; they gave an undue preference to those which related to human action and responsibility.

Excess brings recoil; and there is hope that those who, in the ardor of zeal, and the immaturity of judgment, have gone too far, will retrace their steps. But if these threatening evils are not only checked, if they are converted into positive good, it must be mainly by a wise improvement on the part of the old orthodoxy. The decided friends of the truth must not content themselves with assuming an elevated standing, and denouncing, as with authority, the heresy and the heresiarch; they must review their ways, renounce their errors, and remodel their opinions from the pure form of doctrine in the Scriptures. They must show that the truth has every way the advantage over error; and this must be done, not so much by a logical, as by a practical exhibition. They must show, that it furnishes them to every good word and work; that none can so well console the penitent or quell the rebellious; that none can so readily convince men that they are lost, and that they may be saved; that none are so fully prepared, by heavenly wisdom and heavenly charity, to enter and occupy the field of benevolent and Christian enterprise. In such a course they would soon reclaim all who were worth reclaiming; and this happy qualification of opinion might lead the church to that fixed recognition of human dependence, on the one hand, and of human obligation, on the other, which so eminently contributes to honor God, and to convince and save the transgressor.

The New Divinity and the New Measures have greatly coalesced; and they have given, for the time, currency to each other. Many pious and ardent persons and preachers, from the causes to which I have adverted, were disposed to think that the new opinions had all the advantage in a revival, and this gave them all the preference in their judgment. Where they, in connection with the New Measures, have been vigorously applied, there has, indeed, been no want of excitement. The preacher, who firmly believes that the conversion of men rests on the force of "moral suasion," is not unlikely to be persuasive. And the hearer who is told, "he can convert himself;" that it is "as easy for him to do so as to walk;" that he has only "to resolve to do it, and it is done," is not unlikely to be moved into self-complacent exertion. But it may be asked, Do either the preacher or hearer possess those sentiments, which are likely to lead to a true conversion, and to bring forth fruits meet for repentance?

By their fruits ye shall know them. There has certainly been good done where there has been much evil; for with this evil, there has still been a large portion of divine truth. But I fear not to say, that where there has been the largest infusion of the New Divinity into the New Measures, there has been the greatest amount of unwarrantable extravagance. There has been great excitement—much animal emotion and sympathy—high resolves, and multiplied conversions; but time has tested them, and they have failed. Many see this; the candid and observant are weighing it; and the effect, I trust, will be, as I have already intimated, that the truth will be separated from error, and error from the truth, and that it shall become "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, and of every thought and imagination that exalteth itself against the Lord, and against his Anointed."

Finally, to understand this subject in its just relations, you must remember that a remarkable change has been effected in the position and character of religion, amounting, indeed, to a reformation, within the last thirty years. When so much has been done, in comparatively so short a period of time; when many thousands have been added to the churches, some with doubted claims to the Christian character, and most with a very slender acquaintance with the distinctive truths of the gospel; and when the people are always, and in every thing, borne on by the buoyant hope of seeing something more wonderful than they have witnessed; it can be no matter of surprise that the noviciate should start into extravagances, under the expectation of solving difficulties, the force of which he has not felt, and of discovering methods of action which appear efficacious, and which he concludes have not been tested. It may have happened with religious inquiry as it has happened with mechanical invention. I saw, in the Patent Office of this country, some thousands of inventions, each one claiming, in ignorance of what had previously been done, decided originality; when, in fact, it mostly appeared, that what was introduced as a valuable invention, had been discovered, and tried, and failed, an age before.

But the excesses, making the most of them, are as nothing compared with the benefits. They are not greater, not so great, as those which attended the last great reformation in this country; and who would think now of adducing certain extravagances of that period against the revival initiated by Wesley and Whitefield, and all the substantial good which it has conveyed to us? When so much can be said for the American churches, and when it is considered that the religious movement there has been greater within a given period, and that it has taken place where the social institutions and habits were far less fixed than our own, it cannot be deemed feeble praise; and may become a tributary evidence, that the "work is of God."

I hope I have now succeeded in imparting to you some just conception of this subject. I might have more easily disposed of it by the introduction of manifold quotations and documents; but I think this would rather have perplexed than have assisted your judgment. My desire has been to give, in the smallest space, a condensed and proportionate view of the case; and we conceive truly even of facts, not as they are presented in their naked form, but as they are connected with their causes, and surrounded by the incidents which are proper to them.

I have been the more careful, because the subject is of importance to ourselves. Before I left this country, some attempts were made to supply us with the *rationale* of Calvinism, by the adoption of some of the more objectionable opinions of the New Divinity; and since my return, a clergyman, who has seceded from the Episcopal church, has been strangely allowed to enact the objectionable parts of the New Measures in the Methodist pulpits of the metropolis. I am fully desirous that we should import what good we can from America; but it would be sad, indeed, if we should covet the evil and despise the good; and it would be ridiculous as well as pitiable, to be adopting, as interesting novelties here, what have already become obsolete nullities in the estimation of the wise and the good there.

For my own part, all that I have seen of the new methods, both of thought and action, incline me to think that our true wisdom will consist in "asking for the old ways." The churches will not evince their wisdom by comparing themselves among themselves, or by inquiring for some new thing; but by recurring at once to the old apostolic models. We must re-model ourselves upon these. The divinity we want is such as we find in the Epistle to the Romans, free from the glosses of German neology; and the revivals we want are precisely such as glorify the Acts of the Apostles. Let us only preach as they preached, and pray as they prayed, and a new era is begun! And while waiting in humility on such teaching, if there be "any other thing, God shall reveal even this unto us."

LETTER XXXIII.

My dear friend—I am now to offer some remarks on the leading denominations in the States; and as your attention has been already engaged by two of them, I shall dispose of these first.

The Presbyterian body, if not the strongest in numbers, is certainly so by standing and consideration. It has nearly 2,000 ministers, about 2,500 congregations, and upwards of 200,000 communicants. It resembles exceedingly its kindred body in Scotland; and where this resemblance exists, I may be exonerated from remark. I had large and fraternal intercourse with its clergy; they are amongst the excellent of the land; and, as far as I could learn, whatever may be the differences of opinion, they compose a regenerated ministry. It is this that gives them their efficiency; and this also supplies one with the assurance, that there are no deviations, but they will find a speedy corrective.

This body holds a remarkable connection with the Congregational denomination. They have each, indeed, "a local habitation and a name;" the Presbyterian having its stronghold in the middle States, and the Congregational being established in the six States of New England. The common understanding is, that on passing the geographical line which divides these States, the party shall so far yield his distinctive opinions on church government as to unite with the prevailing profession, and he is passed from the one church to the other by the ordinary certificate. This compact includes ministers as well as the laity; and it is no uncommon thing to find the man who was a Congregational pastor to-day, a Presbyterian to-morrow.

It has been thought that the Congregational body suffered by this concession; and this opinion is confirmed, on finding that so many more pass from New England into the other States than do from them into it. But it is entirely corrected by closer inspection. In consequence of this practice, there are scarcely any Presbyterian churches in the whole of New England; but, in defiance of it, and the usual observance of it, a number of Congregational churches are springing up in the other States, and are gathering themselves into associations.

What is much more important to observe is, that the great numbers of Congregationalists, both ministers and people, who have passed into the Presbyterian church, have not forgotten their predilection for a more simple and less restricted form of government. This has operated silently, but with power; and the effects begin to be seen and felt. It has contributed certainly in its measure to that conflict of opinion and conduct which I have already noticed. The Congregationalist has been charged with policy in looking to this result. But this is too much. The movement is not the effect of design, but of circumstances; and the circumstances remaining the same, the same results will follow, though policy should conspire to prevent them. And, speaking impartially, I know not that this is to be regretted. While it supplies us with the edifying and scarce example of two religious bodies dwelling in amity and oneness; it may, in the end, by the influence they shall exert on each other, supply us also with the example of a church possessing within herself all the advantages of independency, and all the force and beauty of consolidation.

The Congregationalists must, unhappily, be divided into Orthodox and Unitarian. The Orthodox, including some forty churches out of New England, amount to upwards of one thousand congregations. The ministry is composed of a body of educated, pious, and devoted men; and though they have not been free from the causes of collision already cited, as associated bodies, they remain in peace. This is rather to be ascribed to the absence of judicial power, than to the want of provoking occasion for its use.

When this body was the standing order, or, in other terms, the established religion, there was a great disposition to symbolize with Presbyterian principles; and the Consociation promised to clothe itself with synodical powers. But that time is past; the tendencies now are certainly the other way. The pastors, equally with the people, have renewed their attachment to the principles of their fathers; and they profess to be confirmed in their attachment by all that transpires around them.—They are warmly attached to their associations, which have an advisory power; but they are opposed to any body being clothed with legislative or judicial faculties.

The union between the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies is recognised, by the reception of delegates to sit in the principal conventions of each.

The Congregational body is dishonored and enfeebled by the defection of Unitarianism. You will, perhaps, expect me to remark more freely on this subject than on some others.

The Unitarians have, in the United States, 170 religious societies, and 150 ministers. In Massachusetts, they have about 130 societies, and 110 ministers. In Boston, which is their stronghold, they have twelve societies, and seventeen clergy, including two who are assistants, and three at large. With the exception of Boston, the congregations are very small; in that city, they average about 600, and out of it, about 100. Their communicants are still lower, in comparison with other denominations.

This subtle spirit of error, for a long time, concealed itself under the forms of orthodoxy; and it would have been content to do so till the present time. Cotton Mather says, till 1716 there was not a minister known who denied the proper divinity of Christ. Even within our own day, there was little suspicion of the defection; and there was no desire to avow it on the part of the delinquents. It was positively in England that the truth was first published to the astonished churches of America. Belsham, in his Life of Lindsey, boasted of the strength of Unitarianism in Boston; and, I believe, referred to communications made to him on this subject. Dr. Morse seized on this indiscretion; and challenged the ministers to avow themselves. This led to an explosion. Concealment could no longer be practised, and they had made sure their footing; so that they had some confidence in doing what they could no longer avoid. When the declaration came, it was fearful indeed. In Boston, every thing was gone, except the Old South Meeting; and within a radius of fifteen miles, not ten ministers could be found, of the Congregational order, holding "the truth as it is in Jesus."

But the explosion was followed by no abdication, These men had taken office as the friends of orthodoxy; but there was no resignation of it on the announcement of their errors. Considerable property had come into their possession from orthodox hands, by orthodox trusts, for orthodox uses; but it was retained, and is still retained, for heterodox purposes. So that the case here is the exact counterpart of the case in England! Men may, most conscientiously, change their opinions, and, as we may think, for the worse; but where is the conscience, where is the honor, of diverting property and place, which were never meant for them, from their known legitimate uses? Whatever may have been the errors or omissions of predecessors, surely it is time, for all who value principle more than profit, to wash their hands of such things!

Unitarianism is confidently said to be still increasing in this country. I am prepared to say, as confidently, that it is not: that it is declining, and declining rapidly. So far as Boston is concerned, the following account, with which I have been favored, will abundantly satisfy you. It is likewise so interesting in itself, and relates to so important a question, that I imagine you will be thankful for its insertion entire.

"PROGRESS OF TRUTH IN BOSTON.

"The present enlargement of the evangelical churches in Boston is so great, and the growth has been from such small beginnings, we think gratitude requires that they should not be concealed from the public.

"In the year 1803, religion had greatly declined from the principles and practices of our pilgrim fathers, in all the Congregational churches. All the Congregational ministers in Boston, except Dr. Eckley, of the Old South, had become Unitarians, though they did not openly avow it. There were no weekly lectures, no conference meetings, no church meetings, no foreign missions, education, tract, or Bible societies; no Sabbath schools, no monthly concert, no religious newspapers. The church appeared to be swallowed up in the world. But the Great Head of the church had yet reserved a few hidden ones, who had not departed from the faith. A small number of pious mothers in Israel had, for several years, attended a private meeting for prayer, where they mourned over the desolations of Zion, and besought the Lord to revive his work. Early in the year 1804, a few brethren of the Old South church, being grieved by the low state of religion, made an effort to have a public evening lecture established. The church agreed to the proposal; but the pew proprietors opposed it, and succeeded in preventing it. Finding they could not prevail in this measure, *eight* brethren held a meeting, in March of that year, and formed a "Society for Religious Improvement; not thinking it prudent to call it a *Conference Meeting*. Their state of feeling and inexperience, however, were such, that for several weeks, they *could not pray together;* but only read the Scriptures, and conversed on religious subjects. In about a month after their first meeting, they felt a freedom to unite in prayer; and finding their faith and strength increased, they prevailed on Dr. Eckley to establish a weekly lecture in a private house; but they continued their society meetings as before. They then resolved to give themselves to more earnest prayer. The Lord soon put it into their hearts to build a new house for public worship, where the gospel should be faithfully preached, without restriction. As soon as this determination was known, it was opposed by members of the Old South church, on the ground that it would injure their church. As opposition increased, so also friends and helpers were raised up; and after importunate prayer, continued for five years more, in February, 1809, the meeting was held, which resolved immediately to carry the plan into effect. Measures were taken to build a house for public worship in Park-street; and to organize a church which should guarantee the faithful dispensation of Divine truth. So low was the state of religious feeling, that even the Old South church refused to assist in the organization of the new church; but they 'went on building,' and the Lord prospered them. Park-street meeting-house was dedicated in January, 1810; and though heresy came in like a flood, the Lord enabled the little church of but twenty-six members, to maintain the standard of truth which they had erected. The 'Society for Religious Improvement,' discontinued their meetings, when Park-street church was formed.

"After a contest of nine years more, against error and misrepresentation, it was found that another house, for the pure worship of God, was necessary; and the Lord inclined a pious man, now almost ripe for heaven [since dead] to erect a meeting-house in Essex-street. In the meantime, the Old South church was favored with the faithful labors of Mr. Huntington, first as a colleague, afterwards as successor to Dr. Eckley. That church was increased in numbers, and in its attachment to the true gospel; and in the year 1822, a delegation of ten brethren was sent by Old South and Park-street churches, to strengthen the feeble church in Essex-street, now called Union Church.

"This first attempt at the system of colonizing churches was approved and blessed by their gracious Lord. In 1823 and 1824, the Lord poured out his Spirit on the three churches, and a powerful revival of religion was the means of adding to Park-street Church one hundred and twenty members; to the Old South, one hundred and one; and to Essex-street, sixty-two; total in Boston, two hundred and eighty-three. The work also extended to Mr. Fay's church in Charlestown, to which sixty-five were added.

"In 1825, a new meeting-house became necessary, to accommodate the friends of truth in South Boston, and was accordingly erected, with the aid of brethren in the above named churches; and another church was organized there, which maintains the truth as it is in Jesus.

"Encouraged by these successful efforts, the friends of Christ resolved to erect a meeting-house in Hanover-street, which was dedicated March 1, 1826, and a church, composed of thirty-seven delegates from the other churches, was planted there, and has since increased more than fourfold.

"The friends of the Rev. Dr. Jenks, who had been laboring in the city for several years as a missionary, resolved to erect a meeting-house for him, in Green-street. This was completed in October, 1826, and a church organized there, which has since been greatly increased.

"Another revival of religion has since been granted to the churches. It commenced in Essex-street church, in January, 1826; extended, within a few months, to the other churches, and still continues. In 1826, there were added to Essex-street church, fifty; Hanover-street, forty-five; Park-street, twenty-four; Old-South, fourteen. Total in 1826, one hundred and thirty-three. The additions in 1827, were, to Old South, ninety; Park-street, seventy-two; Essex-street, seventy-six; Hanover-street, one hundred and eighty-seven; Green-street, ninety-eight. Total in 1827, five hundred and twenty-three. The whole number added, during the present revival, is seven hundred and thirty-five. A portion of these were by letter from other churches in the country.

"The Lord having succeeded every attempt to enlarge his kingdom, a meeting was held on the 21st of March, 1827, to consider whether it was not expedient to erect another house for God. It being doubtful whether it was most needed at the north or south part of the city, it was resolved to erect *two*; one in Pine-street, and the other in Salem-street. These were completed about the 1st of January last, (1828,) and churches, principally composed of delegates from most of the other churches, now occupy these temples of the Most High, and maintain public worship.

"There are now nine commodious houses for public worship, with orthodox churches, embracing 1700 members; and all are favored with faithful devoted pastors.

"During this time the Lord has not confined his blessings to Boston, but has enabled his people to erect houses of worship, and organize churches, which have held up the light of divine truth amidst surrounding error, in Medford, Waltham, Cohasset, Concord, Walpole, Bridgewater, Cambridge-port, Brighton, and several other places in this part of the commonwealth.

"Since 1804, when those *eight* brethren assembled to inquire what the Lord would have them do, and had not strength of faith enough to pray together, *behold, what God hath wrought!* 'Not unto us, not unto us, but unto his great name, be all the glory, for ever.'

"It should also be mentioned, as matter of praise and gratitude to God, that during the period of declension alluded to above, the two Baptist churches in this city, with their venerable pastors, Stillman and Baldwin, held fast the faith once delivered to the saints, and that they have established additional churches in commodious houses of worship in Charles-street, and in Federal-street, and in the adjoining town of Roxbury, and other places. They have also had considerable additions to their churches during the present revival."

This is evidence sufficient for Boston, and the same evidence might be given at length of churches spread over the state. In many instances where the minister has avowed himself, and yet resolved to retain the pulpit, a secession has occurred, and another place been built; so that he has been left without a congregation. In most places, there is some mixture of orthodoxy in the audience; and on this account the minister does not mostly insist on his peculiarities; for commonly the retirement of the orthodox is the ruin of the interest.

Every where they are going down. They still retain what endowments they held; and in Boston, they have the wealth and fashion of the place about them; and they have the honor of being considered as the friends of the elegancies and literature of more refined life; but, as a sect, holding certain peculiarities which distinguish them from others, they are impotent indeed. "Rich, but inefficient," as it has been used by one of their zealous champions to characterize that portion of their body in the father land, may be employed with equal significance here. Since they have avowed themselves, they have taken the field in their own defence. But, with perhaps a decided superiority in letters and in adroitness, they have been beaten from every post. They first took the ground of biblical criticism; and were driven back to the ground of rational religion. From this again they were forced; and then they ventured to rest the conflict on the tendencies of the systems. Did they not know that Fuller possessed this ground unquestioned? They have now come frankly to the question, Is the Bible an inspired book?

The summary, then, on the subject is, that this defection from the truth is of a limited nature, and is now in a state of retrocession. In Massachusetts, to which it is almost entirely confined, its churches, as compared with the orthodox congregations alone, are not more than as one to three. And yet by this test, they appear stronger than they are, for most of their churches are poorly attended; and many who do attend are attached to orthodoxy, and would leave if the preacher should venture on a plain announcement of his peculiarities. In Boston, there are, as we have seen, in the Congregational denomination, nine churches against thirteen; and the communicants of the fewer churches greatly exceed those of the major number. Besides these are to be reckoned the orthodox of the other persuasions; so that even here, on any question of interest which would unite the orthodox bodies against the heterodox, they have a decided majority. Boston only wants one man to arise, of philosophical mind, fine taste, and eloquent parts, who shall have been redeemed from these errors, and who shall present the truth, with pious earnestness, to the understanding, by the aid of the imagination and affections, to expel this sophistical spirit from its last hold among the literary and the polite of society.

Of its general feebleness, two little incidents may assist you to a confirmed opinion. When this system was in its power and progress, it managed to get the Massachusetts Bible Society under its control. The consequence was, that the orthodox quietly retired, and formed a society for themselves. The original society, in the hands of the Unitarians, actually disposed, last year, of twenty-one Bibles!

The Unitarian Association, which has in trust the general propagation of their system, by preaching, the distribution of tracts, &c. &c., raises annually about 17,000 dollars! "Rich, but inefficient."

Having given the facts of this case, let us look into its philosophy. Many have found it extremely difficult to account for this defection; and some have appealed to it as a practical argument against the principles of Independency. After giving the best attention to the case, I am disposed to refer it chiefly to two causes. First, the increasing wealth and consequent worldliness of the people inclined them to it. Their fathers were truly pious; but the children, though brought up strictly, were coming under the influence of worldly-prosperity, and were mostly strangers to the regenerating power of religion. They had a dislike to the strict and mortifying claims of a regenerated ministry, and yet they could not persuade themselves to abandon those forms of religion in which they had been rigidly educated. They sought a medium between infidelity and vital religion. Unitarianism offered one, and it succeeded. The worldly, if they have any, must have a worldly religion.

In the next place, it is most certain, that this evil arose principally from having made Congregationalism an established and State religion. What the Puritans did, they did most piously indeed, but not wisely. They were suffering for conscience' sake; yet they did not understand the rights of conscience, nor the genius of the New Testament.—The lust of power is so deeply rooted in the hearts of men, that these, perhaps, are among the last claims of our holy religion to be comprehended and exemplified. They resolved on the establishment of that religion for which they suffered all things, to the exclusion of every other form of faith and discipline. It was made "The Standing Order;" it was illustrated by creeds and confessions; and it was protected by Test and Corporation Acts, with penal sanctions. It was thus, in their judgment, placed above the reach of accident, and the corruption of time. This, however, was poor short-sightedness. The very means they had devised for its support were the means that humbled it to the dust. It was provided, that none should dedicate their children by baptism, or hold civil offices in the State, except they were in church membership. But, in course of time, many were exceedingly desirous of claiming the religious privilege for their children, and of seeking the civil distinction for themselves, who were not at all prepared for fellowship with a spiritual body. This induced many to adopt a hypocritical profession; while it inclined others, as they derived confidence from numbers, to complain and resist. The Standing Order, already deteriorated by the action of its own safeguards, found itself in a critical state; and, rather than lose its influence, it proposed the memorable Half-way Covenant. This was, in fact, a sinful compromise with the world; and provided, that those who respected the outward means of religion, but who gave no evidence of its renewing power, should be admitted to membership. It prevented secession; but it spread worldliness and death over the whole church.

If I were giving a historical sketch of the period, it would gratify me to show how minor causes contributed, with this primary cause, to the bad consummation. But is not this sufficient to satisfy you, that the church had treacherously prepared herself for almost any corruption, and perhaps for none so fully as for Unitarianism? It would leave them in their worldliness, while it would not shock their morality; it would preserve to them the form of religion, while it would not trouble them with its power; it would flatter their reason; applaud their virtue; be satisfied with their compliances; explain away their difficulties; and leave them at ease in their possessions and pleasures!

These statements may well be considered to contain a most beneficial lesson for the churches; and surely, at the present time, it is a lesson that cannot be neglected! Let who will seek the benefits of a State establishment; but let all who would have a wise regard to the interests of true piety, and the nature of the kingdom of heaven, decline them with settled and calm determination.*

LETTER XXXIV.

My dear friend—I must now, with brevity, make some final references, under the head of Denominations. The Baptist is a large and thriving community. It reckons to have 3,397 clergy; 5,345 churches; 325,461 communicants; and this, exclusive of the Freewill Baptists, the Seventh-day Baptists, and the Six Principle Baptists. Its great strength lies in the West and South; and the number of its members is greatly swelled by the large accessions made from the slaves; while that of the ministers is increased by the easy terms on which the ministry may be entered. Indeed, in many parts, the line of separation between what is clerical and what is laical is faint indeed. Ignorance is the patron of ignorance; the people have been there, as they were extensively here, jealous of a learned and well trained ministry; and antinomianism, which favors ignorance, and is favored by it, has infected a considerable portion of the body. They want exceedingly an enlightened ministry, and they were beginning to awake to this necessity. They want also a sound exhibition of the whole truth, lest, in relaxing from antinomian opinion, where it has prevailed, they should fall back into the opposite extreme. Mainly this body is sound; and has continued sound, while others, have been corrupted; but it has never passed the ordeal of state patronage and endowment. It has contributed most honorably its share in overtaking the wants of an empire, which has been advancing with a giant's pace and power.

The Methodists are quite as numerous, and are more efficient. They show a less amount of ministers, but a much larger one of communicants: the one being 2,223, and the other 619,771. Like the Baptists, they have a large proportion of slaves in their communion; and, like them, they are beginning to take decided measures to secure an educated ministry. They are, in fact, exceedingly like their kindred body in our own country, both in their vir-ties and failings. There is a considerable measure of ignorance and extravagance in that as there is in this; and they are certainly quite as sectarian. They have their own papers, their own books, their own tracts, their own psalmody, and, I believe I may say, are about to have their own version of the Bible. They depend here, as every where, rather on their method than the talent of their ministry, or the peculiarities of their faith; and this method has wonderful compactness and adaptation to its ends. They are a hive of bees, in which each one has his place, and each one his work to do; and where each, by the movement of all, is constrained to fulfil it; and thus the whole duty of the busy and happy community is completed. The perfect order and unity which reigns at home, prevents the loss of energy by domestic bickerings; and allows them to seek and cull their treasures from the wild and waste world around them. Whatever may have been their failings, they have done more, both in America and Canada, than any other body of Christians, to carry the means of instruction and worship to the most neglected and scattered portions of these regions, and have been most successful in their efforts of Christian philanthropy.

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* Of course, these remarks are not meant, in any case, to affect a *question of property*. I merely seek to express a serious conviction as to the religious efficacy of two systems.

The Episcopal Church is by far the least of the five leading denominations. It numbers 650 ministers; its attendants are 244,125; and its communicants are considerably lower, I believe, than is usual in the other divisions of the church. Its forms are those of the Church of England, with trifling variations; but it has undergone essential alterations in the principles of its government. The people have a voice in the appointment of their pastors; and the bishops are elected in a convention of the pastors and lay delegates. They are, therefore, mostly men of approved character, and of much pastoral experience. Some are known to you as persons of exemplary piety.

The Episcopal church, like the Congregational, has been tried here as an establishment, and like it, it has failed. It was established in Virginia; and it became slothful and impure under its exclusive privileges, so as to have made itself despised by the people. It was years, after a change was made, before they could overcome the recollections of the past, and once more indulge their old aristocratic tastes. The church has now revived on the voluntary principle, and is blessed with a pious clergy and a thriving community. I shall recur to this, if I have time, hereafter.

This church, like its prototype, is divided within itself, into two parts. They are here denominated the Low Church and the High Church. To be favorable to evangelical truth and liberal principles is to be Low Church; and to oppose these is to be High Church. This difference seems to have come amongst them, from their disposition to sympathize with the mother church so entirely, as that they must reflect all her features, whether they are in or out of a fair and lovely proportion.

The High Church, of course, is very high. It has little communion with the other branch of itself, except under the pressure of circumstances; and it has less communion with others. It stands on its forms and prescriptions; and, not making spiritual regeneration a term and test of Christian character, it has considerable accessions from the worldly and fashionable. The cherished recollections of the mother country, too, as well as the recoil which many have from the plain, and sometimes indiscreet, dealing to which they may have been exposed elsewhere, contribute to the number of her followers.

The Low Church is in the situation of a suspected party, and though they have every reason to sympathize with those who hold evangelical opinions, are often slow to do so. There are, however, many who brave the hazard, and seek the fellowship. They are a considerable proportion of the entire body, and are so increasing as to carry a beneficial influence over the whole. That branch which is located in New York is, by endowment and the sale of improved lands, rich; and its funds are laudably employed in aiding the juvenile efforts of congregations, contending with the first difficulties of life and action. This portion of the clergy, with which I had the best means of becoming acquainted, appear to be intelligent, pains-taking, and devoted; some of them I have reason to regard with high esteem and admiration. As a minority, they are similarly circumstanced with those of their class here; and professionally their character and points of excellence have strong resemblance. They are formed on the school of Scott; the other portion of the body is formed on that of Tillotson and Blair.

Whatever may be the spirit of liberality which breathes in many of the presbyters and bishops of this church, the spirit of the ecclesiastical system is still exclusive and anti-Protestant. Placed in temporal and civil advantages on a level with every other religious body, it stands on the ground of the Divine right of episcopal ordination and apostolic succession. Now, it is certainly somewhat bold in the parent church to denounce some eight thousand ministers, at least equal to her own in pastoral ability and success, as in "*pretended* holy orders," that is, in a surreptitious use of the ministry; yet there is something of pomp, and privilege, and numbers, to uphold these pretensions. But really for such lofty pretensions to be insisted on by a church so situated as is that in America, and at this time of day, is painfully ridiculous. What! of the twelve thousand ministers who have labored for the regeneration of their country, and with eminent success, are the six hundred who have had the hand of the bishop on them, only to be deemed the true ministers of Christ? Are the ten thousand men who have been employed mainly in settling and sustaining the church in that land, to be denounced by an insignificant section of that church as falsely pretending to a character to which they have no lawful claim? Is there nothing in "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" nothing in the calling and approving testimony of a "congregation of faithful men;" nothing in the undoubted testimony of Heaven itself? Must these holy and useful men, who, above all things have sought the will of God; who have thought that they were acting under it; who would have trembled to commit themselves to such a ministry uncalled; and who have the seal of heaven on their labors, in the renewal of thousands and myriads of men; be told that they have run unsent, have held their offices surreptitiously, and are worthy, not of praise, but condemnation? And by whom?

The only way in which this may be truly lamented, is as it affects that portion of the church which incorporates in its system such assumptions. It wars against the spirit of union, and interferes greatly with its efficiency and success. It prevents the exchange and intercommunity of services; it is hostile to fraternal charity, since brethren can hardly associate with pleasure except on equal ground; and it places, by its exclusiveness, the Episcopal portion of the church at disadvantage, in all the great and general movements of the times. Surely the intelligent and holy and liberal should look to this. Let them prefer Episcopal ordination if they will; but let them not condemn and unchurch those who think they have found a more excellent way. There must be something wrong in this. Dying men have often strong and vivid impressions of the right. Leigh Richmond, in his last illness, said to a friend and pastor of a dissenting church, "I esteem you as a minister of Christ, and you regard me as such, and yet I cannot preach for you, and you cannot preach for me. My brother, there must be something wrong in this!"

You, will have observed, that the terms, church, clergy, and bishop, though limited with us to one community, are used promiscuously in the churches of America. The Presbyterian church gives officially the style of bishops to her pastors; all ordained ministers are the clergy. Frequently you see a noble edifice, with its tall tower and spire, and from the power of association, you are ready to pronounce it Episcopal. No, it is a Baptist church. And though, in New England, there is some partiality to the old designation of meeting-house, the said meeting-house has all the large and lofty attributes of the church.

I was much interested in what I saw of the Dutch Reformed Church here; the more so, perhaps, as I brought with me my recollections of Holland. Alas! for that ancient stronghold of truth, godliness, and Protestantism. This Church has 197 churches, and 165 pastors; they are well trained, orthodox, and godly men. I had much pleasure in making the acquaintance of those who are settled in New-York. Their congregations are of good size, and composed of persons of sincere piety and much steadiness of character; a steadiness, perhaps, a little inclining to immobility and formal profession. They have only to commit themselves to the great religious efforts of the day, in co-operation with their brethren, to retain an honorable place amongst "the living in Jerusalem." Should the movement put them a little in contact with some things they may deem extravagant, they need not fear them, their temptation is not that way; and their presence will contribute to allay all real evil.

They are, I believe, wealthy; and have resources in their people. There are two services, especially, which they may render to the churches, and which they should consider intrusted to them by Divine Providence. The German settlers in Pennsylvania require to be resuscitated, by decided missionary exertions. The sympathy which the Germans would have with their church, and the authority they would have over them, seems to mark this as a field of most important labor, for which they are remarkably prepared, and which labor would be eminently blessed. Delegations of the wisest and most pious of their body, to the father land, might contribute most happily to revive the churches in Holland, in their cold and torpid state, and restore them to a true belief in their own faith, and a true practice of their own professions.

Much has been said on the influence and spread of Romanism in this country; and, at the time of our visit, great alarm was entertained on the subject. I must supply you with the means of judgment.

It should really seem that the Pope, in the fear of expulsion from Europe, is anxious to find a reversion in this new world. The crowned heads of the continent, having the same enmity to free political institutions, which his Holiness has to free religious institutions, willingly unite in the attempt to enthral this people. They have heard of the necessities of the West; they have the foresight to see that the West will become the heart of the country, and ultimately determine the character of the whole; and they have resolved to establish themselves there. Large, yea, princely grants have been made from the Leopold Society, and other sources, chiefly, though by no means exclusively, in favor of this portion of the empire that is to be. These sums are expended in erecting showy churches and colleges, and in sustaining priests and emissaries. Every thing is done to captivate, and to liberalize, in appearance, a system essentially despotic. The sagacity of the effort is discovered, in avoiding to attack and shock the prejudices of the adult, that they may direct the education of the young. They look to the future; and they really have great advantages in doing so. They send out teachers excellently qualified; superior, certainly, to the run of native teachers. Some value the European modes of education as the more excellent; others value them as the mark of fashion: the demand for instruction too, is always beyond the supply, so that they find little difficulty in obtaining the charge of Protestant children. This, in my judgment, is the point of policy which should be especially regarded with jealousy; but the actual alarm has arisen from the disclosure of a correspondence which avows designs on the West, beyond what I have here set down. It is a curious affair, and is one other evidence, if evidence were needed, that Popery and Jesuitism are one.

There is, however, no possible cause for alarm, though there undoubtedly is for diligence. Romanism has increased positively, but not relatively. It has not advanced in proportion to the other denominations, nor in proportion to the population. Baltimore, the stronghold of Popery, was once almost wholly Catholic; it is now greatly outnumbered by Protestant sects. The Romanists do not number, as attendants, more than 550,000 persons; and the influx of Catholics from Germany and Ireland may answer for that amount. Of course, every liberal and Christian mind, would desire, that those of that faith, settling in these States, should be provided with the means of worship in agreement with their conscientious opinions; and had this been the intention of the efforts, they had been only laudable.

Nothing can be stronger evidence against the success of Romanism, than its actual position associated with the extraneous assistance afforded to it. With hundreds of thousands of dollars to back it, it has fallen short in the race with the other denominations; while they have wanted the unity of action which sustained it, and were thrown entirely on their native inward resources. Popery cannot flourish in this land, except every thing proper to it should first die out—liberty, conscience, independence, and prejudice. It is not indigenous—it is an exotic; and though fostered by fond hands, and protected by strong ones, it will languish, fade, and fall. It is a monstrous expectation; despondency alone could have suggested it. But the Pope must hope for no second life in this new world. It may be true, that he is immutable; happily he is not immortal.

Yet the occasion calls for diligence, and a diligence directed with sagacity as to means and distant results, equal to that of the adversary. If all were to sleep, while the enemy sowed his tares, there might indeed be a most rueful harvest. But here again the Romanists have made a bad choice. These people are the most wakeful of any known. They will certainly, when they see the evil, do their duty; the only fear is lest they should give the adversary some advantage by over doing it. Let them feel that they have to deal with a cautious foe, and treat him cautiously. They must not be content with a manful onset, such as they have lately made, and expect to demolish at a blow. Let them remember that they have to do with a foe, who rests his cause on time and perseverance; whose hand seeks to undermine rather than to storm; who can smile at a defeat if it put his opponent off his guard; and who, like the tiger-cat, can spring on his prey, when he seems to be moving away. It is manifest that success is to be expected against such a foe, not by an occasional triumph, but by a careful observation of his devices, and a calm indomitable steadiness in resisting them.

You will, perhaps, be disappointed if I dismiss this subject without a reference to the state of Infidelity in this country. You are ready to think it assumes a more determined and evil aspect than with us. But let me ask, can any thing be worse than our Feet-street exhibitions and tracts? I will admit, however, that, though not worse, there is a more general expression of it where it really exists. The people here are altogether under less restraint; and you get the honest opinion quickly. If people profess religion they do it sincerely, and you know it at once, and without shame or reserve; and, for the same reason, if they reject religion, you are advised of it promptly, and without fear.

But infidelity is not advancing here; it has diminished, and is diminishing. Still, you must understand that it did prevail to an alarming extent. The Revolution brought infidel France into close connection with the people, and the people into a state of strong sympathy with France. Much evil arose, from this cause, to religion; and the leading men of the day were seduced, by the sophisms of Voltaire, Rousseau, and d'Alembert. The Revolution itself, unsettling men's minds, filling them with the care of the present, and making an attention to the means of religion almost impossible, contributed most extensively to the same issue. The settlement of the war was followed by an unexampled course of prosperity to America. England was committed to renewed and desperate conflict, while the carrying trade of the world was slipped into the hands of the States. This superinduced an extravagance of hope, and worldly desire, as fatal, perhaps, as either of the previous causes, to the interests of true and spiritual religion.

However, that dark and evil day is past. The infidelity of the period which had desolated France, and which threatened, like a wasting flood, to destroy every thing precious in this land and ours, has subsided. Infidelity still exists, and its blasphemous nature is not changed; but it is diminished and crest-fallen. Its stronghold is thought to be in New York; but what is found here of infidelity bears about the same proportion to New York, as Carlile's shop and the Rotunda do to London. I should think, decidedly, that there is not more open, and certainly less covert infidelity in this country than in ours. There would be a greater appearance of this evil in the West, but there would be less in the East; and the average, I believe is by no means greater.

The great sensible benefit to all these denominations is, that they are alike unknown to the government. They may have, as we have seen, differences within themselves, and unworthy jealousies of each other, but these differences are not imbittered by political strife. None are liable, on following out the convictions of their conscience towards God, to be thought less loyal to the government than others. None are exalted, and therefore none are abased; none have exclusive privileges, and, therefore, none can complain. The government troubles none, and they bring no trouble to the government. None by patronage are made haughty; and none are made uneasy. All agree to ask no favor, no grant, no tax; and all must be satisfied, while none is given. The government, in this particular, have understood their interests, and keep their engagements most nobly; and, by this means, they have made their yoke light and pleasant; they have taken from their duties half their difficulty, and more than half their responsibility.

In this single view of the case, it must be admitted, that there is great advantage; it remains for us to see whether the interests of religion really suffer by this non-interference.

LETTER XXXV.

My dear friend—I have now to speak of the Religious Economy of the churches. We have noticed the leading differences between the Episcopal church here and in the mother land, already. The agreement between the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies, in the two countries, is so complete as to make discrimination needless. My allusions will, therefore, mostly be to the Congregational churches, when points of discipline are spoken of; while the statements on property and support will apply to all.

The remarks will relate to what is *spiritual*, or to what is *temporal*; and my design is not to report a system; but to illustrate the subjects on which there is a difference, leaving those on which we have entire or essential agreement in silence.

I have, I believe, already described the usual order of public worship; it is, in the four principal denominations, most pleasantly like our own. I have, nevertheless, something to observe on its manner. The singing, generally, and universally with the Congregationalists, is not congregational. It is a performance entrusted to a band of singers, more or less skilful; and, as such may sometimes afford one pleasure, but as an act of worship, it disappoints you greatly; at least, if you have been accustomed to the more excellent way. You have the sense of being a spectator and auditor; not of a participant; and this is destructive of the spirit of devotion. With its best execution, it is not half so fine as the concurrent voices of a thousand persons, pouring forth their grateful sentiments in holy psalmody; and, in its lowest estate, it is poor and chilling indeed. A good sermon is often made or marred by the hymn. I fear many a one has been sadly marred by it in New England.

I recollect, on one occasion, before sermon, that beautiful hymn of Watts', "Come, Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove," &c. was sung. There were some seven hundred people present; but the hymn rested with six or seven persons in the gallery. The last line of each stanza was left to the female voices. At the line, "And our devotions die," to give the dying notes the more effect, it was left to one voice. The young woman kept her breath and diminished her tones as long as she could, and then turned round on her companions and smiled.

On another occasion, which was a special meeting of prayer and exhortation for the conversion of the world, I inquired of my brethren, uniting with me in the service, whether we could not close with the fine doxology, "From all that dwell below the skies," &c. and the Old Hundreth tune? "Most certainly," was the cheerful reply. It appeared, however, that there was another party to be consulted. Our wish was conveyed to the singers; and the singers sent their respects, saying, that they could not sing it, as they were prepared with another piece. The consequence was, that a solemn service was closed, and sadly cooled down, by a performance in which none could join, in which none were meant to join, and in which none cared to join.

Much laudable attention is now paid to the psalmody of the churches; and one may hope that it will lead to a preference of congregational singing, as finer in taste, and as essential to an expression of common worship. To be so, it must cease to be professional; for the professors will seek to exclude the people. It must be steadily considered as an act of worship, in which all should unite; and the maxim must be—That display is not worship. I am persuaded the Congregational body suffers much, in comparison with others, from the want of this. Their music, when well executed, may be attractive, but it is not edifying: it may suit heterodoxy, and help it; but it is not a suitable medium for warm affections and universal praise. It is also a strange departure from the practices of their fathers. The Puritans and Presbyterians are renowned for a common delight in this exercise of worship; and many a hill-side rung with the solemn melody of their united praise.

Another evil that needs correction, and that, I think, is in course of correction, is, the reading of sermons. This practice obtains considerably in other denominations; it is universal, or nearly so, in the Congregational. It is thought, I believe, that the people have a prejudice in favor of it; but I have, from my own experience, no reason to think so. Meantime, it is undoubtedly prejudicial to the interests of the people, and also of the pastors. It is no argument for this method, that good has been done by it, and that some few may give to it great efficiency. It must rest on its general merits; and, tried on this principle, no one can hesitate in saying, whether, other things being equal, the read speech or the spoken speech is the most interesting and impressive. They feel this in their revivals; for then it is mostly laid aside; and one may hope that the frequent recurrence of the more interesting seasons, will superinduce on the rising ministry habits of more spontaneous utterance.

If there is a feeling any where in its favor, it arises from the impression that the read sermon will be marked with more correctness and careful study. I have not been unobservant on this subject; and I do not think so. He who is always writing is not the best composer. The pastor who tasks himself to write out at length not less than two sermons a week, must find nearly all his spare time occupied in a mere mechanical exercise. He can have no leisure to store his mind by good reading, or to digest his reading by sustained meditation. He cannot wait for his second thoughts; nor give his subject, however important, time to penetrate, and to make his mind and affections, for the period, part of itself. He has two sermons to write by Sabbath morning; if he does not make haste he will not get them done. This influence, kept up, forms a habit of loose thinking and common-place utterance. The pastor finds himself committed to a species of manual drudgery, to which there is no end; and the mind wearies and sleeps upon it.—What has been wearisome in the composition, is not likely to change its character in the delivery; and the preacher and the hearer slumber over it together.

This subject deserves further attention than I am authorised in bestowing on it in this connection. None can so mistake these passing remarks, as to suppose that they are meant to justify indolence, or the want of careful and anxious preparation. I would have the pastor write less, that he may study more; that he may present to his people better thoughts, with richer utterance and with greater power.

The administration of the positive ordinances has, I believe, been adequately illustrated in the Narrative. Let me preserve your attention for some passing notice of the services of marriage and burial, as observed here. In burials, the custom has been to give public notice of the party deceased, and to invite the friends at large, who may desire to show a mark of respect, to attend. This invitation, from the inconveniences arising on the existing mode, has been made select in the larger towns. It is still, however, open to all in less populous places. I have seen nearly two hundred persons, half the adults of a little town, following the remains of a child to the grave. The house is thrown open; and those who cannot find admission, remain about the door till the movement begins, when they fall in silently and without trouble.

No service, I believe, is ever performed in the burial-ground. This takes place in the dwelling of the deceased. It consists of exhortation and prayer; and sometimes these exercises are renewed on the return of the mourners and friends from the ground.

Marriage is regarded by the Government only as a civil contract, while its admitted importance may claim for it some religious service. It is valid, however, without any religious act, if the parties wish to avoid it. The provisions of the different States are various. Generally, it is provided that the agent shall be the ordained minister, or the justice of peace. In the State of New-York it requires no publicity; but the parties authorized to marry may do so on the instant. Usually public notification is considered expedient; and still the method varies. In some cases the pastor publishes it to the congregation; and he may marry the parties at any convenient time after this is done; but the prevailing practice requires that notice should be given by the minister to the parish clerk, who is a civil officer, and who is responsible for the publication. It may be made on the church, or court-house door, or otherwise. A fortnight after this notice, the minister is at liberty to marry. He is responsible for making a correct return to the clerk of the marriages he celebrates, quarterly or otherwise. The law provides a fee of not less than a dollar for the minister, and few content themselves with this small acknowledgment. This plan has been the most extensively used, and for the longest time; and, after very careful inquiry, I do not find that it is open to the least objection. Some of the States have thought that it asks for more safeguard than is needful; but none have thought it wanting in security. The legal profession allow that it works well.

So much for the civil portion of the subject. The religious exercises are simple and appropriate; and none but those who repudiate all religion, I believe, disregard them. The service is usually performed at the home of the contracting parties, and in the bosom of their families and immediate friends, and is, on this account, made much more interesting and less painful to all concerned. It is more frequently observed in the evening than at any other time of the day. The minister comes at an appointed hour; and the order of service rests with circumstances and his discretion. It consists of exhortation and prayer. Sometimes an address is given in explanation; then prayer is offered; then the consent of the parties is taken, and hands are joined; and, after this, short exhortation and prayer are renewed. At other times the exhortation is given; hands are joined, and prayer is then offered. The minister chosen for the service is he who is best known and loved by the parties; and, performed under such circumstances, it is both affecting and solemn.

The mystic ring is no necessary part of the ceremony; and it is frequently not used. The consequence is, that the married lady cannot be distinguished by this sign. I believe in no country is the marriage vow held more sacred than in this.

The government of the churches will lead us to regard them in their separate, and their associated capacity. The principles which regulate the particular church, whether Baptist, Presbyterian, or Congregational, have a strong resemblance. The officers also are similar, although they have differ-

es. In the Presbyterian, they are the pas-
hop, the elders and the deacons. The
a council with the pastor; and the
limited to the care of the poor, and
fairs. In the Baptist, they are elder
style of "elder" being given to the
he Congregational body they are
ons. In each case, the officers
urch, without any control, ex-
must be recognized by the
rch has an absolute voice
membership,
h are managed usually
h they are officially en-
esbyterians, the bishop and
ame of the Session, are this
he Congregationalists, the pastor
mpose it, if the church is small, but
ne other members of the church are
. It is in these sessions that all prelimi-
siness is prepared; and to it all difficult bu-
referred. They see and examine candidates fellowship, before they are propounded; and all matters of complaint and misconduct come under their notice. They are qualified to examine these, to act on them, and finally, to dispose of them; the party always having, if he thinks himself aggrieved, the right of appeal to the church, and still from the church itself to the council or presbytery. The title to membership is, I think, universally sought in the evidence of regeneration. Only the male members are allowed to vote. At the admission of members, all rise on the reading of a portion of the covenant, to express their consent, but it is not considered as a formal vote on the part of the females. Baptism is mostly limited to the children which have one parent in fellowship; and, consequently, a great many grow up unbaptized, and the pastors here have many more adult baptisms than we have. This custom has certainly contributed to enlarge the number of the Baptist community.

The choice of the pastor is frequently spoken of as resting with the parish. The term parish, however, does not now describe, as with us, geographical limits; it denotes those persons who compose the congregation, and subscribe to the support of its institutions. In some cases, the parish, or congregation, is allowed a confirmatory voice on the election of the church; this is not deemed desirable, but it is not found to produce any serious evil. The fact of the church having agreed in its election, and of its being generally a majority, as compared with those who are merely subscirbers, renders a reversed decision nearly impossible.

Although the appointment, discipline, and removal of the pastor, is understood to rest essentially with the church, it is the practice to make a reference to council on these subjects; and the voluntary deference is so great as to place it in act, though not in principle, on an exact footing with the Presbytery.

The Congregational churches disclaim the principle of independency; and they have, therefore, a relative as well as a personal discipline. This associated control is exercised either by council or synod; the council being meant to respect the limited, and the synod the general interests of the church.

The council may be called, by letters missive, by one or more churches. The letters are addressed to the neighboring churches, requesting them to sit in council by their pastor and lay delegates, as representatives. They may be called on questions of prudence or of conscience, and then they are wholly advisory. Or they may be summoned for the purpose of ordination, and then their functions are mostly administrative. Their duty is to examine, and approve, and so ordain; but as the church has previously expressed itself, and as all the arrangements for ordination are fixed and made public, if the council are disposed to demur, they are placed in circumstances of such restraint, as to make it difficult to decline the service. And as the churches invited to send representatives to the council are selected by the church applying, or rather by the candidates for ordination, it does not in principle supply a better safeguard against undue intrusion into the ministry, than does the sanction given at our ordinations.

The council may be *mutual*. It is then summoned by the agreement of two parties, who consent to refer their difference or difficulty to it.—The cases on which this council is called to sit in judgment, are mostly those of difference between a church and a private member, or between a church and its pastor. Its power is merely advisory, but it is final. It is considered in theory to represent the whole body of the church, and there is, therefore, no higher appeal.

The council may be *consociated* or *permanent*. This is not created, like those I have noticed, by circumstances; but has a continued existence. It is, therefore, considered to have all the attributes of a mutual council; and, besides these, it is invested with an authoritative power, more congenial with the genius of Presbyterian than Congregational order. It is to take cognizance of all cases of scandal within its circuit, and afford its assistance on all ecclesiastical occasions; and those who decline to submit to its decisions, "they shall be reputed, after due patience, guilty of a scandalous contempt, and dealt with as the rule of God's word in such cases doth provide, and the sentence of non-communion shall be declared against pastor and church."—*Saybrook Platform.*

The council may be *ex parte*. This can only exist where an aggrieved party desires a judgment, and the second party refuses to consent to a mutual council. The complainant has then the privilege of summoning a council from such churches as he chooses to examine his case. They give advice; they seek reconciliation; and if they attach no decided blame to the aggrieved party, and his church refuse to receive him, they commend him to another community.

The designation of this council is certainly somewhat forbidding. But it may unquestionably be a noble act of justice to justify an aggrieved party, before the church, when the offender declines to face him before an impartial tribunal, and he has no means of compelling him.

The council may be *general*, and then it falls under the denomination of a synod. In its elements it corresponds with the General Assembly; its powers are variously stated, and with some little contrariety. It is held to be advisory, and not authoritative; but it is "to debate and to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience; to clear from the word holy directions for the worship of God and good government of the church." "The directions and determinations of the synod, so far as consonant with the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement therewith, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his word."—*Cambridge Platform.*

It is quite evident from these statements, on the associated government of the churches, that there has been some danger of the Congregational body losing its distinctive character in the Presbyterian models; but the period either of fear or hope, as parties may respect it, has passed away. Nothing is more certain than that the Congregationalists are in practice becoming daily more jealous of every thing that is authoritative and judicial, while they are becoming more attached to those conferences and councils which are purely advisory.

Besides these arrangements, which concern the government of the church, there are Pastoral Associations to promote its edification and union.

The Pastoral Association, or Convention, is usually composed of the ministers of the county.—They assemble twice or oftener in the year, to promote, by prayer, preaching, and fraternal intercourse, their knowledge, zeal, and charity, and thus to qualify themselves to labor with greater advantage for the welfare of their churches. As might be expected, great good has arisen from these meetings; many of the best revivals have sprung from them. The State Association is the same species of meeting, and for the same purposes, on a larger scale. The Occasional Conferences are partly lay and partly clerical; and their design is to knit together the several members of the body, and to advance the great interests of religion in the land and in the world.

LETTER XXXVI.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Let me now proceed to remark on that portion of Religious Economy which may be denominated *temporal*. So far as it is needful to notice it, the subject may, perhaps, be comprised under the heads of *edifices—tenure of churches—means of general support*.

Of the churches, as edifices, I must say something, as they have been misreported. It has been said that they are smaller than ours; and that, therefore, the number of churches does not supply a comparative scale for the attendance. I have looked with some care at this statement; and so far as my best observations will carry me, I am prepared to say, that the average of size and accommodation is larger with them than with us. I know not that they have any places so large as a few of ours; but they have many of the extreme size, if seeing and hearing are to be consulted in the dimensions; and we have certainly, both in the church and with the dissent, many more smaller ones than they.

An objection has also been taken to them, as erected of frail and perishable materials. If this objection is meant to be unlimited, it is not true. America has certainly no St. Paul's; nor any instance, known to me, of an exorbitant expenditure of £80,000, or £100,000, on the erection of a single church: but, in all her principal cities, Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, there is an abundance of churches, which, for good accommodation, substantial construction, and respectable appearance, are as good as I would wish to see, and will compare at advantage with the average amongst us. As to the material of which the churches are constructed, when I say that the more durable takes the lead in them, as compared with the other erections, it is plain that the utmost is done that a reasonable mind can require. When all the erections of a young town in the midst of the forest are of timber, it would be absurd to expect other material for the church. So soon as brick begins to appear for domestic uses, it is sure to appear in the church; when stone supersedes brick, the first evidences of change are still to be seen in the church. In New-York, the inhabitants are beginning to ornament their brick dwellings with marble steps, architraves, and pediments; but they are carrying up, at the same time, in solid and beautiful marble, both a church and a university.

Then, if this objection is to receive a limited application, it is true, and it is highly beneficial. In the small town and young settlements, the church is built of wood; and I have satisfied myself that this is a decided advantage. When a settlement is just made, its numbers are few, and the place of worship bears, of course, a proportion to the numbers. If the original place were then built of stone, and not of timber, it would abide for ages, like many of our churches, with a capacity to accommodate some two hundred instead of some two thousand. But the first churches are erected of clapboard, frequently while the settlement is young; as paint is dearer than wood, it is not painted, and left to itself, it will perish in some twenty or thirty years. By this time every thing is changed in the little community; their numbers trebled; their means quadrupled; and they determine to build a more substantial place, with adequate accommodation; so that, in that new country, most of their original places have already been swept away by the besom of time, while ours remain to this day. And as objects of taste, and memorials of the past, one would have them remain for ever; but this is not now the question. It is a question of accommodation; and whether the accommodation respect comfort or space, the American places have the advantage.

I am now to refer you to the *tenure* of ecclesiastical property. You are to understand, that there are two bodies that are recognized by the law as holding, and claiming to hold, such property. They are, the church and the parish; and they are both *corporate* bodies. The church is precisely what it is with us. The parish denoted place as well as persons; it now, by the legal changes that have been effected, denotes persons rather than place. The persons in this relation, who are deemed the parish, are the subscribers; and the term, therefore, is nearly synonymous with our term congregation, as distinguished from church. The church has the right to choose the minister; but the parish have a veto on the choice. Commonly, the majority of the parish will be in membership with the church, so that there is little danger of conflict of opinion, except in gross mischoice. The fittings and property with the edifice are considered to belong to the church; but the edifice itself is held by the parish as a corporation. The law knows not a church in its religious, but in its civil capacity; and the evidence of the existence of a civil corporation must, of course, be found in enrolment and subscriptions. Pewholders are deemed to have a separate right of property; and they can bring their action against the parish, if that property is injured. This provision is necessary, from the common practice of selling the pews as the means of meeting the first expenses of erection. What would be regarded as a fair sum is given for the purchase; and, afterwards, they bear a yearly rate, that is adequate to sustain the minister, and lesser charges.

The law has been very different, as you will suppose, at different periods; and now it varies in the several States.

I have endeavored to express the spirit of the law; its form, under the modelling hand of time and circumstance, will not be less liberal, and will become more simple. It is certainly a great improvement in legislation on this subject. The high advantage consists in making the church, or congregation of subscribers, a body corporate. This gives them a legal being; allows them to sue, and be sued; and to uphold all their civil rights with facility. It is at once a great security in the tenure of fixed property, and a discharge from an immense standing expense, on the renewal of trusts or trust-deeds. While other interests are justly looked to, this ought not to be neglected in our own country.

The present state of the law, as it affects all the Dissenting bodies, is such, as not only to expose the property to serious hazard, but as to incur a charge on them of from 4000*l.* to 5000*l.* per annum, without benefit to any one.

The final head of temporal economy relates to the *means of support*. It has great importance in itself, and it is enhanced by the position of the church at the present time. At home, we are hardly allowed to refer to this subject, even in other connections, without being overwhelmed with charges, which confound a good man, and make a calm and philosophical conclusion extremely difficult. However, I shall endeavor to treat the subject, without acrimony and without fear; and in the hope that it may contribute to the formation of a just opinion, and, consequently, to the advancement of true religion, without respect to sect or party.

You are aware that our fathers, when they braved the Atlantic, and sought a settlement in the New World, did so for conscience' sake. But, although they fled from the face of persecution, and certainly would have recoiled from the act of direct persecution, nevertheless, they understood so little the nature of religious liberty, that they established a system which would, under a change of circumstances, inevitably assume a persecuting character. In fact, this ignorance of the imprescriptible claims of conscience was not their fault in particular, it was the common fault of all, and of the time. Immunity on the one hand, and restriction or persecution on the other, were the only forms in which religion appeared: and although the principles of liberty were to be developed by the searching hand of intolerance, it was not to be expected that they should be appreciated, adopted, and matured, without a considerable lapse of time and experiment. The efforts made, in these youthful settlements, in favor of prescription and endowment, and the counter efforts peacefully made in favor of perfect religious freedom, supply evidence, which is so interesting, that it cannot be neglected; and so strong, that prejudice itself cannot put it down.

While, in every case, the results have been the same, the methods of reaching them have been various. This makes it somewhat difficult to treat them, but it necessarily increases the power of the testimony.

In Virginia, the Episcopal Church was established by law. The law was tried in both its forms; without the toleration, and afterwards with the toleration, of other sects. For nearly a century, it was the exclusive religion of the State; it was endowed, and all parties were compelled to contribute to its support. The consequence was any thing but what a good Episcopalian would desire. Unworthy and incompetent men, in search of respectability or emolument, made the church a prey. Having nothing to apprehend from the people, or the rivalry of sects, they became careless, and indolent, and frequently dissolute. The statements on this subject abound, and are most painful. The pastors generally neglected the people, and the people despised and forsook the pastors; so that the system was dead, even while it retained the visible forms of existence.

It was then tried with toleration. This alteration admitted the other sects to enter the State; and without direct hinderance, to labor for the instruction and salvation of the people. The privileged clergy, however, despised their rivals: and as all sects were still taxed for their benefit, it concerned them little by what name they were called; and they continued to repose on their supplies, in indolence and security. If they slept, the oppressed sectaries did not sleep. Their efforts were not in vain: and these, with the reckless negligence of the endowed party, and the changes effected by the Revolution, prepared the State for an improved method.

It was felt that all could no longer be made to support one; and it was proposed that all should be assessed for the benefit of all the denominations. This, however, was declined; the Dissenting bodies protesting most nobly against any participation in the benefit of such a tax. Finding them firm in the rejection of all State allowance, an act was passed in 1775, to relieve them from all contributions towards the support of the established religion; and, eventually, the whole question was disposed of, and the whole country satisfied, by placing all denominations on one footing; by knowing them only as civil corporations, and withholding all allowance.

As quickly after this as the circumstances would allow, the Episcopal church revived, and placed itself on equal terms with its compeers. To this time it has continued to advance. It has now fifty-five clergymen devoted to their work, who are superintending affectionate and thriving flocks: and it is spreading itself on every hand, having good report amongst the people.

That we may change the field of observation, let us pass into New England. Here, the church, or Standing Order, was founded on the principle of State interference. In Massachusetts, in 1631, the General Court passed a law that all should contribute in their parishes to uphold the Standing Order; and that none should be eligible for civil office, who were not in church membership. This was not only to make the people pay; but, having paid, it was to punish them by a Test Act, if they did not conform. This principle was afterwards modified, by allowing persons to divert their payment to some other body, on certifying that they belonged to it, still compelling them to pay to some religious society; and by the provisions of the Half-way Covenant. I think, so far as Massachusetts is concerned, I have shown how it affected the Congregational order, by the corruption of doctrine; it may be proper to remark, that it extensively promoted the interests of sectarianism. Under the milder form of the compulsory payment, the worldly were obliged to pay equally with the religious; and as the worldly will always have the strongest objection to pure and undefiled religion, the chances are decidedly for error, and against truth. The worldly misbeliever, if compelled to pay either to Universalism or Calvinism, would prefer Universalism as a species of quietism; but if left to his choice to pay or not, he would say, "I will pay to neither, for I love my money better than both." Has the true church of Christ a right to compel such a man; and if it has, will any benefit accrue?

In Vermont and New Hampshire there were not only State enactments, but provisions of land in favor of the same and similar objects. Each township had an original grant of three hundred acres. This estate was to benefit equally four parties; the church—the school—the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—and the *first* minister. The first minister was deemed a proprietor; and he could will his portion away to his family or friends. It was, in fact, a bonus to induce a person to encounter the first difficulty of settling; and it usually attracted the least worthy to the spot. The one fourth originally meant for the permanent uses of the church, with its other privileges, remained, and the church languished in the midst of its indulgences. It is remarkable that "the desolations" of these districts, which a Scotch writer has magnified, to illustrate the inefficiency of the voluntary principle, are the very desolations which were created by the compulsory and State methods on which I am animadverting.

The changes which have taken place have been various and gradual, but they were all in favor of the voluntary principle; and in the year 1833, only two years since, the last fragments of the compulsory and endowed system were demolished by the power of improved opinion and religious principle. This was done in Connecticut about fifteen years since, and in Vermont and New Hampshire about the same time. It was in Massachusetts it lingered till 1833; and, by a striking coincidence with what is now happening in our own country, it was upheld to the last by Unitarianism. That you may be assisted to a correct opinion on this material subject, I will supply you, in the Appendix, with some extracts from the laws as they existed, were varied, and do now exist.

The voluntary principle, then, is the only one now for the support of these churches. It has been tried in some States to the exclusion of every other; it has been tried in other States, for different periods of time, where every other has failed; and what is the result? Deliberately, but without hesitation, I say, *the result is in every thing and every where most favorable to the voluntary, and against the compulsory principle.* Let us look at this, both as a matter of testimony, and as a matter of fact.

Testimony is universally in its favor. Let me not be mistaken. Some may carp at the term universal, and endeavor to muster some few voices in favor of the Standing Order. Such voices are doubtless to be heard; but it is truly marvellous that they are so few. Of course, the transition so lately effected from one system to the other, must have disturbed many interests, and have brought loss to some. It was to be expected that some, under the old system, would be incompetent; and these would naturally incline to an allowance from the state rather than from the people, who would be too wise to grant it. Some who had become gray and infirm under that system, might be supposed to cling to it, even though every advantage were with the change. Harvey showed his skill in metaphysics, as well as in physics, when he observed, that none of his profession above forty years of age received his theory, or were to be expected to receive it.

But, in truth, though every reasonable mind would be ready to make considerable allowances for the influence of such causes, it was never less necessary; and they are only referred to, to prevent captious and unfair objection. After having invited the most candid opinion on the subject; after having sincerely sought for the truth, whether favorable or unfavorable to the voluntary system; and, after having sought this in every quarter, and chiefly where state provisions had been enjoyed; I certainly did not find half a dozen men who would give their suffrages for the old method! The ministers, as a body, who might be supposed to have professionally strong preferences to a fixed and compulsory stipend, were united in their attachment to the voluntary principle. The brethren in Massachusetts, where the change had been so recently completed, rejoiced in it, and anticipated from it a decided advance in pure religion. Those of New-Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, with whom we had an opportunity of meeting and conferring, were unanimous in the same judgment, and referred gratefully the renovated state of their churches and of the ministry to its benign influence. The brethren of Connecticut, whom we met in large numbers, decidedly concurred in the same opinion.—The Episcopalian of Virginia, and the Congregationalist of New England, who had been indulged and protected to the utmost, were equally in favor of the new principle. Men of every denomination, the Methodist, the Baptist, the Presbyterian, the Reformed, the Lutheran, the Churchman, and the Independent, all deprecate state interference and state allowance. Men of every region, the East, the West, the North, the South, and who are most deeply concerned for the interests of religion, agree in coming to the same conclusion. Indeed, such unanimity of opinion on a practical question involving the interests of so many parties, and to be determined mostly by those whose habits and thoughts had been associated only with the old system, is what I never expected to find. It assured me of at least two things. 1. That the evil of this system must have been great, indeed, and visible to all. And, 2. That these devoted men had wisdom enough and piety enough at once to resolve, that what was injurious to religion could not be beneficial to them.

I know that a reference has been made, with confidence, to Dr. Dwight; and it has had my careful attention. I think you will judge it exceedingly confirmatory of the subject. In the first place, it is very little that Dr. Dwight asked; far less than would satisfy the thorough advocate of establishments. In the second instance, at the time when he formed his opinion, a great many ministers of eminence and standing, were of the same mind. The first important changes were then contemplated; infidelity united with the tolerated religious bodies in demanding them; the conflict was strong, and frequently connected with demonstrations of irreligious violence. This class of excellent men became apprehensive; they had fear of change; and when they saw the ungodly conspicuous in the assault—the ungodly, who had been fostered under the old system—they could not commit themselves to the untried issue.

Dr. Dwight has not survived, to look back calmly on the consequences of the change, and to revise his opinions; but many of his contemporaries have. I have sought them out; I have communed with them at large on the subject. In every instance, they have acknowledged that they were wrong; that their fears were groundless; that the transition has brought with it only good, and good in a degree for which they could not have hoped. This class of testimony may surely be graduated with that obtained from reluctant witnesses; and I will leave you to judge, from the weight it always receives in a court of justice, with what power it bears on the question.

Then, *Fact* is unanimously in its favor. This submits a wide field to us, and the difficulty is, still to condense observation. Let me dispose, first, of New England. It has undergone a most felicitous improvement since the alterations. I need not, I presume, enter into detail on this particular; for none will arise to contradict the assertion. The Standing Order could not have stood its ground as a State establishment. It was inert and inefficient; the Dissenting community on the one hand, and infidelity on the other, were prevailing against it; while, within itself, was engendered the worst forms of heresy. It is now placed on a level with its rivals, and it is equal to the best in the race of excellence. Every form of orthodoxy has made a surprising start, and is sustaining it as it was begun. The ministry has been supplied with better men; the men have been better maintained. Churches have been revived where they languished, and they have been created in abundance where they did not exist. The "desolations" of New England, which have been triumphantly cited from reports many years old, are rapidly disappearing under the voluntary principle, and never were the prospects on the future, for that favored land, so bright and hopeful as they are at the present time.

Although one writer has ventured to talk of the religious "desolations" of New England, general conviction is so completely against him, as to make it useless to burden your attention on this subject. The slightest reference to the Statistical Tables will settle the question. But while it is commonly conceded that the New England States are better supplied with the means of religious worship than any other country in the world, the admission is not unfrequently made at the expense of the other States, and of the voluntary principle. Mr. Dawson, for instance, in a recent address to the electors of Plymouth, conceded, that these States were excellently supplied with religious means; and he then proceeded to maintain, that these means had grown up on the principle of State establishment, and that the other and newer States, which had discarded this principle and relied on its opposite, are, indeed, in the very state of desolation predicated. If this is correct, it is fatal to the new method; but let us look at it dispassionately.

I think I have already shown, with some clearness, *how much of her prosperity* New England owes to the principle of a Standing Order; I must now bring the means possessed by other States into comparison with those she is admitted to enjoy. Massachusetts, then, the principal State of New England, and the longest settled, has—

Population…	610,014	Churches………	600
Ministers…..	704	Communicants.	73,264

New-York, which is the principal middle State, and which has advanced with more rapidity than any of the other States, and which, therefore, has had the greater difficulty in meeting the spiritual wants of the people, has—

Population.	1,913,508	Churches………	1,800
Ministers…	1,750	Communicants,	184,583

Is this a sign of desolation?

Pennsylvania, the next middle State of consideration, has—

Population.	1,347,672	Churches ………	1,829
Ministers…	1,133	Communicants,	180,205

Is this a sign of desolation? If it is, what are we to say of the most favored divisions of our own country? Scotland is universally thought to be highly privileged in her religious means; but Scotland stands thus—

Population.	2,365,807	Churches ………	1,804
Ministers……	1,765	Communicants,	uncer.

But it will be objected that these States are not either of the West or South, and are, therefore, not to be accepted in evidence on the wants of the more distant regions. I admit this; but, with this admission, I maintain that it is unjust to make the condition of the young States in the West, or the Slave States in the South, which are just colonizing, the test of the voluntary principle, as compared with New England; as unjust as it would be to try the compulsory principle in Great Britain, not by what it had wrought there, but by what it had done in Jamaica and in the Canadas. Having, in mere justice, protested against this mode of trial, I am not, on that account, unwilling to make the comparison. Tennessee has—

Population…	684,000	Churches………	630
Ministers……	458	Communicants .	60,000

Ohio, a Western State, which, in 1810, had only a population of 230,000, and forty years since, not more than five hundred persons settled, has now a population of 937,000, scattered over a surface of 40,000 square miles, nearly the size of England and Wales. With these disadvantages, the account stands thus—

Population…	937,000	Churches ………	802
Ministers …….	841	Communicants..	76,460

Indiana, which is further West, and is settling at this very time, has, while struggling with the first difficulties of the forest, found leisure and means to provide itself as follows:

Population…	341,000	Churches ………	440
Ministers…….	340	Communicants..	34,826

Is this, then, the desolation of the West? If so, what a moral desolation must Scotland be? In truth, are not these figures, in union with such circumstances, most astonishing? I confess to you, that I have looked at them once and again; and when I have assured myself that there is no cause to doubt their correctness, it still appears next to impossible for a people, settling in this new land, without aid from Government, and spread over so large a surface, to have achieved so great a work for their spiritual welfare.

I have travelled over a large portion of the West, and I can readily account for the impressions which have been received by strangers in those regions. The eye is disappointed at not seeing, amidst every little cluster of log cabins, the spire or tower of the village church; the people who do not profess religion, are not careful to save appearances, and you quickly see them as they are; the ministry as a distinct order, is far less apparent than in the East, for those who minister among the Methodists and Baptists are mostly without regular training. But it is evident, that he who is not prepared to revise and correct his impressions, under such circumstances, is not qualified to report concerning them. The ministers here are in advance of the people; they will still keep in advance of them; and it would be the desire of ambition, not of wisdom, that would place them so far in advance as to be out of reach, and out of sight. The little churches also in the scattered districts bear the same relation to the state of the people. They are frequently log cabins, and have no outward sign to designate their use; but as the log cabin yields to better accommodations in domestic life, so surely does the church receive an improved and visible form. In fact, the West is not New England. There are fewer means; they are of a lower character; and the people who do not profess are less under the influence of wholesome restraint and decorum. How can it be otherwise? There is, undoubtedly, much to be done for it. But, meantime, you will know how to judge of the reports made on its waste places, by remembering that, if its present means are fewer than those of New England, they are decidedly more than those of Scotland.

If we turn from the particular and comparative views, with which I have thus supplied you, to those which are more general, the American Institutions suffer nothing. The severest trial that can by possibility be made on this subject, is to take the ten States, on which we have any safe returns, which have been *last added* to the Commonwealth. These are, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, and Florida. These will give a return of persons spread over a surface of 480,670 square miles, about nine times the size of England and Wales, as follows:—

Population..	3,641,000	Churches…….	3,701
Ministers…….	2,690	Communicants	286,560

Need I say, how greatly this again exceeds Scotland!

If we take the principal towns of that country, and put them into comparison with those of ours, the advantage is entirely with them. For instance, Liverpool has—

Population….	210,000	Churches……….	57
Ministers ……….	57	Communicants	18,000

but New-York, which is its counterpart, has—

Population….	220,000	Churches………	132
Ministers ………	142	Communicants	31,337

Edinburgh has—

Population	150,000	Churches	65
Ministers	70	Communicants, uncer.	

but Philadelphia has—

Population	200,000	Churches	83
Ministers	137	Communicants, uncer.	

Glasgow has—

Population	220,000	Churches	74
Ministers	76	Communicants, uncer.	

but Boston has—

Population	60,000	Churches	55
Ministers	57	Communicants, uncer.	

Nottingham has—

Population	50,000	Churches	23
Ministers	23	Communicants	4,864

but Cincinnati, a city only forty years old, and in the forests, has—

Population	30,000	Churches	21
Ministers	22	Communicants	8,555

After the statements already made, there can be no difficulty in concluding, that the general supply of the whole country, is in comparison with any other country, astonishingly great. The figures would stand thus—

Population	13,000,000	Churches	12,580
Ministers	11,450	Commun.	1,550,890

This yields about one clergyman and one church to every thousand persons; while it gives about one in nine of the whole population, as in a state of communion; and as the returns do not include the communicants connected with the Episcopal, the Catholic, and some smaller sects, it is certainly not taken too high. Of England, if it is allowed that there are seven thousand working clergy in the Episcopal church, and five or six thousand clergy united to other divisions of the church, the amount of ministers will bear about the same proportion to the population as in America. But if this ministry is to be submitted to the two indispensable tests of its efficiency on the people, church accommodation and church communicants, it will fail most lamentably. The Bishop of London, in his evidence on this subject, states, that certainly *not one tenth* of the people are supplied with church room in the places of his diocese. I conclude, that no diocese can exceed that of London, and take the whole, therefore, at one tenth. If it is conceded, that the Dissenters supply as much as the Episcopal church, I suppose this is the utmost that may be asked. This, then, would supply both by the voluntary and compulsory system, only an accommodation for *one fifth of the people*.

Then look at the state of communion, which is, after all, the real test of strength and influence. It is shown by documents, which will not be disputed, that the Episcopal church, though hers is a *free* communion, has only 350,000 communicants. I think the communicants of the Dissenting bodies may be safely put down at 700,000; and I do not expect more will be allowed to them. This, however, will only give us 1,050,000; while America, at a low estimate, and with a universally *strict* communion, has 1,550,890; an increase on ours of more than one third!

All these results are most striking; and, in truth, if they are admitted, they are overwhelming in evidence. On this account, the Statistical Returns have recently been put into dispute, and have been taxed with the grossest exaggerations. That some exaggerated statements have been hastily made, I am ready to allow, for I have seen such. But I have given much attention to the approved documentary evidence, and have sought, in several cases, to verify or shake it; and the result is, that I am fully persuaded it deserves confidence. Great pains have, indeed, been taken with this class of evidence. All the denominations have more association and more system than are common with us. They make their yearly returns in their respective associations where they are known, and where serious error would be corrected. These are made again to conventions, or central bodies. General almanacs are prepared for public use, into which these statistics are introduced, and are subject to revision and amendment. One gentleman, with excellent capacities for the subject, and of unquestioned integrity, has devoted himself entirely to these important inquiries. All the annual and local returns have been searched and sifted by him; and they have appeared, in the amended form, in the *Quarterly Register*, a work which, for its research and fidelity, has acquired high repute in all the denominations; and it is the interest of each body to see, that no other body is allowed, at its expense, to pass with exaggerated numbers. I say not that these returns, after all the pains taken, are perfect; but I fearlessly say, that they are both honest and admirable. Certainly we have to this day no returns, dissenting or episcopal, ecclesiastical or civil, that can in any way be compared with them. With us, it is still a desideratum, which, I trust, some one will at length supply.

On the whole, then, the conclusion is, that whatever trivial errors may cleave to a subject which does not admit of perfect exactness, the general results remain indisputable. And with such results before us, shall we still, with blindness and prejudice, refuse the lessons they imperatively convey? While such evidence is developing itself in favor of the voluntary principle, where alone it has found an open and fair field of probation, should not the Dissenter be confirmed in his assurance of its power and efficiency; and be disposed to rest his cause on it with confidence and quiet? And should not the pious churchman, who regards an establishment only as it promotes the interests of religion amongst the people, be inclined, whatever may have been his original disinclination, to weigh such testimony with calm and dispassionate attention? At least, he should know, that he need not be withheld from the subject by apprehension and alarm. The Dissenter concerns not himself in the temporal estate of the church, except as it may affect his equality as a citizen, and as he devoutly desires that the Episcopal portion of the church may arrive at a condition most favorable to her honor, stability, and usefulness. Spoliation, not only is not, it never can be his object; for he can never profit by the spoil. Even the paltry grant, passing under the name of the Regium Donum, his principles, fairly carried out, compel him to decline. Whatever emoluments may be granted by the State to others, and whatever his opinion of them, he deems himself richer than they in having none; for the church and the world are to be renovated, not by patronage, but by principles. At all events, if the infirmities of our common nature should allow no more in the present period of excitement, this improved conviction might take from our discussions most of their bitterness while they continue, and conduct us the more quickly to peace when they terminate. How apposite and beautiful, at such a time, is the prayer of the excellent Venn, of Huddersfield:

"O, Prince of Peace, heal our divisions! Diffuse thy patient loving spirit! Give discernment to distinguish aright between what is essential and what is not, and (meekness) to bear with each other's differences, till the perfect day discovers all things in their true proportions."

LETTER XXXVII.

My dear friend—Although I have dwelt on the last subject at considerable length, I hope it has not been to weariness. I have now to solicit your attention to a kindred topic—the *Religious Societies*. My design is, not to present you with an almanac under this head; but merely to glance at the leading voluntary associations for religious purposes; and to connect, with a brief statement, such remarks as may appear to be opportune and important.

The *Bible Society* was not instituted till the year 1816. Its receipts, in the first year, were 19,218 dollars; but it met with such general sympathy, that it made rapid advances on that amount. The last year, its income was 88,600 dollars; making an increase on the previous year of 3,665 dollars. The amount of Testaments and Bibles printed during the year, is 149,375 copies; and since the formation it has issued 1,644,500 copies.

Its first attention was directed to the domestic claims. In May, 1829, the resolution following was unanimously adopted:—"That this society, with a humble reliance on Divine aid, will endeavor to supply all the destitute families of the United States, with the Holy Scriptures, that may be willing to purchase or receive them, within the space of two years, provided means be furnished by its auxiliaries and benevolent individuals, to enable the board of managers to carry this resolution into effect." This noble and patriotic resolution was carried out in the spirit which suggested it; and I have every reason to think, that so far as the nature of the pledge allowed, it has been redeemed. Certainly, the American people are the very people to deal with such a resolve.

One good purpose enacted, strengthens the mind to bring forth another. When the demands of home were, for the time, answered, the Christians looked round for another world to conquer. A proposition was made in 1833, to do, in concert with other societies, for the whole world, what had been done for the States. Such a proposal evidently required to be looked at with greater caution, in all its bearings, before a society could pledge itself with propriety or honor. It stood over. The sense of the sister society here was sought. I was the instrument of conveying it, and offering the needful explanations. The proposal was modified, and submitted to the meeting in the following terms:—

"In view of the Divine promise as to the ultimate spread of the gospel over the earth; of the signal success of the Bible cause during the present century; and of the numerous translations of the Scriptures already made; of the establishment of able and faithful missionaries in almost every Pagan and Mohammedan country; and of the wide extent of commerce and international communication; it is the serious conviction of this Society, and is therefore

"Resolved, That were the friends of the Bible in Christian countries to exercise that faith, to offer those fervent supplications, to make those efforts and sacrifices, which the present aspects of Providence and the word of God demand, but a short period need pass away before the families of all nations might be favored with the light of revealed truth.

"Resolved, That in consonance with the sentiment expressed in the preceding resolution, this Society will steadily aim, and, under the blessing of God, employ its best endeavors, in concert with similar institutions, towards effecting the distribution of the Bible among all the accessible population of the globe, within the shortest practicable period.

"Resolved, That the zealous and united prosecution of this grand object be affectionately and earnestly recommended to all the Bible Societies and friends of the Bible in this country and foreign lands."

This proposition, thus qualified, was unanimously accepted. There can surely exist no objection to it. It is, indeed, the expression of what we all desire; but the *expression* is useful. It awakens the sentiment where it is dormant; it presents a recognized and sublime object before the eye; and it creates sympathy with every other society in every quarter of the world, from the instant conviction, that it is only by the union of all, that it can be accomplished. I trust the resolutions will be responded, as with an angel's voice, from the father land.

The *American Board for Foreign Missions* was formed in the year 1810. It was first suggested at an association of ministers, by some young students, who were anxious to devote themselves to missionary labor. Its rapid growth is evidence sufficient, that it has laid firm hold on the convictions and affections of the churches. Its receipts, in the last year, are 145,844 dollars; being an increase on the former year, of 15,270 dollars. In the same period, forty-eight persons have been sent out; nineteen ordained missionaries; two physicians; two printers; other assistants, twenty-five; total, forty-eight. The present state of this prosperous society is as follows:—

Missionary Stations	56
Ordained Missionaries	85
Physicans, Printers, Teachers, and Assistants, male and female	181
Native Teachers and Assistants	56
Churches raised	39
Converts admitted	2,300

It is the intention of this Society to send out at least an equal number of missionaries this year. Its proceedings are reported in the *Missionary Herald*, a well conducted periodical, now commanding a sale of about 15,000 copies. It should be observed that it embraces only the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations; and not more than 2,500 churches are at present contributors.

The Home Missionary Society is a remarkable instance of sudden advancement towards maturity. It was constituted in 1826. It commenced by some previous movement with 104 missionaries; in the first year this amount was increased to 169; in the second to 201; in the third to 204; in the fourth to 392; in the fifth to 463; in the sixth to 509; in the seventh to 606; and in the eighth and last to 676. The income has risen in proportion to this demand. The receipts during the last year were, 78,911 dollars, which is an advance on the former year of 10,284 dollars. It has contributed to revive the domestic societies connected with the Presbyterian and Reformed church bodies; so that there are now about one thousand missionaries employed by these societies in the United States and the Canadas; and about fifteen hundred churches supported or assisted through their instrumentality. Apart from these, are to be computed the efforts put forth by the Methodist, the Baptist, and other religious bodies, for the same object.

Undoubtedly, the astonishing success of this society is to be referred chiefly to the deep sense of its need on the minds of the people; but no small proportion of it must be ascribed to the confidence which has been inspired by its management. It was my privilege, frequently, to plead its cause; to become acquainted with its detail; and to witness, in the West, its labors; and I have certainly never met with an institution under more excellent government. And this is the more remarkable, when the brevity of its existence and the rapidity of its growth is borne in mind.

There was danger that its sudden advancement, and the crying claims made on it from the wilderness, might have betrayed it to hasty and unwise measures. On the contrary, while it moved with surprising energy, it has acted with equal prudence. It has started on the principle of employing *no one as a missionary who had not enjoyed a regular education for the ministry.* It has accepted no man for this service who would not have been deemed eligible to act as a Christian pastor. It has thus saved the ministry from degradation; it has inspired confidence in the congregations needing help; and by maintaining the character of the missionary in full equality with that of the pastor, it has secured his usefulness, and disposed the most respectable men to look to its service, as offering an inviting, as well as an important field of exertion. From the want of some such principles of action, so simple, and yet so wise, what mischief has been done, where there was, doubtless, a sincere desire to do only good!

The Education Society has for its object the preparation of young men of talent and piety for the Christian ministry, either for home or foreign service. It was formed in 1815; and although claiming priority of existence to the Home Mission Society, it has recently owed much of its success to the principle on which it has acted. They are admirably calculated to work in harmony, and to the highest issues.

This institution does not provide itself with the means of educating its beneficiaries; it merely sees them placed in the existing colleges, and meets the expenses which are consequent. The applicant is required to produce, from his pastor and others who know him, certificates of his talents, piety, need of pecuniary aid, and preparation to enter on a collegiate course of study; and if he is accepted, he is required also to enter into an engagement to refund the expenses of his education at a future time, should he be able, and should the society call on him so to do. The society have a discretional power to cancel the engagement under particular circumstances. This arrangement had been adopted subsequently to its formation, and is considered to work with advantage.

During the past year, 1834, it had—

113	Beneficiaries in	14	Theological Seminaries.
433	ditto…………	34	Colleges.
366	ditto…………	111	Academies and Schools.
912		159	

The applicants, in the same time, had been two hundred and eighty.

The receipts of the institution, in the last year, were 57,818 dollars, being an increase on the year 1833, of 11,000 dollars. The expenditure has been 56,363 dollars. The beneficiaries have refunded, in the same period, 1,947 dollars.

About six hundred of its beneficiaries have completed their course of education, and are now actively employed in the ministration of the word of life. Forty are missionaries in foreign parts; and between two and three hundred are employed wholly, or in part, by the Home Missionary Society. About twenty are engaged as editors of literary and religious publications, and the remainder are settled as pastors, or are looking to such settlement. One sixth of all the ordinations and installations in the past year, throughout the States, were under the patronage of this society. During the last eight years, eleven thousand dollars have been repaid; and about one hundred thousand dollars have been earned by teaching schools, manual labor, and other services.

Besides this society, there is the Presbyterian Education Society, which, in the last year, had 436 beneficiaries, and had received 19,277 dollars; so that these societies, which embrace only the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies, have not less than fourteen hundred young men in training for the Christian ministry!

The Tract Society requires to be named here, for the extent and importance of its operations. It was formed only in 1825; but it has on its lists 737 works, which it has published. Of the tracts, it has printed 36,303,250 copies; and of the volumes, 33,669,918 copies. The receipts on the past year were 66,485 dollars; and the whole amount had been disbursed. No less than 20,000 dollars had been applied to *foreign* distribution; and a resolution is adopted to use 30,000 dollars in the present year for the same purpose!

Apart from many smaller societies, that at Boston deserves notice, as it is the parent of the one I have reported, and as its principle of action is equally general and comprehensive. It has upwards of 700 auxiliaries; its receipts, in 1832, were 12,606 dollars; and it issued 14,500,740 pages.

This society is conducted with much vigor, and equal prudence; its noble efforts in behalf of foreign objects deserve especial commendation.

The Sunday School Union is an important tributary in the great work of benevolence. It is catholic in its spirit, and is second to none in the ability and zeal with which it is conducted. This society was formed in 1824. Its committee is composed of religious men of different denominations; and no book is to be adopted until it has the sanction of each member. In the year 1832, the eighth of its existence, it had 790 auxiliaries; 9,187 schools were in connection; having 542,420 scholars, and 80,913 teachers. As many as 26,913 teachers and scholars are reported to have become pious in the same period. The expenditure for that year was 117,703 dollars; for the last year it was 136,855.

The more vigorous efforts of this Society have been directed most wisely to the Valley of the Mississippi. In 1830, it was resolved unanimously, "That, in reliance upon divine aid, they would, within two years, endeavor to establish a Sunday school in every destitute place, where it is practicable, throughout the Valley of the Mississippi;" that is, over a country which is 1,200 miles wide, and 2,400 in length! If this great work is not perfected, much has been done, and much is doing. There are thirty-six agents wholly employed in this service; and during the past year, they established five hundred schools, and revived a thousand.

I must not omit in this notice *The Temperance Society.* It was instituted in 1826, and has wrought an astonishing renovation amongst this people. From the circumstance that ardent spirits were to be had at about a shilling a gallon, the temptation became exceedingly great. As the demand for them rose, extensive orchards were planted, and fruits and grain were grown for the purpose of extracting spirit; till at length it threatened to become the beverage of the country. The serious attention of the benevolent was called to it. The subject was discussed and urged in all its importance on public notice. At last the principle of total abstinence from spirits as a drink, was adopted as the basis of the society. It had, of course, to contend every where with unreigned appetite and pampered vice; but every where it fought to conquer.

In the short space of its existence, upwards of seven thousand Temperance Societies have been formed; embracing more than one million two hundred and fifty thousand members. More than three thousand distilleries have been stopped; and more than seven thousand persons who dealt in spirits have declined the trade. Upwards of one thousand vessels have abandoned their use; and, most marvellous of all! it is said that above ten thousand drunkards have been reclaimed from intoxication.

I really know of no one circumstance in the history of this people, or of any people, so exhilarating as this! It discovers that power of self-government, which is the leading element of all national greatness, in an unexampled degree.

It is my duty to convey my impressions with perfect candor; and I should therefore observe, that this society, and its noble cause, are suffering at the present time from slight, and I trust temporary, reaction. The cause of Temperance has often been pleaded intemperately, and the intemperance of the mind, as well as of the body, has its appropriate punishment. Many have sought to extend the pledge to wines and other things; and have thus destroyed its simplicity and its power. Uniformly it is found that the use of wine is diminished where abstinence from the use of spirits obtains; had the advocates of the great cause remained inflexible to demanding one simple object, they would have won both; the fear is, in insisting on both, they may be denied all. No people know better than the Americans how to bear with manly and united energy on any portentious evil of the day; they have only one fault—they know not when to stop. However, they have, as a whole, acted above all praise; they have labored and prayed, prayed and labored, and the plague is stayed, and the nation is saved.

These are the principal general Societies. The following table, with which I have been favored by Dr. Wisner, comprises the remainder of the same class, and it will interest you. Besides these, of course, there are numerous *local* Societies. The amount raised annually will be an index to their relative power, and will, perhaps, make further statement unnecessary.

Receipts of Benevolent Societies in the United States, in the year ending May, 1834.

	Dollars.	Cts.
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ...	155,002	24
American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, ...	63,000	00
Western Foreign Mission Society, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, . . .	16,296	46
Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society,	35,700	15
Protestant Episcopal Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society, . .	26,007	97
American Home Missionary Society,	78,911	24
Baptist Home Missionary Society, .	11,448	28
Board of Missions of the Reformed Dutch Church, (Domestic) . . .	5,572	97
Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, (Domestic) estimated, ...	40,000	00
American Education Society, . .	57,122	20
Board of Education of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches,	38,000	00
Northern Baptist Education Society,	4,681	11
Board of Education of the Reformed Dutch Church, ...	1,270	20
American Bible Society, ...	88,600	82
American Sunday School Union, .	136,855	58
General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, ...	6,641	00
Baptist General Tract Society, . . .	6,126	97
American Tract Society, ...	66,485	83
American Colonization Society, .	48,939	17
Prison Discipline Society, . . .	2,364	00
American Seaman's Friend Society, .	16,064	00
American Temperance Society, . .	5,871	12
Total, ...	$910,961	31

I am inclined to think, that when your eye runs over these brief statements, and when you remember, that scarcely any one of these Societies is more than twenty years old, and most of them less than ten, you will be filled with surprise and admiration. But let us seek to profit by what we admire. Is not this an additional proof of the power and resources of the voluntary principle? Could so much have been done, in such a period of time, and amongst a people so circumstanced, by any other imaginable means?

Again, is it not presumptive evidence of the general good management of these Societies? I am fully aware that large sums of money may be raised, occasionally, where there is no proof of a wise and careful application; but a public institution will not have large accessions to its income, year after year, unless it gains increasingly on public confidence; and confidence does not usually rest long where it is misused. In fact, I may say, and say it advisedly, that the most popular of the Societies are excellently conducted. Were you to desire me to account for this, in one word, I should say—*they owe it to their agency.* The persons who are entrusted with the concerns of a great benevolent Society, rest under the deep conviction, that its claims and interests are paramount; and they resolve to commit the official superintendence to the highest and best hands. They look round in every direction for the best man, and it matters not where he is, or what he is doing, he is their man as far as purpose may go. They challenge him without hesitation; and they leave it with him to say whether he deems his present engagements to have superior demands upon him, to those proposed to him. The person so applied to, if sacrifices of pastoral attachment are to be made, is prepared to make them at the call of public duty; he has no feverish anxiety about his means; he does not seek more, he does not expect less; for these Societies are economical in things, and not in men, and that is true economy; and he is embarrassed by no fear that he shall suffer in the estimation of his brethren by compliance, for the best and the wisest will be his consociates. Hence it is, that you commonly find the very first men in the church, at the head of these Institutions. The particular churches sympathize with the church universal, and resign their pastor for such a service; and if he is careful to honor the choice, he finds himself not degraded, but advanced to higher esteem, as well as to wider usefulness.

I know of no one thing that has contributed to the success of these religious bodies equally with this; and simple as it is, it deserves to be made an indispensable principle of action. The opposite course is full of disaster. If, from a low estimate of the office, or from an unwillingness to incur charge, an inferior person is accepted to first rate appointments, you will soon find him surrounded only by men like or less than himself. He is officially the leader of the body; but if the weak lead the strong, there will be confusion and every evil work; and order will only be restored by the better men gradually disappearing. Incompetency propagates incompetency; and, at length, none but the weak aspire to a post which has been degraded in the eyes of men. Would I could say, that none of our Societies have suffered from such causes! But it is impossible to put some of them in comparison, as we were forced to do, with the corresponding ones in the younger country, without painfully feeling their inferiority in such respects. The interests at stake are great and overwhelming; and a remedy should be applied without delay.

Besides the primary agents, most of these Societies have a considerable number that are secondary.

They move among the associated churches in the different States, in a rotation adjusted with much precision and forethought, by their superiors.—Their duty is to impart information, awaken zeal, and open new resources in favor of their object. Such agency would be needful in an ordinary case; it is peculiarly requisite here. The cause is so new and comparatively unknown; and the persons to be interested and united in it, are scattered over such an amazing territory; that it could not be kept in vigor, if it were held in life, without such agency. I ascribe very much of the efficiency of the society in question to this cause.

Yet I will not scruple to avow, that I have considered, in some instances, the fair line of proportion, which it is mostly so difficult to discern, to have been overstepped. In one or two cases, so many agents are employed, as to make a fearful deduction on the gross receipts. But this is not the chief evil. I have reason to know that the subordinate agency is, as a whole, well chosen and efficient; still, it is evident, in proportion to the number demanded, is the risk of engaging the incompetent. Some of the deputies, therefore, are in capacity below the average of the pastors; and the average effect is then against the object to be promoted. If we have fallen below the mark, perhaps some of the transatlantic societies may have exceeded. Yet my objection would not be so much to the amount as to the quality; it cannot well be excessive, while it is excellent.

I must not dismiss this subject without remarking, that, while these societies are working nobly to their avowed end, they are exercising a collateral influence scarcely less important. They are insensibly dissolving the barriers which have kept good men asunder; and are teaching the churches of the faith that they are essentially one. They are the true ministers of revivals; and have worked, though perhaps unseen, more than every thing to that end. They have shown the preciousness of truth, and the worthlessness of error. They have called out the mazed attention from the metaphysical to the practical; and corrected practice has convinced men of the doctrine which is of God. They will consume, alike, Unitarianism on the one hand, and Antinomianism on the other. They are diffusing over the churches a heavenly piety; inspiring them with sublime expectations; and girding them for sublime devotedness. What is low, and little, and selfish, will die away before them; and, in the hour of their triumph, they will disclose to us the answer to the prayer which we have so often preferred—"Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth, even as it is in heaven!"

LETTER XXXVIII.

My dear friend—Having dwelt with some enlargement on the State of Religion in this country, both in its peculiar and ordinary manifestations, let me now impart what information I may on the kindred subject of *Education*. On no subject, perhaps, has attention been more fully or justly awakened; for we can only assume that the interests of religion amongst a people are sound and hopeful, as those of general instruction are imbued with these qualities.

Education is either collegiate or common. That which is collegiate will require our first consideration. The leading peculiarities of the colleges are, that some of them add to general learning that which is professional, and then they are eligible to be regarded as universities; others are strictly theological institutions, to prepare young men for the ministry; and others, it may be either theological or classical, are frequently denominated Manual Labor Institutions, from the circumstance of manual labor being extensively employed as a means of exercise and profit. If I refer you to a principal example in each class, you will be sufficiently informed on the subject; and will only have to make allowances for such variations as circumstances, for the time, may impose.

Yale College is certainly first of its class; and, for the number of its pupils, the variety of its schools, and its high reputation, it may challenge the name, equally with those which have it, of a university. It was established in 1700, at Saybrook. It derives its name from Elihu Yale, of London, its original benefactor. Bishop Berkeley also took an interest in its foundation; and presented it with one thousand volumes. It is composed of ten valuable erections; two of them of stone, and the rest of brick; another hall is about to be erected. The students at present in attendance are as follows:—

Theological,	55
Law,	39
Medical,	71
Seniors,	66
Juniors,	81
Sophomores,	103
Freshmen,	126
	541

Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class, are examined in Cicero's Select Orations, Virgil, Sallust, the Greek Testament, Dalzel's Collectanea Græca Minora, Adams' Latin Grammar, Goodrich's Greek Grammar, Latin Prosody, Writing Latin, Barnard's or Adams' Arithmetic, Murray's English Grammar, and Morse's, Worcester's, or Woodbridge's Geography, Jacobs' Greek Reader, and the Four Gospels, are admitted as a substitute for Græca Minora and the Greek Testament.

No one can be admitted to the Freshman Class, till he has completed his fourteenth year; nor to an advanced standing without a proportional increase of age.

Testimonials of good moral character are in all cases required; and those who are admitted from other colleges, must produce certificates of dismission in good standing. The students are not considered as regular members of the college, till, after a residence of at least six months, they have been admitted to matriculation, on satisfactory evidence of an unblemished moral character. Before this they are only students on probation.

The government and instruction of the students are committed to the Faculty, which consists of a president; a professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; a professor of the Latin language and literature; a professor of mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy; a professor of divinity; a professor of rhetoric and oratory; a professor of the Greek language and literature; and eight tutors.

The whole course of instruction occupies four years; and in each year there are three terms or sessions.

The three younger classes are divided, each into two or three parts; and each of the divisions is committed to the particular charge of a tutor, who, with the assistance of the professors, instructs it. The Senior Class is instructed by the president and professors. Each of the four classes attends three recitations or lectures in a day; except on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when they have only two. The following scheme gives a general view of the authors recited each term:—

FRESHMAN CLASS.

I.

Folsom's Livy, from one half to two thirds.—Adams' Roman Antiquities.—Day's Algebra, begun.—Græca Majora, vol. i. begun.

II.

Folsom's Livy, finished.—Græca Majora, continued through the historical part, and Xenophon's Memorabilia.—Day's Algebra, finished.

III.

Horace, begun.—Græca Majora, vol. ii. begun.—Playfair's Euclid, five books.

SOPHOMORE CLASS.

I.

Horace, continued.—Græca Majora, continued.—Euclid, reviewed and finished.

II.

Horace, finished and reviewed.—Juvenal, Leverett's edition, begun.—Græca Majora, continued.—Day's Mathematics; Plane Trigonometry, Nature and Use of Logarithms, Mensuration of Superficies and Solids, and Isoperimetry; Mensuration of Heights and Distances, and Navigation.

III.

Græca Majora, continued.—Juvenal, finished.—Cicero de Oratore, begun.—Day's Mathematics; Surveying.—Bridge's Conic Sections.—Spherical Geometry and Trigonometry.—Jamieson's Rhetoric.

JUNIOR CLASS.

I.

Cicero de Oratore, finished.—Tacitus, begun.—Græca Majora, continued.—Olmsted's Natural Philosophy and Mechanics.

II.

Tacitus: the History; Manners of the Germans; and Agricola.—Græca Majora, continued.—Natural Philosophy, finished and reviewed.

III.

Astronomy.—Hedge's Logic.—Tytler's History.—Fluxions, Homer's Iliad, Hebrew, French, or Spanish, *at the option of the Student.*

SENIOR CLASS.

I.

Blair's Rhetoric.—Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind.—Brown's ditto.—Paley's Moral Philosophy.—Kent's Commentaries on American Law, vol. i.—Greek and Latin.

II.

Kent's Commentaries, vol. i. continued.—Paley's Natural Theology.—Evidences of Christianity.—Greek and Latin.

III.

Say's Political Economy.

In addition to the recitations in the books here specified, the classes receive lectures and occasional instruction from the professors of the Greek and Latin languages; the Junior Class attends a course of experimental lectures on natural philosophy; and the Senior Class, the course on chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and select subjects of natural philosophy and astronomy. The members of the several classes attend also the private exercises and lectures of the Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory. A course of lectures on the oration of Demosthenes for the crown, is delivered to members of the Senior Class. Specimens of English composition are exhibited daily, by one or more of each of the divisions of the Sophomore and Junior Classes. Written translations from Latin authors are presented by the Freshman Class. The lower classes are also instructed in Latin composition. The Senior and Junior Classes have forensic disputations once or twice a week, before their instructors. There are very frequent exercises in declamation, before the tutors, before the Professor of Oratory, and before the Faculty and students in the chapel.

Gentlemen, well qualified to teach the French and Spanish languages, are engaged by the Faculty, to give instruction in these branches, to those students who desire it, at their own expense.

Worship is observed in the college chapel, every morning and evening; when one of the faculty officiates, and all the students are required to be present. They are also required to attend public worship in the chapel, on the Sabbath, except such as have permission to attend the Episcopal, or other congregations in town.

The college expenses are made out by the treasurer and steward, three times a year, at the close of each term; and are presented to the students, who are required to present them to their parents, guardians, or patrons. He is not permitted to recite till the bills are paid.

The annual charges in the treasurer's bill are—

	Dolls.	Cts.
For instruction	33	00
For rent of chamber in college, from 6 to 12 dollars—average	9	00
For ordinary repairs and contingencies,	2	40
For general damages, sweeping, &c., about	3	30
For wood for recitation rooms, about .	1	30
	$49	00

Board is furnished in commons by the steward, at cost, about $1,87 a week; or $75 a year, not including vacations. It varies, however, with the price of provisions. Wood is procured by the corporation, and distributed to those students who apply for it, at cost and charges.

The following may be considered as a near estimate of the *necessary* expenses:—

		Dolls.		Dolls
Treasurer's bill as above, ...		49	to	49
Board in commons, 40 weeks,	from	70	to	80
Fuel and light, ...	—	8	to	16
Use of books recited, and stationary	—	5	to	15
Use of furniture, bed, and bedding,	—	5	to	15
Washing, ...	—	8	to	18
Taxes in the classes, &c.	—	5	to	7
Total,		$150	to	200

The tutors in these colleges hold, in some degree, a different place from those with us.

They are brought nearer to them; they reside amongst them; and they have charge of their moral conduct and obedience to the positive precepts of the college, as well as of their elementary instruction. This provision, it struck me, worked admirably.

The methods of education are all by lecture, by recitation, and by periodical examination; each method supplying the deficiencies of the others, and conferring an amount of benefit which is not to be found in the best use of any one alone. The best teachers appeared to be jealous of relying on much formal oral instruction; and very commonly allow the regular lecture to be dissected by the most searching inquiry and discussion.

From the arrangements which I have quoted, it is also evident, that the leading object is not so much to force superiority in one department, as to supply competency to all. The powers of the students are not concentrated on one subject, but are exercised on several; and if this does not allow him to attain the highest knowledge in a given pursuit, his whole amount of knowledge may be as great; while his advancement in true wisdom may be much greater, since his education will have much more of proportion and of actual truth about it than would otherwise be possible. Undoubtedly, scholars of the first talent, and with the fixed determination of taste and habit to a particular study, should be encouraged to the utmost to consolidate their energies on that study, and to attain the heights of additional discovery. Such means, collegiate institutions will usually supply; and if not, true genius will create them; but, in discoursing of them as means of educating the people, their excellency will chiefly consist in calling up all the faculties of the mind, and in teaching them to master all those great elements of knowledge, which give acquaintance with life, symmetry to character, and the sagacity and efficiency of wisdom.

I should observe, that the younger colleges, as you may expect, are not commonly so well adjusted, or so vigorous in action, as Yale; but they are moving on to maturity with striking rapidity. A disadvantage to most of them is, that the majority of the students enter so late. In several instances, I found that the larger portion of undergraduates were nearer to thirty than twenty years of age. The usual course is four years. In many of the colleges there is no great strictness of examination for admission; but as the college rises in power, it imposes stricter terms.

I have now to notice the *Theological College*. Perhaps I cannot do better than to refer your attention to Andover, whose commencement I have already briefly described. It was established, as I have stated, in 1807, and is supported by private beneficence. It has not been affected, as some colleges have, by State patronage and enactment; and is the most prosperous of its fellows. Its faculty is composed of the President; a Professor of Sacred Literature; a Professor of Christian Theology; a Professor of Sacred Rhetoric; and a Professor of Ecclesiastical History. The number of students is usually above one hundred. To obtain admission, they must produce certificates of pious and moral character; and of collegiate education, or of an education equal to it.

The following quotation, from a writer who, I believe, graduated there, will furnish you with an outline of the studies, and the manner of pursuing them, sufficiently distinct:—

"There are three classes, called the Junior, Middle, and Senior. The first year, the Bible is studied in the original languages. All the aid which can be obtained from the learning of other commentators, without regard to their peculiar views, is eagerly sought. The Bible, however, is the text-book; and the Dictionary, with other philological helps, the principal expositor. As the class assembles in the lecture-room, there is free discussion of the meaning of the passage to which they are attending. Freedom of investigation is earnestly encouraged in connection with a humble and prayerful spirit. In the lecture-room, every mind is on the alert, and each individual is willing to express dissent from the opinion expressed by his fellow-student or the professor. The study of the Bible is thus prosecuted, during the year, with unwearied diligence.

"The second year is devoted to the investigation of Doctrinal Theology. The following is a list of the topics which engage attention, in the order in which they are taken up:—1. Natural Theology; 2. Evidences of Divine Revelation; 3. Inspiration of the Scriptures; 4. Christian Theology; 5. Divine Attributes; 6. Trinity in the Godhead; 7. Character of Christ; 8. Sonship of Christ; 9. Holy Spirit; 10. Divine Purposes; 11. Moral Agency; 12. Original Apostacy; 13. Character and State of Man since the Fall; 14. Atonement; 15. Regeneration; 16. Christian Virtue, or Holiness; 17. Particular Branches of Christian Virtue; 18. Justification; 19. Perseverance of the Saints; 20. Future State; 21. Future Punishment; 22. Positive Institutions; 23. Christian Church; 24. Infant Baptism; 25. Mode of Baptism; 26. Lord's Supper. These general topics, of course, admit of many subdivisions, which it is not necessary here to introduce.

"There is an outline of the course of study placed in the hands of each of the students, in which there is reference to all the important works in the library, which treat of the subject under investigation. The students become familiar with the reasonings of writers on both sides. They discuss the subjects with entire freedom with one another; and in the lecture-room, with the professor. No one hesitates to bring forward any objection which his reading or his meditations have suggested. Every student knows that in this land, where there is such unrestrained license of opinion, the clergyman must be continually meeting with the strongest arguments of subtle foes; they all know that it is necessary that they should be well armed for the conflict which awaits them. Another consequence is, that the cavils of the infidel are, perhaps, as thoroughly studied as the arguments of the Christian. The above outline certainly does not contain all the important topics in Christian Theology. It is intended merely as the foundation, deep and broad, upon which the student is to build in future years. It gives direction to his studies, and tells him what he wants.

"The third year is devoted to sacred rhetoric. The critical preparation of sermons, the study of church history, and pastoral duties. During the latter part of the year, the students occasionally preach in the chapel, and in the neighboring villages; and the demand for ministerial labor is so great, that but a few months elapse after they leave the seminary, before nearly all are settled. The demand for pastors is vastly greater than our seminaries can at present supply."

Let me now pass to those colleges which, for the sake of distinction, are called *Manual Labor Institutions*. The most interesting specimen which I have seen is that at Cincinnati. This institution is delightfully situated on the Walnut Hills, two miles from the city. It is known as the Lane Seminary, and derives its name from Messrs. E and W. Lane merchants of New Orleans, who were its first benefactors. Since then, other donations have been made; and amongst them, 20,000 dollars have been given by Arthur Tappan, Esq. to endow a professorship. It has erections competent to receive a hundred students, and about that number are now on the foundation. Dr. Beecher, whom I noticed as being in New England in September, was there on its interests; and he succeeded so well, as to procure 10,000 dollars for a library; 15,000 for a professorship; and 10,000 for a chapel. The present faculty consists of a President and Professor of Theology; a Professor of Church History; a Professor of Biblical Literature; a Professor of Languages, a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and a Superintendent.

By its prospectus, it proposes to act on a platform, equally elevated and expanded as that of the eastern establishments; but you would be deceived if you should conclude that all that was thus set forth is accomplished. It rather shows intention for the future, than the image of the present deed; like many of the cities of this Western world, which look complete and magnificent in architectural drawing, but which have as yet scarcely disturbed the green sward of the forest. It is obliged for the present to accommodate itself to circumstances. This seminary is meant to be chiefly theological; but, because the young men, who seek its benefits, have not been able to make previous acquisition, it necessarily takes the form of a collegiate, and even of a grammar-school establishment. Its peculiarity, however, is, that it employs manual labor as an ingredient in its system. The following quotations from a well digested report may best illustrate this subject; and as it has recently excited inquiry, I presume that they will be read with interest:—

"Whatever may be the theoretical objections of good men, practically unacquainted with this system, to its practicability and importance, it is to the directors no longer a matter of experiment, but of sober fact, resulting from three or four years experience, that the connection of three hours daily labor, in some useful and interesting employment, with study, protects the health and constitution of our young men; greatly augments their physical energy; furnishes to a considerable extent, or entirely, the means of self-education; increases their power of intellectual acquisition; facilitates their actual progress in study; removes the temptations of idleness; confirms their habits of industry; gives them a practical acquaintance with the useful employments of life; fits them for the toils and responsibilities of a newly-settled country; and inspires them with the independence of character, and the originality of investigation, which belongs peculiarly to self-made and self-educated men.

"While the making of money was ever regarded by the friends of this system as one of its minor, and subsidiary results; and while its grand and leading object would be fully accomplished by its direct action in protecting the lives and health of our young men, and securing their intellectual elevation, irrespective of considerations of gain; yet the pecuniary aids thus secured for self-support, especially by such as are without means, are to be reckoned amongst the peculiar benefits of the manual labor system. The contiguity of our institution to the city of Cincinnati, affords peculiar facilities, such as are seldom enjoyed, for the successful operation and improvement of the manual labor department.

"During the early part of the last year, an arrangement was entered into by the committee with Messrs. Corey and Fairbank, booksellers, of Cincinnati, to furnish the students with several printing presses, and with stereotype plates for printing Webster's Spelling Book. This establishment has been in operation nearly a year, and now embraces six presses, furnishing work for twenty students.

"About 150,000 copies of the above-named work have been printed, and about 1000 copies per day are now issued from the presses; thus furnishing our young men with the privilege of scattering the light and benefits of rudimental education amongst more than 500,000 of the rising generation annually, while they have enjoyed the best kind of labor for the promotion of health, and been successfully engaged in procuring the means of self-support.

"Besides the common work of printing Webster's Spelling Book, and the Elementary Reader, the students have recently commenced the printing of an edition of Dr. Eberle's Treatise on the Diseases of Children, a valuable medical work, which requires fine paper, and the best workmanship; and it is believed that in all respects, the execution of the work is highly satisfactory to the employers.

	Dollars.	Cts.
The average amount earned by six printers in ten months, by working about three hours per day	120	00
Average amount earned at the same rate in a year	144	00
Amount now earned by twenty students per week	50	82
Average amount	2	54
Average amount earned by twenty students at the same rate as above, per year .	132	08

In view of these results, and the small annual expense of this institution, it is hardly necessary to remark, that the students in this department have the high satisfaction of providing the means of their own education without aid from friends, or from the benefactions of the church.

"This arrangement is the more important for our young men, from the fact, that a knowledge of the business is easily acquired; several of the students having gained such an acquaintance with the employment in three or four weeks as to be able to earn forty-six cents per day, or two dollars and seventy-six cents per week, by working three hours per day.

"This operation is highly satisfactory to the committee, not only as furnishing a useful and advantageous employment to the students, but as it is unattended with any expense to the institution in furnishing presses, or in the printing and disposition of the books. From nearly a year's full experiment, the committee are fully persuaded that this branch of our manual labor has peculiar advantages in respect to its simplicity, its appropriate exercise, its general utility, and pecuniary results.

"At the commencement of the spring term, an arrangement was entered into by the committee with Messrs. Skinner and Tompkins, of Cincinnati, by which from twenty to thirty of our students have been furnished with cabinet-making employment.

"This branch of business is considered as one of the most desirable that can be introduced, as to its general utility, its vigorous exercise, the ready sale of furniture, and the reasonable compensation which it affords to the manufacturer. In this arrangement the employers have furnished all the materials, and paid the students the regular prices for their work by the piece; by which the institution has been freed from pecuniary responsibility, while the students have secured to themselves all the benefits of their labor, and received a reasonable compensation for their services.

"Several of the best workmen have earned from twelve and a half to fifteen cents per hour, and have received for their services during the time above specified from forty to sixty dollars each; while those who have recently commenced learning the business, have earned from ten to twenty dollars each.

"While the fact is here rendered obvious that a first rate mechanic is entirely independent in this institution, and can support himself by his three-hours labor without infringing at all upon his study hours; the committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that such results are secured only by young men of energetic, industrious, and economical habits; and that those of different character, and who have little or no knowledge of tools, ought not to rely, to any considerable extent, at least for the first year, upon their labor, as the means of paying the expenses of the institution.

"No small injury is threatened to manual labor institutions, and no small embarrassment has been felt by this seminary in common with others, in consequence of the erroneous impression too commonly prevalent, that no funds will be needed in a manual labor institution, even when the student has no trade, no knowledge of any kind of business, no power of accomplishment, and little disposition to perform the labor offered him as the means of paying his expenses.

"The committee believe that much profitable labor can be performed on a farm of one hundred and ten acres, within two miles of the city, when our farm shall be raised to the highest state of cultivation; but as little of this kind of labor can be attended to, except for a small part of the year, it is evident that most of our young men must turn their attention, at least for a part of the year, to mechanical employments. Nor is this to be regretted, as such employments are generally more lucrative than those of agriculture, furnish the best exercise, and business for all seasons of the year; and a practical knowledge of some trade which may be highly useful in all subsequent life. The farmers who perform the labor of a man, are allowed their board for three hours labor per day.

"With a view to extend and equalize the advantages of education, the committee have used every effort to diminish the expenses of the seminary. The following statement will show that the term-bills are made so low, as by the aid of manual labor, to bring the advantages of this institution within the reach of all young men of worth, who wish to enjoy its benefits.

"Students in the theological department are at no expense for tuition. In the preparatory department, tuition is twenty dollars per annum. Board in commons, one dollar per week. Room rent, from three to five dollars per annum. Washing, fuel, lights, and incidental expenses generally, about twenty dollars per annum. The whole necessary expense, therefore, of a theological student, at this institution, may be safely estimated at about sixty dollars per annum, and of a student in the preparatory department at about eighty dollars per annum; while the avails of labor during term-time may be estimated for a farmer, at from thirty to forty dollars, and for a mechanic, at from fifty to one hundred dollars per annum, exclusive of what may be obtained by industry during the twelve weeks of vacation."

It will be seen from these statements, that labor has been applied to three departments, Printing, Cabinet-making, and Farming. The time demanded for manual occupation is three hours a day; and if the student is adroit and industrious, he may, after short practice, earn enough to make himself independent.

In the peculiarity referred to, the institutions of Illinois, Indiana, and Oneida, bear strong resemblance; except that Lane Seminary has made a longer experiment, and with more advantages.—The opinions of those who have had most to do with these institutions, is, on the whole, in their favor. Still it is not more than an experiment; and we must wait for the results. If too much reliance is placed on it, it may create disappointment.—Should it be thought that it may be adequate to self-support, it may draw off liberality and public interest from our colleges; and if what, under any circumstance, should be held as subordinate, should be made primary, the very ends of their existence will be neutralized. This arrangement has been suggested by the state of society; and as the state of society alters, it will lose its prominence; but why, in the most advanced condition of society, and of a college, those hours, which are now given by the student to childish sports, or walks without an object, should not be yielded to rural occupations, it would be difficult to conceive. Exercise is health, and occupation is morality; and if the farm and garden were made a necessary appendage to a college, both might be secured with the fullest advantage. What an amount of vice might have been prevented—and what character saved from wreck, by such a wise and pleasant arrangement! And how many a fair youth, of special promise and ardent temperament, had been spared to his friends and the world, if his young and excessive passion for letters had been qualified by healthful employment!

It is but justice to those who encourage and sustain the principle of manual labor in these colleges, to say, that it is not adopted from a depreciated estimate of the value of thorough mental cultivation. They consider that study must have its intervals, and these they desire to occupy at once to the advantage of the pupil, and the existing state of the Institution. His hours of relaxation they would employ for his physical education; and they consider that this would be subsidiary, in no slight degree, to his mental and moral education.

Before I offer any more general remarks, let me close this sketch of the collegiate establishments, by a list of the whole. It has been put into my hand by a friend; and by comparison and otherwise, I have reason to regard it as very accurate:—

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

MAINE.

	Students.
Bangor Theo. Sem. at Bangor (Congreg.)	6

MASSACHUSETTS.

Theological Sem. at Andover (Congr.)	145
Theo. School, at Cambridge (Con. Unit.)	31
Theo. Institution, at Newtown (Baptist)	40

CONNECTICUT.

Theo. Dep. Yale Col. at New Haven (Congr.)	49

NEW YORK.

Theo. Inst. Epis. Church, at New York (Epis.)	50
Theo. Sem. of Auburn, at Auburn (Presbyt.)	54
Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, at Hamilton (Baptist)	38
Hartwick Sem. at Hartwick (Lutheran)	9

NEW JERSEY.

Theological Seminary Dutch Reformed Church, at New Brunswick	24
Theological Seminary at Princeton (Presbyt.)	136

PENNSYLVANIA.

Seminary at Gettysburg (Evangel. Lutheran)	20
German Reformed, at York	20
Western Theo. Sem. Allegany T. (Presbyt.)	29

VIRGINIA.

Epis. Theo. School, Fairfax County (Prot. Ep.)	70
Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward County (Presbyt.)	33

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Southern Theo. Sem. at Columbia (Presbyt.)	21
Theological Sem. at Lexington (Lutheran)	—
Furman Theo. Sem. at High Hills (Baptist)	20

TENNESSEE.

South West Theo. Sem. at Maryville (Presbyt.)	22

OHIO.

Lane Seminary, at Cincinnati (Presbyterian)	100

There are Roman Catholic Theological Seminaries at Baltimore and near Emmitsburg, Maryland; at Charleston, South Carolina; near Bardstown, and in Washington County, Kentucky; and in Perry County, Missouri.

COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

MAINE.

		Students.
1.	Bowdoin College, at Brunswick (Congr.)	150
2.	Waterville College, at Waterville (Baptist)	80

	Students.
NEW HAMPSHIRE.	
3. Dartmouth College, at Hanover (Congr.)	160
VERMONT.	
4. Middlebury Col. at Middlebury (Congr.)	130
5. Vermont Univer. at Burlington (Congr.)	80
MASSACHUSETTS.	
6. Harvard University, at Cambridge (Unit.)	210
7. Amherst College, at Amherst (Congr.)	230
8. Williams Col. at Williamstown (Congr.)	130
RHODE ISLAND.	
9. Brown University, at Providence (Baptist)	130
CONNECTICUT.	
10. Yale College, at New Haven (Congr.)	500
11. Washington College, at Hartford (Epis.)	70
12. Wesleyan Univer. at Middletown (Meth.)	80
NEW YORK.	
13. New York University, at New York (no religious persuasion)	150
14. Columbia College, at New York (Epis.)	150
15. Union College, at Schenectady (Presbyt.)	210
16. Hamilton College, at Clinton (Presbyt.)	100
17. Geneva College, at Geneva (Epis.)	80
NEW JERSEY.	
18. Rutgers Col. at New Brunswick (R. Dutch)	80
19. New Jersey Col. at Princeton (Presbyt.)	180
PENNSYLVANIA.	
20. Univer. of Pennsylvania, at Phila. (Epis.)	120
21. Lafayette College, at Easton (Presbyt.)	80
22. Bristol College, near Bristol (Epis.)	80
23. Pennsylvania Col. at Gettysburg (Luth.)	100
24. Dickinson College, at Carlisle (Methodist)	100
25. Jefferson College, at Canonsburg (Presbyt.)	230
26. Washington Col. at Washington (Presbyt.)	150
27. Western University of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburg (Cov.)	85
28. Allegany College, at Meadville (Meth.)	80
Girard College, building at Philadelphia, will cost in building 700,000 dollars; has a fund of 2,000,000 dollars for orphan boys.	
DELAWARE.	
29. Delaware College, at Newark (Presbyt.)	50
MARYLAND.	
30. St. Mary's College, at Baltimore (Catholic)	80
31. St. Mary's Col. at Emittsburg (Catholic)	120
32. St. John's College, at Annapolis (Epis.)	80
VIRGINIA.	
33. William and Mary College, at Williamsburg (Episcopal)	75
34. University of Virginia, at Charlottesville	180
35. Hampden-Sidney College, Prince Edward County (Episcopal)	80
36. Washington Col. at Lexington (Presbyt.)	75
37. Randolph College, at Lexington (Meth.)	80
38. Columbian College, at Washington (Bap.)	70
39. Columbian College, at Georgetown (Cath.)	120
NORTH CAROLINA.	
40. North Carolina University, at Chapel Hill	120
SOUTH CAROLINA.	
41. South Carolina University, at Columbia	60
42. Charleston College, at Charleston (Epis.)	120
GEORGIA.	
43. Georgia University, at Athens (Presbyt.)	120
ALABAMA.	
44. Univer. of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa (Bap.)	70
45. La Grange College, at La Grange, in Alabama (Methodist)	100
46. Spring Hill College, Mobile (Catholic)	110
A new College is about to commence at Marion, by the Presbyterians.	
LOUISIANA.	
47. College of Louisiana, at Jackson (no religious influence)	80
48. College at Ibberville (Catholic)	100
A new College is about to be built in the Opelourus district, by the friends of education. Catholics are seeking its control.	
MISSISSIPPI.	
49. Jefferson College, at Washington (no religious persuasion	50
50. Oakhill Col. near Port Gibson (Presbyt.)	70
TENNESSEE.	
51. Nashville University, at Nashville (Presbyterian.)	90
52. College near Columbia (Presbyt.)	80
53. East Tennessee Col. at Knoxville (Presbyt.)	30
54. Washington Col. near Jonesboro (Presbyt.)	30
55. Washington College, at —— (Presbyt.)	30
KENTUCKY.	
56. Transylvania Univer. at Lexington (Epis.)	70
57. Centre College, at Danville (Presbyt.)	90
58. Georgetown College, at Georgetown (Bap.)	40
59. Bardstown College, at Bardstown (Cath.)	100
60. Bardstown Col. in Washington Co. (Cath.)	100
61. Cumberland College, at Princeton (Cumb. Presbyterian)	120
62. Augusta College, at Augusta (Methodist)	110
OHIO.	
63. Athenæum, at Cincinnati (Catholic)	90
64. Miami University, at Oxford (Presbyt.)	160
65. Ohio University, at Athens (Presbyt.)	90
66. Franklin College, at New Athens (Presbyt.)	50
67. Kenyon College, at Gambier (Episcopal)	150
68. Western Reserve College, at Hudson (Presbyterian.)	100
69. Ripley College, at Ripley	50
INDIANA.	
70. Col. of Indiana, at Bloomington (Presbyt.)	60
71. South Hanover College, near Madison (Presbyterian.)	120
ILLINOIS.	
72. Illinois College, at Jacksonville (Presbyt.)	90
MISSOURI.	
73. Marion College, near Palmyra (Presbyt.)	50
74. Missouri University, at St. Louis (Cath.)	140
75. Bishop's College, at Barrens, Perry County. (Catholic.)	120

I think you will not be able to pass your eye over this list, and the previous statements, and connect them with the circumstances of the people, without being filled with surprise and admiration. Here are no less than TWENTY-ONE theological colleges, all of which have been instituted since the year 1808! and they contain 853 students, and have accumulated 57,000 volumes! Here are SEVENTY-FIVE colleges for general education, most of them with professional departments, and they have 8,136 students! and FORTY of these have been created since the year 1814! Altogether there are NINETY-SIX colleges, and no less than NINE THOUSAND AND THIRTY-TWO students! Some of these colleges are literally springing up in the desert, and are putting themselves in readiness to bless generations that shall be born! It is impossible not to feel that the influence they exert must be amazing in extent, and in the highest degree sanitory.

Besides the general influence which they must have, I wish to remark their effect on the ministry. In doing so, it must be candidly admitted that many persons composing the existing ministry have not graduated in any college, and therefore have, at least, no *direct* benefit. The Methodists and Baptists, especially, have here, as they have with us, undervalued an educated ministry; and many who have entered a college have, from pious but indiscreet zeal, not kept terms. Of the 11,000 ministers reported, I should think 3,000 may be regarded as mostly self-taught; and of the 8,000 left, I should conclude that upwards of 2,000 had not regularly graduated in their respective colleges. Still this leaves nearly six thousand who have been fairly educated; and this amount does, in fact, give to the entire ministry as much the character of intelligence and cultivation, as shall any where be found.

Whatever may be the actual use of the means to be found in this country, certainly those means, as they contribute to supply the church with a well trained and efficient ministry, excel any thing which we have at home. The student for the sacred calling gets a better classical and general education, than he would get in our dissenting colleges, while his professional education is not inferior; and he gets a theological education unspeakably better than Oxford or Cambridge would afford him, though his classical advantages would be less. He derives a two-fold advantage from the arrangements at home, as compared with our colleges, and they relate to *method* and *time*. The general course of learning, and the professional course, are kept perfectly distinct; and the professional is made to follow the collegiate; and the certificate of excellence in the one course is requisite to commencement in the other. The *time* also is adequate; four years are allowed for what is preparatory, and three years for what is professional.

After these references you may be anxious to know, what would be my judgment as to the comparative practical efficiency of their ministry. So far as general statement can meet such a question, I would not withhold an impartial opinion, since just distinction on such a subject must be of the utmost importance. That the ministry of that country, whether educated or uneducated, must in itself be highly efficient, is placed beyond dispute, in every competent judgment, by the single and exhilarating fact—THAT IT IS A REGENERATED MINISTRY. Yes, as far as I could ascertain, the whole body of the orthodox ministers, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and mostly the Episcopalians, are truly regenerated men. Bringing the *whole* ministry there, and the *whole* ministry here, to this single and vital test, I leave you to say where the advantage rests.

There are other points of comparison that may not be without profit, and in which we shall not uniformly be the losers. If the ministers there have decidedly the best opportunities of preparing for their work, I think they usually avail themselves less of them afterwards, than is common with us. They have fewer books, and they read less; they seem to rely more on what the college has done for them; and they consume so much time in writing their own thoughts, as to allow them little for enlarged communion with those of other, and mostly better, men.

In many cases, they require to be more intellectual, but less metaphysical in their ministry; and to consult manner as well as intention. We have, undoubtedly, many men who equal them in earnest and powerful address to the conscience, but, as a body, they have decidedly more directness in their ministration. We look more at what is secondary, they at what is primary. They, in looking to the end, will often disregard the means by which they may best attain it; and we as often, in regarding the complicated means, may lose sight of the end for a season. They have less respect for the nicer feelings; and we have more difficulty, when our purpose is distinctly before us, of moving towards it. They have more promptness and decision, and move with sudden power to a given object; but if that object is to be obtained by patient and steady perseverance, we are rather more likely to be successful. In doing an evident and great good, they do not always consider whether they may not do a proportionate mischief; while we, frequently, from the fear of consequences, do almost nothing. They make the better evangelists; and we the better pastors.

Circumstances in either country have undoubtedly contributed to produce these differences; and the consideration both of cause and effect may be profitable to each party. One may readily see in this ministerial character a connection with the revivals, which have at various seasons been developed. How far the character may have caused the revivals, or the revivals created the character, though a curious, is by no means a useless inquiry. But I must recover myself from this digression.

LETTER XXXIX.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Let us now pass from the College to a class of institutions which falls under the appellation of *Common Schools*. It will be best, perhaps, to take an example from the Old States, and afterwards from the New; and to attend and follow these by such remarks, as may assist to complete your acquaintance with this department of education.

Of the Old States, Massachusetts has made the fullest experiment; and as the results are the riper, it may the better serve our purpose. The following extracts from a letter on this subject, are so clear and appropriate as to induce me to insert them:—

"You ask to be informed of our school system, the way in which money is raised, its amount, and its application.

"It has been alike the happiness and glory of the people of Massachusetts, from the earliest settlement of the colony, to have made ample provision for the education of children and youth; and what is truly remarkable, the mode which was first adopted for effecting this purpose, by public contributions, equally apportioned according to the ability of the country, and of the inhabitants respectively, has remained unchanged to the present time. In the year 1647, a law was passed, which required such townships as had fifty householders, to appoint some person within their towns, to teach children to write and to read; and towns which had one thousand householders to maintain a grammar school, in which youth might be fitted for the University, in the quaint language of the preamble to the Act—'It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, and to the end, that knowledge might not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors.' By subsequent statutes, as the country advanced in population and wealth, the number of schools to be supported by the towns, in the fulfilment of *corporate* obligations, was increased, the required qualifications of teachers raised, and the penalty for neglect in maintaining the schools, each year, which was at first five pounds, was advanced, from time to time, to thirty and forty pounds. To prevent incompetent and improper instructors from being employed, it was required that they should be subjected to an examination by the clergymen of the town, and approved by the select-men. Parents and masters were also enjoined to allow those under their care to improve the opportunities publicly afforded for their instruction, and a species of literary and moral police, constituted of the ministers of religion, overseers and officers of the college, and civil magistrates, to see that neglect and breaches of the laws were duly noticed and punished.

"Such is a brief outline of the institution of common schools under the colonial and provincial charters. A review of the ancient statutes, presents much matter for interesting reflection, and shows with how great solicitude the support of their primary seminaries was regulated, and the care which was taken to prevent an evasion of the requirements of authority, on the part of the towns. After the formation of the State Constitution, the statutes were revised, and by a law of the commonwealth, passed in 1789, it was required of every town or district, containing fifty families or householders, to be provided with a schoolmaster, or schoolmasters, of good morals, *to teach children to read and write, and instruct them in the English language, as well as in arithmetic, orthography, and decent behavior, for such term of time as shall be equivalent to six months for one school in each year*. And any town or district, containing one hundred families or householders, was to be provided with such master or masters, *for such term of time as should be equivalent to one school for the whole year*. Additional schools, and of higher character, were to be maintained by towns of greater ability; and authority was given to towns to create and define school districts, within the limits of which school-houses were to be erected and schools kept, and to raise money for their support, by assessment of the polls and rateable estates of the inhabitants, to be collected in the manner of other taxes. Schoolmasters, before they were employed, were to be examined and approved, and all the obligations created by law were enforced by high pecuniary sanctions. In 1827, these laws were again revised, and *some improvement in the plan of regulating and teaching* the schools, which experience had suggested, were introduced.

"The more particular details of the system by which the common schools of Massachusetts have now, for two centuries, been effectually maintained, and made eminently successful in diffusing knowledge and the principles of virtue and piety among the people, are better gathered from the statute books, than from any abstract which may be offered of their various provisions. The practical operation of the laws has been, to secure, *in every district and village of the commonwealth*, the means of regular instruction to children in the elementary branches of learning, and where there was wealth and population to justify the occasion, the establishment and support of schools of competent character to prepare youth for admission to college, or to enter upon the active business of life. The towns are divided, by their own act, under the authority of the law, into convenient and distinct districts, with precise geographical limits, having regard to the dispersed or compact situation of the inhabitants. In each of these districts is a school-house, the erection and repairs of which may be caused by the town, or by the district themselves, which, for this purpose, have the powers of corporations in holding meetings and granting money. The money, to maintain the schools, is granted by the towns in their meetings, held in the month of March or April annually, and is afterwards assessed and collected with the other taxes for the year. It is usually distributed among the districts, by orders drawn by the select-men, or the treasurer, according to some proportion, either of the amount paid within the district, or the numbers of minors, or to each district an equal part; and in all instances, in conformity with a previous vote of the town. By the late law, a school committee, consisting of three, five, or seven, is required to be chosen annually, who have the general direction and oversight of the schools. It is made their duty to employ the instructors of the highest schools, and to examine into the character and qualifications of all the others. They are to visit the schools frequently, and to ascertain by their own observation, that they are faithfully taught. They have authority to prescribe the class-books which are to be used, and, in their discretion, to cause them to be purchased, at the expense of the town, and furnished to those who are destitute of them, to be assessed afterwards on the parents or guardians, who should have supplied them, unless from poverty they shall be excused by the assessors. A committee-man is also chosen for each district, for the management of the prudential concerns of the school within his district, whose particular duty it is to engage the instructor for the district, with the approbation of the school committee, to see that the school is accommodated with a suitable house, to provide fuel and proper conveniences, and to consult with, and give such information and aid to the committee of the town, as may enable them to discharge their assigned duties.

"As to the amount of money raised annually in the different towns of Massachusetts, for the support of public schools, it is obvious, from referring to the provisions of the law, that it varies with the situation and ability of the respective corporations. If in towns having fifty families, schools are maintained, at the public charge, for as great a proportion of the year, as would be equal to one school for six months; and in towns having one hundred families, for such terms of time as would be equivalent to one school for the whole year, and so on, according to the enactment; the law is satisfied. But it rarely happens that so little is done as would be limited by a strict compliance with legal requirements. It may be considered as a general remark, applicable alike to all the towns, that, in granting money for schools, the only inquiry is, how much benefit will the situation of the inhabitants admit of their deriving from opportunities for the instruction of their children; and the answer has a higher relation to their desire for the improvement of schools, than to the money which might be saved in the time of keeping them. The usual arrangement in country towns is to provide sufficient means for keeping a man's school for the three winter months, with a more particular reference to the instruction of boys and youth of some advance in years, and a woman's school for children, during the rest of the year, or at least through the summer months, in each district of the town, and scarcely less than this is done in any school district of the most inconsiderable towns. In many places much more is accomplished. But as the information, which has been requested, relates to schools enjoined by law, the maintenance of those supported by subscription, or kept by individuals on their own account, of the one or the other of which classes, there are some in the most populous towns, is not noticed.

"It will be seen, therefore, from the foregoing detail, that schools are established throughout Massachusetts by the authority of law;—that they are kept a portion of each year in such convenient districts in every town, as to afford opportunity to all the children and youth to attend them;—that the money raised by the town to defray the expense of all the schools, is distributed by some just and satisfactory rule of proportion among the districts;—that competent and suitable teachers are secured by the obligation to which they are subjected of an examination and approval by the school committee, and that fidelity, in the discharge of their duty, is enforced by their responsibility to this committee, who are required frequently to visit the schools, prescribe the books to be used, and direct the course of instruction. As a system of public and general arrangement, it seems hardly possible it should be improved. The particular attention which was given to the whole subject upon the last revision of the law could suggest nothing better. It will be recollected, however, *that there is not, nor has there ever been, a public school fund in Massachusetts.* The support of the schools depends upon the requisition of law, and the force of public sentiment in their favor. It has been sometimes the suggestion of observant and wise men, that a greater interest is manifested in their proper improvement where this is the case, and when the inducement of a personal concern in the expense is added to a sense of duty in directing its appropriation. Certain it is, that there has never been any want of interest manifested here, either in raising a sufficient amount of money, or in attending to its most useful application. The result is every where seen in the degree of education and qualification for business, which is possessed by all classes of the people. Even in the humblest condition of society, a native citizen of Massachusetts will hardly be found, incapable of reading and writing, or ignorant of the rudiments of grammar and the elementary rules of arithmetic, while there are thousands, who through the instrumentality of the public schools alone, have acquired a classical education, and been eminently useful and distinguished in life."

From this statement you will observe that the primary school is the first to make its appearance; and that it does this when some fifty persons have settled in a district. Like every thing else in the young settlement, it is at first small; and, though valuable, insignificant. A mistress is the teacher, and she officiates perhaps only for half the year. A master is afterwards procured for the winter months, and the school is in constant action. As the inhabitants thicken, a grammar school is added; the children, at a given age, are translated to it, and it supplies them with a good English education.

In the large town, in Boston for instance, the system still develops itself, according to the demands made upon it. There is, 1. the *primary school*, which provides instruction, by a mistress, for children between four and seven years of age. It is a class of infant school, and prepares its little charge in the first rudiments of learning. 2. There is the *grammar school.* This school provides for the child from seven to fourteen years of age; and he enters by a certificate from the primary school. His education is still wholly English; he is thoroughly taught in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography; and these are deemed sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life. The schools are usually got up in three stories; they are of good dimensions, and exceedingly well arranged. It is usual for the classes to change the rooms in fulfilling different pursuits. Exactly the same provisions are made for the girls; and, while the assistants are of their own sex, the principal in each school is a master. I had opportunities of examining some classes in this order of school, and certainly I have never found boys to excel, or girls to equal them. It was not merely the memory that was trained and stored; all the faculties were educated.

Then there is springing out of these, and the wants of an advancing community, two other schools. The one is termed the *English High School.* Its object is to furnish young men who are not intended for a collegiate course of study, and who have enjoyed all the advantages of the other schools, with the means of completing a good English education, to fit them for active life, and to qualify them for eminence in private and public stations. This institution, therefore, provides instruction in the elements of mathematics and natural philosophy, with their application to the sciences and arts; in grammar, rhetoric, and belles lettres; in moral philosophy; in history, natural, and civil; and in the French language. It is supplied with a valuable mathematical and philosophical apparatus for the purpose of experiment and illustration.

The other institution is the *Latin school.* This completes the system; and is designed for those who are about to pass to college. The Latin and Greek languages are taught here. Instruction is also given in mathematics, geography, history, elocution, and English composition.

The practical wisdom of this twofold arrangement, must, I think, commend itself to every one. It supplies alike to the young tradesman, and the young scholar, just what they want; and introduces them to their respective course of life with the greatest advantage. No time is wasted in useless pursuit; where the classical languages are needed they are supplied; where they are not, they are withheld. The education is not only good in itself; it is doubled in value by the principle of adaptation.

Although I have selected Massachusetts as most fruitful in results, it is not the most perfect in its general system. The States which have been settled later, especially Maine, have incorporated the modern improvements with more readiness, and have availed themselves of the experience of elder associates. This State has recently made many important variations; especially in adopting the monitorial methods.

Whatever may have been the variations, it is unquestionable that the system has operated most delightfully for New England. It was lately ascertained, by returns from 131 towns in Massachusetts, that the number of scholars was 12,393; that the number of persons in those towns, between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, who are unable to write, was fifty-eight; and that in one town there were only three persons who could not read and write, and these three were dumb!

In Connecticut it was found that 275,000 persons were in attendance on the free schools; and in New England generally it may be safely affirmed that the whole population are educated. The exceptions would not amount to more than two or three thousand; and these composed mostly of blacks and foreigners.

The provisions of the system are made, and ostensibly fulfilled by the government. In Connecticut the whole expense is met by an existing fund; in Massachusetts, and the other New England States, it is chiefly met by taxation. Taxation, however, in this connection, has been misunderstood. It is not the government who impose a general tax; but the people who meet, and impose the tax on themselves. True it is, that the government threatens penalties, in case its provisions are not executed; but such is the power of public sentiment in favor of education, that I could not find an instance in which coercion was necessary. The payment which they levy upon themselves also, is usually beyond what any provisions of law would require; so that the entire work may be regarded rather as the fruit of voluntary action than of any other principle. The wisdom of the legislature is shown to lie in the encouragement of the voluntary principle, not in superseding it; and it is generally admitted, that where it is excluded from the system, either by legal enactment, or, as in the case of Connecticut, by an adequate fund, the popular education is by no means so efficient.

Let us now turn for an example to the middle

States, which are of later settlement. New York is undoubtedly the best, and deserves our attentive consideration. The following statements from the pen of the Secretary of State, and the Superintendent of the Schools, is commended alike for its brevity and clearness:—

"The revenue arising from the school fund is apportioned, by the superintendent, to the several towns and cities in the state, in the ratio of the population in the cities, and in proportion to the children between five and sixteen in the towns. The amount of the apportionment for each county, is transmitted to the board of supervisors, which body is required annually to assess, upon the taxable inhabitants of each town, a sum equal to that which is apportioned to the town by the superintendent. Thus there is paid from the state treasury, to each town, a certain sum, on condition that the taxable inhabitants of the town raise a like sum, and the amount thus provided must be applied exclusively to the payment of teacher's wages, and of those duly qualified, according to the provision of the school law.

"The amount paid from the state treasury is transmitted to the treasury of each county, and by this officer paid to the school commissioners, three of whom are annually chosen in each town; the collector of the town pays the amount assessed upon the town for the use of schools, to the same commissioners; these commissioners apportion the money which comes into their hands to such districts as have complied with the conditions of the statute, and have made their returns to the commissioners accordingly.

"The trustees of each district are required to account for the expenditure of the money by an annual report to the commissioners of the town, embracing, also, the number of children, and the general condition of the district. If they fail to make the report, the school money is apportioned to such districts as do report. The town commissioners are also required to make an annual report, accounting for the money received for their town, giving the number of districts, and an abstract of the returns from the several districts. The reports of the commissioners are sent to the county clerk, who is required to transmit copies thereof to the superintendent of common schools. It is made the duty of the superintendent to present an annual report to the Legislature, containing an abstract of the reports received from the several towns, &c. Each town appoints annually three commissioners, whose duty it is to divide the town into a convenient number of school districts, to receive the school moneys for the town, and apportion them among the several districts, and to make an annual report to the superintendent. Each town clerk, is *ex officio*, clerk of the school commissioners, and is required to attend to all communications received from the superintendent, for the commissioners. There are also appointed by the town, annually, three inspectors of common schools, whose duty it is to examine all teachers for the town, and give certificates. They are also required to visit the schools at least once in each year. The taxable inhabitants of the district, by a majority, designate the site for the school-house, vote a tax for building the house, and appoint the district officers, consisting of three trustees, a clerk, and collector; the trustees assess the tax, have the custody of the school-house, and employ the teachers, and pay them the public money, and collect the residue of the teachers' wages from the patrons of the school.

"The county treasurers and the county clerks are the organs through which the money is transmitted to the towns, and the school reports received from them. There is an appeal to the town commissioners from certain acts of the trustees, &c.; and an appeal to the superintendent from certain acts of the commissioners, &c.

"This State distributes annually 100,000 dollars, which is about twenty-five cents to each scholar between five and sixteen. These twenty-five cents go out, coupled with such conditions as to ensure the application of at least three times its amount to the same object: that is, the town makes it fifty cents, and the necessary expenditures by the inhabitants of the district, if they restrict themselves to a bare compliance with the law, must be at least fifty cents more. It is thus seen that by this feature in our school system, 100,000 dollars apportioned from the state treasury, are made to perform the office, or at least, to ensure the application of 400,000 annually, to the use of common schools."

The fund referred to in this communication was begun in 1805, and is formed by the sale of land appropriated by the State to the uses of education. It amounts now to 1,700,000 dollars, and yields an income of more than 100,000 dollars per annum. By the provision of the constitution, all the unappropriated lands belonging to the State are granted to it; and these are computed to amount to upwards of 869,000 acres. While this fund was growing, the State made graduated votes annually, so as to have 100,000 dollars disposable for this object.

One great excellency of the plan is, that it does just enough to excite and encourage public effort. While the State employs 100,000 dollars, it is so employed as to ensure the application of the proposed object of no less than 400,000. Again, the 100,000 so applied is felt to be a public fund, in which every citizen has an equal interest; but if he does not do his part, he forfeits his share in this fund, and it goes to enrich some other township. Thus the indifference natural to many is overcome by pique on the one hand, and self-interest on the other. The various districts are not only impowered to tax themselves; they are tempted by the strongest inducements to do it.

Another equally wise arrangement for infusing and sustaining vigor throughout the whole economy is, that an annual and correct report is made imperative; so that, if in any year the school is not reported, it is not assisted. Of course, this insures the discharge of a duty which, in other circumstances, is usually found to fail. In Massachusetts the report is expected, but it is optional; and therefore the returns are very uncertain and imperfect; while in New York, out of 8,600 schools, returns were made on 8,164. Those who know from experience, that the great difficulty in working even a good plan is to sustain its original vigor, will at once appreciate this provision as adapted to master this difficulty.

Another principle equally wise, is, that the State never *begins* the work of erecting a school. It requires the citizens to do it, and it will lend them its aid. It gives them power, in the first place, to tax themselves for the purpose. Then, it requires that, before they can participate in the common fund, they shall have given evidence of their interest in the object, by having built a school-house, and having organized a school, under a legally authorized teacher, at least three months. This again shows great acquaintance with human nature. I need not remark on it. The bird we nurse is the bird we love. The masterly hand of De Witt Clinton must have assisted to mould these plans!

Now for the results. Notwithstanding the figures which I have already submitted to your observation, I think you will regard them as surprising. By the official returns for the year 1832, and which have unusual claims to accuracy, the following interesting particulars are obtained:—

DISTRICTS, CHILDREN, &c.

Cities, towns, and wards, in the fifty-five counties of New York	811
Organized school districts, computed at	9,600
Number of children from five to sixteen years of age, December 30, 1831	508,878
Number of children at school in the year 1832	494,959

Since the year 1827, returns have been made annually from every town; and in 1832, returns were made from 8,941 districts, in which schools were open, on an average, eight months in twelve; and the number of schools in operation was computed at 9,270.

EXPENDITURE FOR COMMON SCHOOLS IN 1832.

	Dolls.	Cts.
Sum paid out of the State Treasury (income of the Fund)	100,000	00
Sum raised by a tax on the people of the State	188,384	53
Sum derived from local funds	17,198	25
Total of public moneys distributed by Commissioners	305,582	78
Additional sum raised in the several districts	358,320	17
	663,902	95
Of this there was raised by a special tax for building school-houses in the city of New York, about	60,000	00
Total sum paid for teacher's wages	603,902	95

The amount paid for teachers' wages is computed at only about one half of the expense annually incurred for the support of common schools.

	Dolls.	Cts.
Estimated value of 9,270 school-houses (those in the city of New York being computed at 200,000 dollars) 2,040,000 dollars, the annual interest of which at six per cent. is	122,400	00
Fuel for 9,270 school-houses, at 10 dollars each	92,700	00
Expense of books for 494,959 scholars, at 50 cents each	247,479	50
Total	462,579	50
To this add (see above)	663,902	95
Total expenditure for common schools in 1832	1,126,482	45

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE RETURNS OF COMMON SCHOOLS,

FROM 1816 TO 1833.

The Year in which the Report was made to the Legislature.	No. of Towns from which the Returns were made.	Whole No. of School Districts in the said Towns.	No. of School Districts from which Returns were received.	Amount of Public Money received in said Towns. Dollars.	Cts.	Amount paid for Teachers' wages in the Districts over and above Public Money. Dollars.	Cts.	No. of Children taught in the School Districts making Returns.	No. of Children between five and fifteen or sixteen years of age, residing in those Districts.	Proportions of the No. of Children taught to the No. of Children reported, between the ages of five and fifteen or sixteen years.
1816	338	2,755	2,631	55,720	98	——		140,106	176,449	14 to 15
1817	355	3,713	2,873	64,834	88	——		170,385	198,440	6 to 7
1818	374	3,264	3.228	73,235	42	——		183,253	218,969	5 to 6
1819	402	4,614	3,844	93,010	54	——		210,316	235,871	8 to 9
1820	515	5,763	5,118	117,151	07	——		271,877	302,703	9 to 10
1821	545	6,332	5,489	146,418	08	——		304,559	317,633	24 to 25
1822	611	6,659	5,882	157,195	04	——		332,979	339,258	42 to 43
1823	649	7,051	6,255	173,420	60	——		351,173	357,029	44 to 45
1824	656	7,382	6,705	182,820	25	——		377,034	373,208	94 to 93
1825	698	7,642	6,876	182,741	61	——		402,940	383,500	101 to 96
1826	700	7,773	7,117	182,790	09	——		425,586	395,586	100 to 93
1827	721	8,114	7,550	185,720	46	——		431,601	411,256	21 to 20
1828	742	8,298	7,806	222,995	77	——		441,856	419,216	26 to 91
1829	757	8,609	8,164	232,343	21	——		468,205	449,113	25 to 24
1830	773	8,872	8,292	214,840	14	297,048	44	480,041	468,257	40 to 41
1831	785	9,063	8,631	238,641	36	346,807	20	499,424	497,503	250 to 249
1832	703	9,339	8,841	244,998	85	374,001	54	507,105	509,967	
1833	811	9,600	8,941	305,582	78	358,320	17	494,959	508,878	

It appears, then, that in sixteen years, the number of organized school districts has increased from 2,755 to 9,600, making an addition, in sixteen years, of 6,845; while the scholars have advanced from 140,106 to 494,959, making an addition, in the same time, of 354,853! Take another view of these statements. The number of persons in the State between the age of five and sixteen is 508,878; but the number at school is 494,959; leaving only 13,919 of this age not actually at school; and at least this number may be embraced by those who are between fourteen and sixteen, and who may have left school for secular pursuits! Again, the entire population of this State, in 1830, was 1,918,608; so that we have ONE FOURTH of the people at school!

What are we to say to these facts? They are marvellous in themselves; but consider them in connection with a newly settled people, and spread over a vast territory, and what are they? Then compare them with States which have been settled for ages, and which boast of civilization, letters, and refinement, and what are they? New York has *one in four* of her whole population at school; but Scotland has only *one in ten;* England only *one in twelve;* Wales only *one in twenty.* While France, the very pink of refinement, has four millions of children untaught, and half her entire population unable to read, write, and cipher! Europe has nothing, except it be in Prussia, that will compare with the state of things we are now contemplating without injury. It may be well, if what she suffers by the comparison may induce her, though late, to ask for a remedy.

I have remarked, and would, in candor, repeat, that this is the best instance to be found in the middle states. Some of them have been backward in the race of improvement; but they are all now moving with accelerated steps; and the example of New York necessarily acts on them with great power. Pennsylvania, perhaps, for its extent and early advantages, is most overshadowed by popular ignorance. Good provision was made by the early settlers, as might be expected, for universal education; but this provision was not enlarged as the people multiplied and spread. The heart of the state was settled chiefly by Germans, who had little education, and little value for it; and the legislature did nothing to overcome their phlegm, till at length it was in danger of being disabled from doing any thing by the prevalence of cherished ignorance. Both people and government are now awake to the evil, and have arisen to wipe away the reproach. An act for the general education of the people, by common schools, was passed last year. To give effect to this act, they have a fund, which, by successive accumulations, now amounts to nearly two millions of dollars. The platform adopted resembles that of New York; and in ten years, the results may be as striking. It has, indeed, lost the start of New York by past negligence; but it may still have the honor of generously emulating a noble example.

But you are ready to inquire after the state of education in the West. Happily there is no difficulty in meeting this inquiry. The older states were left to act for themselves on this subject; and many of the first efforts arose from liberal donations on the part of individuals; of course, the movement was neither general nor simultaneous. But the Congress has interfered with the new States, and provided, at their settlement, for universal education. Every new township is to be divided into thirty-six sections; each section being a mile square, or 640 acres. One of these sections, that is, a thirty-sixth of the township, is appropriated to schools. So that the existence of a fund for education is identical with the settlement of every township; and as the town grows in consideration, so the fund rises in value. As soon as this fund reaches a given amount, it is employed; and it is made available for those parishes or townships which are willing to rate themselves to a required proportion of the total expenses. The system comes into action at a very early period of a settlement; and until it can, its resources are accumulating and condensing, in readiness for the future. Throughout the State of Ohio, for instance, which was a desert forty years ago, and is settling now, the school system is in full play; and it promises, in a few years, to equal any thing of which New York itself can boast. The land appropriated to the use of public schools, in the new States on the east of the Mississippi, amounts to 8,000,000 of acres, and the appropriations on the west of that river, on the same principle, will be far more prodigious!

Of course, these statements are to be understood to apply only to the *common schools.* They do not embrace, with the exception of Boston, which I introduced for the sake of illustration, the superior public school, nor the academy, which is usually of a private character, and which abounds as the States advance. Nor do they include the Sunday schools, which impart religious instruction to nearly a million of persons, as most of these get their general education at the common schools.

The extraordinary success which has attended this system may be ascribed to such causes as the following, and which may, perhaps, have partly suggested themselves already to the mind.

1. Usually, the Legislature has been taught not to interfere with the subject *more than is necessary.* The work should, at all events, be done; but the maxim of a wise government will be, *So that it is done, the more the people do, and the less it does, the better.* What it does, should be rather to *create public sentiment,* than any thing else; where that is, nothing more is required. There should be great jealousy of reliance on funds, where they exist; if danger for the future arise, it would be from this source.

2. All *sectarian distinctions* are annihilated, or rather they have never existed. Religious animosities and apprehensions, which have always been the great impediment to any system of general education, are unknown.

3. *Civil distinctions* are blended and harmonized. The common or public school is usually the very best of its kind that is accessible to the people of a district; and hence the more wealthy citizen covets its advantages for his child equally with the poorer; and the circumstance of his child attending it, and of his taking an interest in it, has again the tendency of preserving its character, and of raising it as society is rising around it. Nothing can be conceived to contribute more directly to the union and harmony of the several gradations of society, than an arrangement for thus bringing the richer and poorer together during the period of childhood. When it can be done without *injury,* it is always done with high advantage to the commonwealth.

4. Then, the *sense of civil equality,* which pervades all classes, undoubtedly is a great auxiliary to this success. Every man feels that, as a citizen, he is equal to every other man; but if he took no interest in the public school, he would forfeit some of his rights as a citizen; and if his child did not claim its benefits, he would not compare with the child of his neighbor; so that, personally and relatively, he would sink from his equality, and be ashamed to meet those who had become more to him than his fellows.

Certainly, in dismissing this head of observation, I might criticise the system; and, seizing on instances in which it is yet in perfect development, I might adduce defect and fault as an abatement on its excellency. But, in fact, speaking of it as a whole, and judging it impartially, I know no fault of general importance, except it be, that the remuneration to the teachers has mostly been too low. There is, in every thing, a stubborn connection between price and quality; and where all sorts of ordinary labor find a liberal reward, it is indispensable that the teacher should be paid in proportion, or few will offer themselves for that important vocation; and those few will commonly be feeble and unfurnished. The public attention is directed to this subject; and, when fairly under notice, it will be dealt with in the manly and decided manner usual to this people.

If complaint and regret were to be blended with a subject so capable of inspiring admiration, it must arise from a reference to the Slave States. There, the whites have the means of education; but they are neither so plentiful nor so good as in the Free States. And here are two millions of human beings, who are shut out from the unutterable benefits of education; while their condition is made the darker and more rueful, by the light and intelligence which are all around them.

LETTER XL.

My dear friend—As you expressed an earnest desire to be fully informed on the subject of education, I have been more particular than I at first intended. For the same reason I will yet crave your attention to a few remarks, before it is finally dismissed.

The class of schools receiving usually the appellative of Academy, but sometimes the finer name of High School, Institute, and Gymnasium, is meant to supply an order of education superior to that of the common schools. They are nearly in every case the creation of individual or social effort; and are designed to finish the education of the schools, when more is sought than they supply; or to meet the wishes of such parents as, from various motives, choose wholly to decline the aid of the common school, in favor of more private and select tuition.

Such as are provided for the reception of male pupils bear so strong an affinity to the High School of Boston, which I have described, in their method and advantages, that it would not be desirable, perhaps, to multiply instances. But the female academies here are still so much of a peculiarity, and have excited so much notice at home, that it will doubtless be grateful to you to be informed of them with some distinction and certainty. I have seen many of them; and from what you know of my habits on this interesting subject, you will believe that I have not been inattentive to their economy. Let me furnish you with one or two references, as examples of the class.

The Ipswich Female Seminary, of which you have heard, is rather an academy for training teachers, than for lower purposes. It receives its pupils between the ages of fourteen and twenty. It was instituted in the year 1824, on the principle of subscriptions; and is managed by trustees. It owes most of its reputation to Mrs. Grant, the principal; a lady endowed, in an unusual degree, to take charge of such an institution with honor to herself, and the highest advantage to the community. The arrangements of study are as follows:—

PRIMARY STUDIES.

Vocal music, reading, linear drawing, composition, botany, geology, philosophy of natural history, modern geography, arithmetic through interest and proportion, first book in Euclid's Geometry, History of the United States, English Grammar, Watts on the Mind, Physiology of the Human System, Natural Philosophy, Government of Massachusetts, and of the United States.

STUDIES OF THE JUNIOR CLASS.

English Grammar, including analyzing and the study of poetry, arithmetic completed, modern and ancient geography, modern and ancient history, the second, third, and fourth books of Euclid's Geometry, mental philosophy, rhetoric, chemistry, and astronomy.

STUDIES OF THE SENIOR CLASS.

Mental philosophy and some other studies reviewed, algebra, ecclesiastical history, natural theology, analogy between natural and revealed religion, evidences of Christianity, composition and education.

Reading, composition, calisthenics, vocal music, the Bible, and several of the above branches of study, will receive attention through the course. Those who are deficient in spelling and writing, will have exercises in these branches, whatever may be their other attainments. It is desired, that, as far as practicable, young ladies before entering the seminary, should be skilful in both mental and written arithmetic, and thoroughly acquainted with geography and the history of the United States.

The efficacy of the system rests rather in the mind by which it is wrought, than in the materials of which it is composed. The persons taught are brought into close and friendly contact with the teachers; and the great effort of the instructer is not to educe right action, but to implant right and elevated principle. Every pupil is thrown back very much upon herself; she is taught to know herself; to measure her capacity, and to feel that the measure of her capacity is the measure of her duty; and that her duty has an immediate and constant relation to Him "with whom we have to do."—Thus self-respect is substituted for emulation; and the fear of God for worldly and worthless considerations.

Religion is thus made to run through all the avocations of this family; and each one is made to feel that it "is the principal thing." At the commencement of the term, the young people are invited to profess themselves under religious influence. If they do so, it is taken as their voluntary act; they know that they shall be expected to walk in harmony with the principles they profess; and they meet separately once in the week for the purpose of devotional reading, conversation, and prayer. Of course the very circumstance of their known retirement, with their teacher, for such an engagement, must have a salutary influence on the remainder. Besides this, those who profess are usually the elder of the school, and they are mostly the more successful scholars and the best examples, and this is not without its influence. Those who are younger, and have not acknowledged the power of religion, are placed under their special care; and they are exhorted to use their influence as friends for the highest welfare of their juniors. The results are as you would expect, very considerable. In the course of a term it is common, as an average, for ten or twelve pupils to adopt a profession, by soliciting to unite in the weekly devotional exercise.

When I visited this establishment there were 110 pupils; the number is commonly more, rather than less. They have, at present, no dwelling adequate to receive and board them. They are, therefore, accommodated with families in the village, two of them occupying one room. The principal is made responsible for this arrangement, and for the oversight and regulation of her charge at all times.

I took notes of one day's exercise; and you may, perhaps, desire to see it. It runs thus:—Rise a quarter before five. The chamber arranged. Half an hour to each of the two pupils in retirement.—Half-past six, breakfast; recess of ten minutes; silent study till a quarter to eight. Eight, attend school; devotional exercises; recess, ten minutes; assemble; general instruction. Half-past nine, singing and gymnastics. Ten, recitations in classes. Eleven, singing and recess; recitations continued. Half-past twelve, dine; leisure till half-past one; study till a quarter past two.

At half-past two, re-assemble; general business. One hour reading and writing; recess, ten minutes; recitations till a quarter to five; sectional exercises in class-rooms half an hour; assemble; close in prayer. Half-past five, tea; recreation. Half-past seven, half an hour to each in room; study till nine; retire.

Of the female academies, for the ordinary period of education, there is perhaps none that so fully merits attention as the institution at Albany. It is in a flourishing condition, and has recently erected a noble edifice for its accommodation. This erection supplies sixteen apartments as class and lecture-rooms, and is faced by a beautiful portico of the Ionic order, copied from the temple on the *Ilissus*.

The Institution is divided into six departments, exclusive of the classes composed of those scholars from each of the higher departments, who are pursuing the study of the French and Spanish languages, natural history, chemistry, and botany.

In the Sixth Department, the rudiments of education are commenced. The books used are, Worcester's Primer of the English Language, Webster's Spelling Book, the Boston Class book, Leavitt's Easy Lessons, the New Testament, Parley's Geography, Olney's Geography, Emerson's First Part, and Colburn's First Lessons through the sixth section. This department is furnished with Holbrook's apparatus for primary schools.

In the Fifth Department, regular Instruction in writing commenced, Colburn's Lessons and Olney's Geography concluded, Smith's Intellectual and Practical Grammar, Irving's Catechisms of the History of various Nations, and Trimmer's Elements of Natural History. As an exercise in the definition and use of words, and the structure of language, the pupils are daily required to incorporate in sentences, to be written by them, words given to them by their teachers.

In the Fourth Department, the studies of the Fifth reviewed; the books used are, the Malte Brun Geography, by Goodrich, Worcester's General History and Chart, Shimeall's Scripture History and Biblical Literature and Chart. In this department, Colburn's Sequel commenced; exercises in composition in the journal and letter form.

In the Third Department, Colburn's Sequel and Worcester's General History concluded, and the other studies of the Fourth reviewed. The books used are, History of the United States, Ancient Geography, Goodrich's Histories of Greece and Rome. In this department, Blake's Natural Philosophy commenced, and composition continued in the journal, letter, and descriptive form.

In the Second Department, Goodrich's Histories of Greece and Rome, Ancient Geography, Blake's Natural Philosophy, concluded, and the other studies of the Third reviewed; Porter's Rhetorical Reader, Ancient and Modern Geography, with construction of Maps, Ryan's Astronomy, Robinson's History of England, Beck's Chemistry, Watts on the Mind, Newman's Rhetoric, Colburn's Algebra, and Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, composition in written essays.

In the First Department, the studies of the Second and Third continued as exercises; Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, Alexander's Evidences of Christianity, Paley's Natural Theology, Arnott's Natural Philosophy, first and second volumes, Simpson's Euclid, Logic, Guy's Astronomy, Bigelow's Technology, Schlegel's History of Literature, Constitutional Law, Legendre's Geometry, select parts of the English Classics, Kames' Elements of Criticism, Butler's Analogy, first part, Payne's Elements of Mental and Moral Science, linear drawing. In this department, critical attention is paid to composition, in which there are frequent exercises.

In addition to the recitations in the books above specified, the scholars in each department are daily exercised in orthography, reading, parsing, and writing.

This course of instruction is administered by a principal and a male assistant, and eight female assistants. The French language is taught by a professor; and when sufficient classes can be formed, lectures are given in the winter terms, on experimental philosophy, in its various departments, by skilful professors. The institution is supplied with maps, charts, globes, a chemical and philosophical apparatus, and an extensive library.

There are two examinations in the year. At the close of the examination in February, the names of those who have distinguished themselves are announced; at the July examination, premiums are given, and gold medals are awarded to those who excel in mathematics and original composition.—Besides this, those who have gone through the whole course with approbation, are eligible to receive a diploma bearing the seal of the institution. This is its highest honor; and it is sought by those, especially, who are qualifying to become teachers.

The charges for tuition are as follows:—For the sixth or lowest department, three dollars per quarter; for the fifth, four; for the fourth, five; for the third, six; for the second, seven; and for the first, eight.

The success of this establishment has arisen from the excellency of its methods, and the efficiency and fidelity with which they have been executed. Excellent as the education is, it is evident that the useful is regarded much more than the ornamental. And it is this that chiefly tries the power and aptitudes of the teacher. A few accomplishments may be thrown over the character almost at any time, and at no price, (although with us they are, in a literal sense, dearly bought;) but to awaken the intellect, to teach the mind to think, the will to resolve, to nourish and train all the nascent faculties with their appropriate aliment, that is the labor, that is the difficulty.

The method of communication between the teacher and the pupil here, as in other cases, which I have noticed, is chiefly by recitation. Great care is taken not to use the text book as a thing to be stored away in the memory, but as a guide to direct inquiry and investigation. In the one case, the mind is called into vigorous and wholesome exercise; on the other, it is burdened with a weight that destroys its elasticity, and prevents its growth. Much as this simple principle commends itself to us in theory, it is seldom brought into practice. This is still the great deficiency in our schools. The ordinary teacher, as by far the easier task, will content himself with loading the memory; while the man who is truly qualified for his work, will seek to train and strengthen the superior faculties. It is due to America to say, that great watchfulness is employed against this evil, and that many examples are supplied of its having been overcome. Perhaps nothing will contribute more to this, with them and with us, than to erect the art of teaching into a *fourth profession*, and to begin the work of education systematically, with *teaching the teachers*.

I must finally observe, that this Institution, also, owes much of its success to its decidedly religious character. Religion, without sectarian and denominational distinctions, pervades its instructions. The analysis of natural science and revealed science, conduct to one conclusion; and they are made to illustrate and support each other. If this is profitable to just attainment in knowledge, as it saves us from distorted and half-formed conceptions of the sublimer subjects, it is yet more beneficial to character, as it gives sobriety to the mind, and elevates the spirit with devout affections.

I must not omit to say, that this admirable establishment is raised and supported by subscription; and it corresponds exceedingly, with the single difference of sex, to our modern Proprietary or Grammar School. Why should not our daughters, equally with our sons, possess the advantages which these institutions, when well conducted, so readily supply?

I think you cannot fail, my dear friend, to survey this brief report on the subject of education, whether collegiate or common, with wonder and admiration. And yet we have been told, in the face of all this evidence, with petulance and pride, that the Americans have no literature, and are not a literary people. Not literary! and yet they have done more for letters than any people ever did in similar circumstances. Not literary! and yet they have made more extensive grants in favor of universal education than any other country. Not literary! and yet not only the common school, but the academy and the college, are travelling over the breadth of the land; and are sometimes found located in the desert, in anticipation of a race that shall be born. Not literary! and yet, in the more settled States, a fourth part of the people are at school; and in the State of New York alone, apart from all private seminaries, there are 9,600 schools, sustained at a yearly expense of 1,126,482 dollars! Not literary! and yet there are, in this new country, FIFTEEN UNIVERSITIES; FORTY-SIX COLLEGES; TWENTY-ONE medical schools; and TWENTY-ONE theological! Not literary! and yet they circulate SEVEN HUNDRED and FIFTY MILLIONS of NEWSPAPERS A YEAR, this is TWENTY-FIVE to our ONE; and all our best books commonly run through more and larger editions there than they do at home.

They have no literature, indeed! The fact is, they have all the literature that is possible to their age and circumstances; and as these advance, they will assuredly advance in the more abstruse and abstract sciences, till it shall be a bold thing for any to call themselves their peers. Their fidelity for the past is their security for the future. Meantime, are not Newton and Locke, Bacon and Shakspeare, as much theirs as they are ours? Would it be wisdom, on their part, to repudiate them, even if they had not an equal claim to them? Would it be wisdom in us to reproach them with tastes which do them honor, and to endeavor to separate them from community in our common republic of letters, which more than any thing may make two great nations, that are one in affinity, one in fact? For my own part, I know of nothing more truly sublime than to see this people in the very infancy of their national existence, put forth such Herculean energy for the diffusion of universal knowledge and universal virtue! But prejudice has neither eyes nor ears.

LETTER XLI.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I regret that I must now turn to other and very different subjects. In a general notice of this country, especially if that notice profess to be of a moral and religious character, it is impossible to pass in silence the condition of the Indian and the African. And it is just as impossible to notice the relative position of these two classes of the people, without strong, but just, disapprobation. But the claims of our common humanity are the highest earthly claims we know; and they must not be blinked, or disregarded.

Slavery is, at the present time, the question of questions in America. You will be glad to learn that it is so, since extended discussion cannot fail to humanize opinion, and to bring on a happy consummation. If I glance at the state of the slave, the means used in his favor, and the prospects of a successful issue in the use of such means, you will, perhaps, be sufficiently informed on this most interesting subject.

In referring to the condition of the slave in this country, it may be well to observe both on his *legal* and *actual* state. Although the different Slave States have various laws, they are essentially the same; and there is, therefore, not much difficulty in extracting the spirit and substance of the whole code of bondage. In the eye of the law, then—

Slavery is hereditary and perpetual, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants, to the latest posterity.

The labor of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated; while the kind of labor, the amount of toil, and the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain is made, no wages given. A pure despotism governs the "human brute;" and even his covering and provender, both as to quantity and quality, depend entirely on the master's discretion.

The slave being considered a personal chattel, may be sold, or pledged, or leased, at the will of his master. He may be exchanged for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts, or taxes, either of a living or deceased master. Sold at auction, "either individually, or in lots, to suit the purchaser," he may remain with his family, or be separated from them for ever.

Slaves can make no contracts, and have no legal right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings, and the legacies of friends, belong, in point of law, to their masters.

Neither a slave, nor free colored person, can be a witness against any white or free man, in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit; but they may give testimony against a fellow-slave or free colored man, even in cases affecting life.

The slave may be punished at his master's discretion—without trial—without any means of legal redress—whether his offence be real, or imaginary; and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person or persons he may choose to appoint.

The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under any circumstances; his only safety consists in the fact, that his owner may bring suit, and recover the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labor.

Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

The slave is deemed unworthy of protection in his domestic relations.

The slave is denied the means of knowledge and improvement.

The slave is denied the justice awarded to the white.

There is a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in the white man, is considered highly criminal in the slave; the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only, are punished, in the slave, with death.

This, then, is the law or rather the injustice of the case, under legal sanctions. But the law may be a dead letter, and the people to whom it relates may be in the comparative enjoyment of liberty and happiness. I sincerely wish this could be predicated of this case; but, in many respects, the actual condition of the colored population is worse than the law contemplates; and severe and despotic as it is, it knows no relaxation, except what may spring from individual charity; and where slavery is found, charity does not often dwell. Every variation in the law itself has been against the slave, and the execution has been usually in excess rather than otherwise. The small remnant of social liberty which these people had, has been dreaded; and it has therefore been abridged. Education has been felt to be incompatible with slavery, and it has been refused. To the honor of religion, it has been open to the same objections; and the slaves must not meet to rest their griefs on God their Maker, unless a white man will condescend to be present and watch their conduct. One of the highest encomiums ever offered to religion, was pronounced by the West India planters, when they declared that Christianity and slavery could not exist together. The American planters are adopting the same declaration; and they are both right—indisputably right. But who could ever have supposed that men, with such an admission on their lips, should commit themselves to the dreadful alternative of sustaining slavery at the expense of Christianity?

Of course, where such law exists, and where there is a disposition to exceed rather than to relax, the daily and hourly enormities must be unspeakable. The domestic slaves, indeed, often meet with kind treatment, and they as often repay it by sincere attachment. I witnessed many such instances with unmixed pleasure, and was struck to perceive how capable the slave was of generous sentiment, where it had the least place for action. This was often pleaded in mitigation of the system there, as it has been here. It might be very well, if the subject were a mere matter of treatment; but it is not. It is a question of right and wrong, and not a question of more or less. The vice of the system is, that it gives to the white man a power which no man is competent to possess, and it deprives the slave of a right which makes him less than man to surrender. To plead that the slave is in better condition because I hold him in bonds, matches, in effrontery, though not in guilt, the man who justifies a robbery he has committed on your person, by maintaining that your property will be safer in his pocket than in your own!

So far as treatment has to do with the actual state of the African, I fear, on a large scale, little can be said in its favor, while much may be truly stated of a most appalling character. Many of the instances of kind management which fall under notice, are to be ascribed to persons who are decidedly unfriendly to slavery, and who gladly seek to lighten the chains which, for the present, they cannot break. Many more, again, arise from the consideration prudently given to them as property; they are, to the owner, a portion of his live stock, perhaps the whole of it; and he has the same reasons to preserve them that influence him in the care of his oxen or horses. But, too generally, prudential motive is insufficient to secure to the slave the attention which is shown by a merciful man to his cattle. The master does not fear his cattle, but he does fear his slave; and fear is always cruel. He is satisfied of his right of property in the one case; his conscience forbids that he should be wholly satisfied in the other; and the uneasiness which attends on conscious wrong, stings him, and converts him, however reluctantly, into an oppressor.

This feature, in the present condition of the slave, has become painfully prominent. Sixty years ago there were only about half a million of colored people in the States; now, there are two millions and a half; and they are increasing in a greater proportion than the whites, great as that is. They have, consequently, become an object of alarm and fear. Instead of meliorating their circumstances, and medicating their wounds, their bonds are drawn closer, and made well nigh insufferable.

The field slave, of course, is the more exposed to bad treatment; and though much protection is now brought to his aid by the force of public opinion, there is no doubt that he is mostly submitted to hardships which, if they are proper to brutes, disgrace alike the man who inflicts, and the man who suffers them. In the South, this is especially the case; and it arises naturally from the circumstances in which they are placed. They are bought and sold as cattle; they do the work of cattle; they are provided for as cattle till the overseer and owner come to think that they are cattle and no more. As far as thought is the parent of action, I am persuaded this is very commonly the case; and even where thought takes a more settled and philosophical form, instances will sometimes occur. I never thought it possible, that I should meet with a man of education and property, who would seriously argue that his slave, if not a brute, was, at least, not of the human species; but I have found such persons in this country, as, without doubt, I should in the West Indies, and who have invited me to formal discussion on the subject.

In harmony with this, I was told confidentially, and, from excellent authority, that recently, at a meeting of planters in South Carolina, the question was seriously discussed, Whether the slave is more profitable to the owner, if well fed, well clothed, and worked lightly, or if made the most of at once, and exhausted in some eight years. The decision was in favor of the last alternative. That decision will perhaps make many shudder. But, to my mind, this is not the chief evil. The greater and original evil is considering the *slave as property;* if he is only property, and my property, then I have some right to ask, how I may make that property most available.

But the crying aggravation of slavery, in the United States, arises from the *internal traffic*. It is in the South, as you know, that cotton, rice, and sugar, are raised; and it is in this service that slave labor is found to be indispensable. Slaves are, therefore, accumulating in these parts, and a much higher price is given for them there than elsewhere. This, of course, is a great temptation to the cupidity of many; and the vilest means are eventually adopted to satisfy it. Slaves are regularly bred in some States, as cattle for the southern market. Besides this, the men who pursue this nefarious traffic have acquired wealth, and use it extensively to acquire more. They have secret agents spread over the States where the slave is less gainful, to avail themselves of all opportunities of accomplishing their ends. They seek to trepan the free colored man, and by throwing the proof of his freedom upon him, find him off his guard, and often succeed against him. They especially seek to buy up, as for local and domestic use, all the slaves that are at different places to be disposed of; and when the unhappy beings are once in their power, they disappear in the night, and are lost to their birth-place and connections for ever. Most of the sales and the kidnapping that arise have reference to the southern market; and are too commonly conducted on false and foul pretences. It is supposed that not less than ten thousand slaves are by these means procured for the demands of the South.

From the mysteriousness of these disappearances, from the impossibility of hearing any more of the parties so abstracted from society, and from the known severity of the heat and labor in the South, this domestic slave-trade is the terror of the African, and it makes slavery, which would otherwise wear a milder aspect, twice cursed.

A case in illustration occurred in a certain town of Virginia, that I visited, which had created a sensation of pity and indignation through the whole western portion of that state. A gentleman sold a female slave. The party professing to buy not being prepared to make the necessary payments, the slave was to be resold. A concealed agent of the trade bought her and her two children, as for his own service, where her husband, also a slave in the town, might visit her and them. Both the husband and wife suspected that she would be privately sent away. The husband, in their common agony, offered to be sold, that he might go with her. This was declined. He resolved on the last effort, of assisting her to escape. That he might lay suspicion asleep, he went to take leave of her and his children, and appeared to resign himself to the event. This movement had its desired effect; suspicion was withdrawn both from him and his wife; and he succeeded in emancipating them. Still, what was to be done with his treasure, now he had obtained it? Flight was impossible; and nothing remained but concealment. And concealment seemed hopeless, for no place would be left unsearched, and punishment would fall on the party who should give them shelter. However, they were missing; and they were sought for diligently, but not found. Some months afterwards it was casually observed that the floor under a slave's bed (the sister of the man) looked dirty and greasy. A board was taken up; and there lay the mother and her children on the clay, and in an excavation of three feet by five! It is averred, that they had been there in a cold and enclosed space, hardly large enough for their coffin (buried alive there) for SIX MONTHS!

This is not all. The agent was *only provoked* by this circumstance! He demanded the woman; and though every one was clamorous to redeem her, and retain her to her husband, he would not sell! she was taken to his slave-pen, and has disappeared! The man—most miserable man!—still exists in the town.

Let us attend to other testimony on this subject, chiefly American, and I believe, of unquestioned truth.

"Dealing in slaves has become a large business. Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places are strongly built, and well supplied with thumb-screws, gags, cow-skins, and other whips, oftentimes bloody. But the laws permit the traffic, and it is suffered."—*Niles' Register*, vol. XXXV. p. 4.

"Dr. Torrey says, whole families of free colored people have been attacked in the night, beaten *nearly* to death with clubs, gagged, and bound, and dragged into distant and hopeless captivity, leaving no traces behind, except the blood from their wounds."—*Child's Appeal*, p. 31.

"Advertisements are very common, in which a mother and her children are offered either in a lot, or separately, as may suit the purchaser. In one of these advertisements, I observed it stated, that the youngest child was about a year old."—*Idem*, p. 33.

"The captives are driven by the whip, through toilsome journeys, under a burning sun; their limbs fettered; with nothing before them but the prospect of toil more severe than that to which they have been accustomed."—*Idem*, p. 33.

"The trade is still briskly carried on in Africa, and new slaves are smuggled into these States through the Spanish colonies. A very extensive internal slave trade is carried on in this country. The breeding of negroes for the markets, in other States (Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Missouri,) is a very lucrative branch of business. Whole coffles of them, chained and manacled, are driven through our capital, on their way to auction."—*Idem*, p. 30.

"A slave being missing, several planters united in a negro hunt, as it is called. They set out with dogs, guns, and horses, as they would chase a tiger. The poor fellow, being discovered, took refuge in a tree, where he was deliberately shot by his pursuers."—*Idem*, p. 24.

"A planter had occasion to send a female slave some distance on an errand. She did not return so soon as he expected, and he grew angry. At last he gave orders that she should be severely whipped when she came back. When the poor creature arrived, she pleaded for mercy, saying she had been so very ill, that she was obliged to rest in the fields; but she was ordered to receive another dozen of lashes for having had the impudence to speak. She died at the whipping-post; nor did she perish alone; a new-born babe died with her."—*Idem*, p. 25.

"A few days since I attended a sale, which exhibited slavery in all its sickening deformity. The bodies of these wretched beings were placed upright on a table—the physical proportions examined—their defects and beauties noted. 'A prime lot; here they go!' There I saw the father looking with sullen contempt upon the crowd, and expressing an indignation in his countenance that he dared not speak; and the mother pressing her infants closer to her bosom with an involuntary grasp, and exclaiming, in wild and simple earnestness, while the tears chased down her cheeks in quick succession, 'I can't leff my children! I won't leff my children!' but on the hammer went, reckless alike whether it united or sundered for ever. On another stand I saw a man, apparently as white as myself, exposed for sale. I turned away from the humiliating spectacle.

"At another time I saw the concluding scene of this infernal drama. It was on the wharf. A slave ship for New Orleans was lying in the stream, and the poor negroes, handcuffed and pinioned, were hurried off in boats, eight at a time. Here I witnessed the last farewell—the heart-rending separation of every earthly tie. The mute and agonizing embrace of the husband and wife, and the convulsive grasp of the mother and the child, were alike torn asunder for ever! It was a living death; they never see or hear of each other more. Tears flowed fast, and mine with the rest."—*Stuart.*

Such are the evils consequent on slavery, and especially on a domestic slave trade. And these enormities are not put down invidiously. The worst evils are not proper to persons, so much as they are common to the *system*. Some, in dealing with it, may be severe, and some lenient; but the system is accursed, and only accursed; and if allowed to exist, would quickly produce the same results in England and France as it does in America, and did in the West Indies. If it finds man benevolent, it makes him cruel. It is, by a wise and righteous arrangement of Providence, a greater curse to the oppressor than to the oppressed; though we judge not so. We see the whip, we hear the lash, and we instantly give our tears to the man who is made less than human; but we are not so quick to perceive and stand aghast at that inward and moral desolation, which has spread itself over the prosperous oppressor, and has withered up the sense of justice, compassion, and generosity. It is ordained, *that he who deals in man, shall become less than man.*

LETTER XLII.

My dear friend—It would be a libel on the people of America to say, that they, that is, the portion of the States best entitled, by numbers, intelligence, and wealth, to receive that denomination, have contentedly participated in this state of things, or have even remained indifferent to it. All the northern States have entirely washed their hands of slavery and the slave trade; and the middle States are either free, or will quickly be so. The religious of every name and every place are prepared to admit and deplore the evil of slavery in itself; and are expressing an anxious desire for any remedy that might be effectual. Many, very many, with whom I met, would willingly have released their slaves, but the law requires that in such case they should leave the State; and this would mostly be not to improve their condition, but to banish them from their home, and make them miserable outcasts. What they cannot for the present remove, they are studious to mitigate; and I have never seen kinder attentions paid to any domestics than by such persons to their slaves. In defiance of the infamous laws, making it criminal for the slave to be taught to read, and difficult to assemble for an act of worship, they are instructed, and they are assisted to worship God.

The more ostensible means for their relief, which have been created by the force of public opinion, are to be found in the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies. The Colonization Society is the elder of the two, and originated in a pure motive of compassion for the slave. It proposes to establish a free colony on the coast of Africa, and by this means to confer a benefit on a country which has been wasted by our crimes, and to open a channel to the slave-holder to give freedom to his slaves. Its founders hoped that the movement thus made, while it brought the direct blessing of liberty to many, would indirectly, and without stimulating the prejudices of the planter, familiarize the common mind with the inherent evils of slavery, and thus contribute to ultimate emancipation. For many years this was the best and the only remedy offered to public attention, and the benevolent, of course, took hold of it; and it has at present the concurrence of New England, and of the intelligent and influential in most places.

The Anti-Slavery Society is of later formation. Without hesitation or condition, it demands immediate and complete abolition; and in doing this, it does not scruple to pit itself against the older Society, and to denounce it as standing in its way, and as favorable to the perpetuation of slavery. This, as you may expect, has brought the two Societies into a state of violent collision. Neither party has kept its temper; much personal abuse, and bitter vituperation, have been emitted; and both, in the heat of party conflict, have been in danger of losing sight of the slave, and affording a humiliating, but acceptable spectacle to the slaveholder.

Apart from these animosities, you seek an unprejudiced judgment on these societies. You shall at least have an honest opinion. The Colonization Society may have been well as a harbinger of something better; but it was never equal to the object of emancipation, and is now below the spirit and demands of the day. 1. It does not lay hold sufficiently on the public mind. What it proposes to do is indirect, and indefinite, and complicate; and bears no proportion to the pressure and extent of the evil with which it professes to deal. 2. It has lost a great measure of public confidence. Its founders and original friends are of unimpeached integrity; but it has now many devoted slaveholders among its chief supporters, and this awakens suspicion. Some of its agents, acting in difficult circumstances, and wanting due discretion, to say the least, have commended it in the North, as an Anti-Slavery Society; while others, in the South, have labored to show, that it does not disturb slave property, and that its tendency is to secure and perpetuate it; and this has confirmed suspicion in distrust. The best friends of the Society and the slave, have protested against these conflicting and unworthy statements; but they have not been able to revive confidence. Then, 3. as a *remedy* for slavery, it must be placed amongst the grossest of all delusions. In fifteen years it has transported less than three thousand persons to the African coast; while the *increase* on their numbers, in the same period, is about seven hundred thousand! By all means let the Colonization Society exist, if it will, as a Missionary Society for the benefit of Africa; but, in the name of common honesty and common sense, let it disabuse the public mind, by avowing that it does not pretend to be a *remedy for slavery*. 4. If this society could accomplish its object, and transport all the slaves to a foreign shore, it would inflict on America herself a most deadly wound. She wants the colored people; she cannot do without them. She has hitherto depended, and does still depend, on the African or the Irish for every instance of consolidated labor; and she owes to the sweat of their brow a full moiety of her prosperity and wealth. If the Africans were removed to-morrow, one half of her territories would be a mere desolation. To wish to get rid of them is a mere prejudice—the most vulgar of all prejudices—the prejudice of color. Only make them white, and America would know how to value them!

It is quite evident, then, if benevolent opinion and effort, in its improved state, was to be concentrated in favor of the slave, that some other association was indispensable. It is only to be lamented that the Anti-Slavery has shot at once as much in advance of the public mind as the older Society fell below it. By saying this, however, I would not be understood to complain of the great principle it adopts, but of the methods by which it has sought to give it predominance. Had it calmly and firmly announced, on religious grounds, that all slavery is a sin against God, as well as an offence against society, and that as such requires without delay, to be abolished; and had it refused to come down from this high vantage ground, to deal in personal invective and exaggerated statement; it would have won its way, unresisted, over the whole portion of the religious and philanthropic of the community with surprising rapidity. But it has not done so. In looking to a noble issue, it has been impatient of means necessary to the end. In proposing to confer an inestimable good, it has not paused to ask, how it may be granted with the least alloy of evil. It has allowed nothing to prejudice; nothing to interest; nothing to time. It has borne on its front defiance, and not conciliation; and this not merely against slavery, but against the slaveholder. Means leading to the result, and remuneration consequent on it, instead of being considerately discussed, are peremptorily denounced. If there be any thing that has special power to shock existing prejudice, it has been called up, and placed in the foreground of the battle; it will demand amalgamation as well as emancipation. It has been resolved on getting the wedge in; but in fulfilling this resolution, it seems to have been careless, whether it should be by the butt end or the fine one.

As you might foresee, the effect has been, that mostly those who would have been its best friends, have been afraid of it; and those who were pledged, from the truest benevolence, to the Colonization Society, have received offence; while, in the slave States, its personality and want of prudence, apart from its devotion to a hated principle, has thrown back the cause for which it pleads to a lamentable distance.

However, most of these evils, I believe, have originated with a limited portion of its agency, and are, more or less, in course of correction. It has, under forbidding circumstances, made to itself a host of friends; and if even now it shall recover its backward steps, and move to its great and holy object with ordinary wisdom and temper, it will soon collect all that is liberal in mind and generous in affection in its favor.

Should its course be still repulsive and inauspicious, the cause will not be left in its hands. The public mind is in motion, and it will create some legitimate medium of action for itself. Meetings for such a purpose were held in Boston while I was there; and, subsequently, a public Convention has been held to organize a society, which shall look to the same object, but with more regard to the means by which it is to be successfully approached.

It is yet greatly to be desired, that the real friends of that object, instead of multiplying societies, could come to a common and good understanding.—Union is strength; and they will yet require to carry their object, the strength of the giant and the skill of the philosopher. If the Colonization Society would renounce its pretensions to emancipation, and content itself with the work of a Missionary to bless Africa by redeemed and pious Africans, there would be an end of all heart-burnings between the institutions. If those who benevolently joined this Society, as a means of emancipation, would unite with the wisest and best men in the Anti-Slavery Society in the cause of abolition, the religious and generous energies of the nation would find a focus, from which they would fuse and dissolve every chain of every slave, and the world would be free!

You will learn from this, that, on the whole, I think hopefully of the question; and you will desire to know more exactly the considerations that give this complexion to my opinions.

I am fully disposed to admit, that the subject is attended with peculiar difficulties. The evil was brought to this people by others, and has grown up with them and their institutions. The slaves are not, as they were with us, some thousands of miles away; they are at their doors, and in the midst of them, and both parties are continually exasperated by the presence of what is disagreeable to them.—The States are independent of each other, so that Massachusetts cannot control Carolina any more than France can England; and they are, in all internal affairs, independent of the General Government, so that it cannot control them. There is, therefore, no hope of legal influence in this case.—All that the Government, without the consent of the States, can do, is to afford the country the benefit of a good example; and this it should do without delay. It happens that the District of Columbia is a stronghold of slavery; but this district is under the exclusive legislation of Congress "in all cases whatsoever." This single circumstance involves the whole American people; and constitutes them, at this hour, a SLAVEHOLDING NATION. The representatives of the whole people enter the halls of Congress, and plead for the rights of man and of the world at the top of their voice; and the African lies manacled at their feet, and they have the power to declare him free, and they do not use it!

Add to this, that recently, when the supreme Government had the power, on the settlement of a new State, to determine whether it should be free or slaveholding, they resolved in favor of bondage, and the matter, it must be admitted, is somewhat discouraging.

But, although the Congress can do but little, and is backward to do what is within its orbit; and although the legal renovation of the slave State rests with itself, and it may defy extraneous dictation; there are, nevertheless, many cheering indications that America will cast away this foul reproach soon and for ever.

1. Much has already been done in this philanthropic work. New England was once deeply committed to the slave-trade, by far its worst part, if any can be worst where all is so bad; but now she abhors both it and slavery. Most of the States which are now free, were recently slaveholding; and some are still in the state of transition. What has been done, has been done with safety and advantage, and this is a powerful inducement to a just consideration of the subject. The same success and safety would attend it in every other State, if wise provisions were adopted, and the *slave-owners were willing*.—In their case, as in the parallel one of the West Indies, nothing is essentially wanting to the safety of the change, but the *decided good-will of the planters!*

2. There are several slave States that are prepared for emancipation. Of this class are, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. Maryland is resolved on it. The West of Virginia is also decided; and the East lingers only from the undue gain of the domestic trade. Kentucky is disposed to it. You will conclude, that some powerful causes are at work to produce this result. You are quite right. The most potent cause that can act on this case is working efficaciously—it is interest. Kentucky and Virginia compare themselves with Ohio; they were settled earlier, and are nearer the sources of emigration, but Ohio has left them far behind, in trade, in wealth, and in population. And the palpable reason is, that Ohio is free, and they are not. Many residents leave the slave State for the free, in apprehension or disgust; and the new settler, on every account, prefers the free State, so that all the advantage is with it and against its opposite. If a slave State hesitates for a time between the old and the new state of things, when it becomes a border State, the inconveniences are so great, and the comparison so striking, that it not only decides, but is impatient to be free; and in this way, liberty promises to travel on from State to State till they shall be all free.

3. The slaves themselves are preparing for this issue. They are so in *mind*. It is impossible for such excitement and discussion to exist in their behalf, without some vague report reaching them.—They are thus taught to know that they are feared, and that there is cause for fear; and that they have friends, and that change may be expected. The impression does not work the less because it is indefinite. The amount and force of it is to be gathered in signs rather than words. To me these are unequivocal signs. They abhor Liberia and the Colonization Society. They seek with growing eagerness instruction for themselves and children. They have strong desires to assemble for separate worship as a means of common sympathy; and they are supported, and are sometimes buoyant, by a conviction, that something will happen for their good.

They are so in *numbers*. Their increase is a most remarkable circumstance in their history. As it seems impossible to raise the Indian, so it appears impossible to diminish them. In their state of oppression and privation, to increase in a proportion greater than their oppressors, with all the aid of emigration! It reminds one of the increase of Israel in Egypt; and where would be the wrong of supposing that Providence is strengthening them, as he did Israel, to forsake the house of bondage? And observe, it is not the mere amount that is to be reckoned here, as of ten millions against two: there is especially to be noted, the accumulation of these numbers in one portion of the empire. This accumulation of the black population in the South, is still going on; while that of the whites is diminishing. Evidently this is tending to a crisis; and, in terror of it, many have already fled from the vicinity. That crisis will come, if existing causes are allowed to produce their proper effects. What determination it shall take, must depend on many contingencies; but it can hardly find and leave the slave a slave.

4. Then, finally, public sentiment is ripening to this end. It has grown surprisingly within these few years. All discussion nurtures it. Daily observation strengthens it. If the proximity of the evil may create difficulties, which we could not know, it presses the subject on the mind and the senses incessantly, and demands relief. The clanking of their chains, the piercing cries of the oppressed, "Am I not a man and a brother?"—are at their doors and in their ears, and will not suffer compassion to slumber within them. The very struggles and animosities between the two societies for their relief, and the advance which the younger has made, in principle, beyond the elder, are evidence of the gathering power of opinion, and of its determination to make to itself suitable channels of action. And, above all, the feverish anxiety which possesses those who are unwilling to look at change, announces an inward consciousness that the change must come.

Nothing has accelerated this state of feeling so much as the recent deeds of England. When by the highest moral act our country ever performed, slavery was abolished throughout the British dominions, I could not help saying, that it was done, not merely for ourselves, but for the world. Slavery, indeed, lingers now in America; but it is impossible it should linger long. The example of Great Britain has acted on the whole people like a shock; and if no reverses attend the transition, and if their jealousies are not aroused by indiscreet interference and direct agencies from the parent land, it will continue so to act, till every free man shall resolve that every slave shall be free. And whatever may oppose the consummation, it can only retard, and not prevent it. It is a source of great alleviation to find, that, as our country first inflicted this evil on America, her late but noble example is acting with silent but amazing power for its annihilation.

Yes, the slave must go free! Slavery now has a legal existence only in America. But America is the very place, of all others, where it cannot, must not be tolerated. With her Declaration of Rights, with her love of liberty, with her sense of religion, with her professed deference for man as man, and with the example of the old world against her—which she has forsaken from its defective sense of freedom—to uphold slavery would be an act of such supreme iniquity, as, beside it, would make all common vice seem to brighten into virtue. Much evil may be; but this cannot be! What, slavery in the last home of liberty! The vilest despotism in the presence of boasted equality! The deepest oppression of man, where the rights of man are professedly most honored! No, this cannot continue. Slavery and Liberty cannot exist together; either slavery must die, or liberty must die. Even now, the existence of slavery is a violation of the Constitution of America; and so long as slavery remains, it exists in letter and not in fact!

The eyes of the world are now fixed on America. She will act worthy of herself, her high professions, and her distinguished privileges. She will show that the evil by which she suffers has been inflicted, and not adopted. She will repudiate it without delay; only asking the time and the means, which may secure to all parties the greatest good with the least evil. And kindred nations, and oppressed man, shall look on her from afar with admiration and delight, as to the new world of promise "wherein dwelleth righteousness!"

Besides this, there is another field of philanthropic service open to America. It is that of seeking the welfare of the aborigines of the country. They are far less thought of, at the present moment, than the oppressed African; but their claims are not inferior, nor scarcely are their wrongs. They amount to about five hundred thousand persons. They have the highest claim to the soil. It has been allowed as such both by Britain and the United States; and America, by conciliation and justice, might confer the greatest good on these interesting people; and all the good done to them, would be so much benefit brought to herself.

Yet no people have suffered more. Advantage has been taken of their ignorance and generous confidence, at various times, in every possible way. While the invader has been weak, he has allowed their claims; as he gathered force, he doubted them; and when he was confident in his strength, he practically denied them. Very recently, some flagrant instances of oppression and plunder, under the form and sanction of law, have occurred; and it was only at the eleventh hour, that the Supreme Court of the States, by a signal act of justice, reversed the acts of local government and of Congress too, and saved the nation from being committed to deeds which must have been universally condemned as flagitious and infamous.

But to tell of their wrongs would be to write a volume; and that such a one as Ezekiel was once commissioned to inscribe. Many of them rest with former generations; and the reference, either to the present or the past, is only desirable, as it may awaken compassion and dispose to justice. At least, let the existing generation seek indemnity for the past by care for the future. If their fathers may have acted beneath the influence of fear and resentment, there is now no place for the action of such passions. These people commend themselves to protection, by their weakness as well as their manliness and generosity. It is high time that they should be allowed to live in peace and security, and in the inviolable possession of their lands, their laws, their liberty. If this may not be in the United States, where can it be? Is the most solemn "Declaration" of a whole people to be nullified a SECOND TIME, and pronounced a mere legal fiction? Justice, Truth, Mercy, Religion—Earth and Heaven, demand of America that she should assure the world she is what she professes to be, BY PRESERVING THE INDIAN, AND EMANCIPATING THE AFRICAN.

LETTER XLIII.

MY DEAR FRIEND—It is now time that I brought both my narrative and disquisitions to a close. The field, however, is so extensive, and so interesting, that only to glance at the various objects within the scope of this communication, and which demand observation, requires considerable space.

Although I have endeavored to convey my honest and first impressions as I have passed onward, you may desire that I should yet express the general amount of these impressions, on a review of the entire subject of remark. This is certainly what I should like in my own case; and expecting that you will make reasonable allowances for the delicacy and difficulty of reducing so many subjects, and such multifarious impressions, to a common conclusion, I will not hesitate to meet your wishes. I shall have the more readiness in attempting this, because if that conclusion should need to be qualified in any degree, the previous statements will, I trust, amply supply you with the means of independent judgment, and salutary correction.

The impression, then, left on my own mind, as the result of combined observation, is that of satisfaction and hope. When I say this, however, you must bear in remembrance what was the state of mind with which I went out to this country. My expectations were certainly not so high as many might entertain; they were certainly not so low as those of many; they were, I think, moderate; and *they have been exceeded*. Allowing, as I did, for the difficulties of a newly settled country, and for the disadvantages of emigration, the state of education, morals, and religion, was decidedly better than I expected to find it. Indeed, I have never visited a country in which I have seen them equalled. England herself painfully suffers in the comparison.

There are, undoubtedly, some points in politics, in science, and in domestic life, in which the advantage may still be with the parent country; but on the subjects in question, and which are legitimate to this inquiry, the advantage is with America. Education with us, may, in certain cases, be more refined and recondite; but it is not spread over so large a surface, and is less in the sum total; and if, as Johnson says, the state of common life is the true state of a nation, the nation must be considered to be better educated.

In morals, too, you are constrained to receive the same impression. It is impossible to compare New York with Liverpool, or Boston with Bristol, and not to be struck with the difference. It was Sabbath evening when I landed at Liverpool, but I was grieved to admit, that at no time in New York, had open vice met my eye with such prominence, and to such a degree.

I know it has been said, as against the higher morality of this people, that their merchants are less honorable than ours. I have given some attention to this, as it is certainly an important allegation; and as I had found reason partly to give it my acquiescence. I suppose it will be easily admitted, that no mercantile interests were ever more honorably conducted than are those of Great Britain. But honor is conventional, and of slow growth; and when matured it has a tendency to self-preservation; so that a person finds with us, that he can scarcely be a merchant without being a man of honor.

To try the American merchant by such a test, may be sufficiently severe; yet he need not shrink from it. He is certainly less influenced by what is conventional; but he is, at least, equally effected by what is properly moral. I have every reason to think, that the regular and accredited merchant of the States, is as upright in his transactions, as steady to his contracts, and is governed by as high a sense of justice, as are the merchants of the old world. Still I am willing to admit, so far as it regards the New England character, that, with all its excellences, it is liable to temptation here. It participates, in some particulars, with the Scotch character, and, like it, may require watchfulness.—Those who pride themselves in their shrewdness in driving a "keen bargain," are commonly in danger of being "over keen."

Apart from this, it is allowed, that there is some cause for such an impression being hastily received in London; and it arises from the circumstances of the people. The fact is, that one half the men in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, who announce themselves as merchants, are not known as such to the accredited merchants of those places. They are mostly men of desperate fortune, who have fled from their creditors in Europe, and who are seeking to establish themselves where they are not known.—Frequently they succeed; and in shaking off some of their necessities, free themselves from some of their vices; but surely it is not to be expected that they should be governed by any fine sense of honor. More commonly their bad propensities remain: and they play the rogue with more freedom, because they can do it on a larger field, and with greater safety and advantage. The very honor and integrity of which we are speaking, require that such distinctions should be allowed and appreciated.

Then the appearances in favor of religion are to their advantage. They have no law for the regulation or observance of the Sabbath, but public sentiment secures its sanctification better with them than with us. I have never seen that day observed in Bristol or Bath as it is in Boston and Philadelphia. In the large town, the people attend in larger numbers at their respective places of worship; there are more places for their accommodation; and the average size is greater with them than with us. The communicants in that country are far more numerous than in this; and you will regard this as important evidence on the subject, especially when it is known that the principle of strict communion prevails. The ministry, as a whole, is better adapted to the people and to usefulness. The spirit of regeneration animates it; and evangelical truth is more familiar to it. It is neither so rich nor so poor as with us, and is therefore more efficient. One portion of it is not degraded by the political elevation of other portions; but, as a body, it is entitled to common and equal respect, and it has decidedly more respect, and, therefore, more influence than with us.

With these visible signs in favor of religion, and with the knowledge that the Americans have far less reason to preserve appearances than ourselves, it is impossible not to arrive at the conclusion already suggested.

These statements are to be understood to have a special though not an exclusive application to the leading States, which have been longest settled, and are the most populous. It would be most unreasonable to expect that the States in the far West and far South should equal them in privilege and attainment. They are rather, as a candid Episcopalian writer has allowed, to be compared with our colonies than with ourselves. Let me add, however, that we have no colonies that would not suffer by the comparison; and that their average means, as I have shown, will actually bear to be tried by what we most admire at home.

Still it is admitted that much remains to be done. All the States are capable of great improvement; and the rapid settlement taking place every where, seems to mock all past effort, and to demand that it shall be put forth on a continually expanded scale, even to exhaustion. The West especially, has almost overwhelming claims. If this empire shall retain its integrity, the West promises to become the seat of power; and whatever it ultimately becomes, the whole country will be. Every eye is fixed on it. The worldling looks to it as his paradise; the Papist looks to it as to another centre, where he may again elevate the crucifix, and assert the claims of St. Peter; and the infidel looks to it as a refuge where he may shake off the trammels of religion, and be at peace.

Do I, then, regard these circumstances with apprehension? No, I look on them with hope—I regard the entire exigencies of this great country with the assurance of hope. If there was a time for apprehension, that time is now past. Had the church remained as dormant and secure as she was even ten years ago, there might have been cause for alarm; but she is awake, and the people are awake. The Home Mission, the Education, and the Sunday School Societies, which have arisen into such mighty and rapid action, are directing chiefly their energies to the West. Missionaries in the cause of religion and education are traversing all its regions; schools, and even colleges, are springing up amidst the stumps of the smouldering forest. The wants and claims of the West are made to ring and reverberate over the East, and the North and the South; and the common attention is not summoned in vain.

Then it is not merely that public attention is awakened to these growing exigencies; the people in the more settled States are strikingly prepared to benefit those that are settling. They are so by circumstances, and they are so by character. The circumstances of the New England people, for instance, remarkably dispose and fit them to aid the West. Their soil is comparatively sterile and ungrateful, and this inclines them to emigrate. They carry with them the very institutions which are wanted by the West; they are never contented with a settlement till it has its school and its church; and their force of character—their thrift, their energy, and their morals—gives them a controlling influence by which society around them is modelled. The hand of Providence seems conspicuous in this provision, and in making it so effectual. In the whole, about 21,000 persons were delivered from the mother country on these shores; their offspring are now spread over all the States, and amount to upwards of three millions of persons!

Not less does their character inspire hope. So far as it affects this subject, it may be said that they have remarkable versatility in adapting themselves to the occasion, and great earnestness in moving to their object. Their *versatility* and tact may possibly be greatly fostered by their circumstances—this is not material to a question purely practical: that it exists is without doubt. The difficulty which would be felt with us, of passing from an occupation which we had learnt, to one of which we were ignorant, is scarcely felt with them. They may not be over careful in selecting means, nor over steady in the use of them; but they certainly have a degree of French facility in falling on them, and in accommodating themselves to them. Many find no difficulty in becoming students at forty, if they should have been denied the opportunity before; and it is a common thing for those who do not succeed to their wishes in one avocation to apply to another, though years should be the price of acquisition. Forms in society, as well as personal habits, are far less fixed here; and where there is so much freedom to move, you may expect it to abound and vary in proportion. I knew of a gentleman who had been trained to mercantile pursuits; as a Christian, he thought he could be more useful by preaching; he renounced, therefore, his profitable merchandise, to employ himself in public teaching. After some pains and lengthened trial, he had reason to think he had miscalculated on his talent. Having made the experiment, he again became a merchant; remarking, that, as by merchandise he could afford to sustain five preachers better than himself, there could be no doubt that, as a merchant, he might best promote the cause of religion. He felt no difficulty in these transitions; and if he did not display the clearest judgment, he showed that he had no double or dubious motive.

It must be evident to a practised judgment, that this aptitude to become all things to all men, and all occasions, is a valuable qualification for real usefulness, in a country where the form and fashion of things, are continually varying under the influence of increasing civilization and refinement.—The free institutions of the people possess just the same pliancy. The *principle of adaptation*, the want of which, a high authority has lately admitted to be the great defect of an Establishment, is certainly the life and virtue of the voluntary system. Whatever may otherwise be its character, its adversaries cannot disallow the inherent power of adaptation; and if they did, America would confound them. The school-house and the church are seen to accommodate themselves precisely to the state of the people, never behind them, never too much in advance. Their very form and structure pass through the gradations of wood, brick, and stone, as do the residences of the people; and their lessons are dispensed by "line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little, and there much," as they can bear them.

Especially, the Americans have great *earnestness* of character; and as this is essential to all true greatness, so it is the very quality to inspire hope. I think I have never seen more of it in any people. It may not always express itself as you would desire; but its very presence and name is power.—Their character, like their climate, has great decision about it; it may be hot, it may be cold; but when it is cold it freezes, and when it is hot it burns. Only let them fully apprehend the importance of an object; and you will see them move to it with a directness of mind and a scorn of sacrifices, which would surprise weaker natures.

When this is associated with Christian principle it confers a striking power of self-devotion. Endless instances illustrate and confirm this. It is this quality, thus sanctified, that gives to their missionary his highest praise. It is this, through the form of the Temperance Societies, that has astonished the world with the noble example of a nation renovating itself. In smaller circles the principle is perpetually at work with equal power, though with less observation. I have been charmed and refreshed with it every where. It inspires private Christians to revolve great things, and to compass them by great means. I know of no country where there are more examples of beneficence and magnificence. The rich will act nobly out of their abundance; and the poor will act as nobly out of their penury. There are refreshing instances of individuals sustaining schools, professorships, missionaries, and evangelists. Ministers are repeatedly making movements in which it was evident, that every thing was to be sacrificed for usefulness. I have seen the pastor at sixty, beloved and happy in his people, give up all, and go forth into the wilderness, because he thought that his example, more than his labors, might bless the West; while the church has been as ready to relinquish him, though with tears, when she has been satisfied, that it was for the good of the church catholic. I have seen a band of students, careless of ease and reputation at home, forsake the college which they have passed with honor, and covenant together to go forth some two thousand miles, to rear a kindred institution in the desert; and I have seen the aged man kindle at their enthusiasm, and support them with his purse, when unable to be their companion. Does a neighborhood rapidly outrun the existing means of religious instruction? it immediately creates effort; and individuals in different churches volunteer to give up their endeared privileges, and to go forth, as a little colony, to benefit that district.*

Woman, too, has at least an equal spirit of self-devotion here. I have never been more impressed with this. The females move less out of their own sphere than most; but in that sphere they are employing a thousand womanly appliances in favor of the good cause. They have a loftiness of character about them which requires that they should have some great object before them; and none know better than they, how truly little means are sanctified and ennobled by great ends. They band together for all sorts of benevolent and religious uses. The maternal societies are their own, and are at once a testimony to their well-regulated as well as exalted feeling; the mother is not forgotten in the Christian, nor home in the world. They work, or collect in company, for the support of a student or a missionary; they prepare linen and other garments for the poor scholar; and all their deeds are anointed by their prayers. We have seen the spirit of piety kept alive in a church, the Old South, through a long period of darkness and heresy, by the prayers of a few females. The Foreign Missionary Society is considered to have its origin in the prayers and exhortations of one sainted woman. I have known of three excellent matrons, who, when a church was afflicted by a worldly ministry, devoted themselves to secret prayer for its and the church's renovation, and who have lived to offer praise for an answer to prayer, of which none knew but themselves.

Who shall doubt of such a people? They are full of hope themselves, and they create hope in others. Every thing about them contributes to nourish it. They are born into national existence in the most auspicious times. All the lessons of wisdom which have been suggested through ages to other nations are at their command. They begin their course just where other empires have closed theirs. Their field of action is so vast, that they may put forth the mightiest energies, without exposure to hostile interests and barbarous warfare.—They need fear no foe, and therefore they need not embarrass themselves with alliances which might lead to conflict and bloodshed. They have the fairest opportunity of showing how little a Government may be felt as a burden, and how much as a blessing, silently diffusing life, liberty, and joy, over an immense community. The people are aware of this, and are ennobled by their circumstances.—They believe all things, and they will accomplish all things.

Yes, they will accomplish all things, with the single provision, that *they remain under the influence of religion.* Religion is requisite to the welfare of any people; but they have made it emphatically necessary, not only to their prosperity, but to their political existence. The evils to which their promising circumstances chiefly expose them, are worldliness and presumption; and these can be quelled only by religion. No approaches to the experiment they are now making on the liberty of the subject, have been made with success; and they can only succeed by making religion their best ally. Universal suffrage, whatever may be its abstract merits or demerits, is neither desirable nor possible, except the people are the subjects of universal education and universal piety. AMERICA WILL BE GREAT IF AMERICA IS GOOD. If not, her greatness will vanish away like a morning cloud.

LETTER XLIV.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Although I have written ostensibly of America, it has been always with a bearing on our own favored country; and, in conclusion, it may not be improper to refer to those mutual duties which seem to spring from their relationship, their place, and their privileges. This may, perhaps, be done under three or four such terms as—*union*—*intercourse*—*peace*—*and co-operation.*

There is every reason why the churches of the two countries, and the countries themselves, should be in a state of perfect amity and union. If kindred is a cause of union, we should be united; for our relationship is that of parent and child. Never were two people so homogeneous. If interest is a cause of union, we should be united; for just what we want, they have; and just what they want, we have. With us capital is in excess, with them it is deficient; we have too many hands, they have too few; we have mouths craving bread, they have corn craving mouths; we thrive as commerce thrives, they can consume all we can manufacture. If similarity is a source of union, then we should be united; for where shall we find such resemblances? Not to speak of foreign countries, in Wales, and in Scotland the Englishman will find stronger differences from what is familiarized to him, than he will find in America. I certainly never felt myself, at once, so far from home, and so much at home, in separation from my native land. Whatever is found with us, has its counterpart there. In habit, in literature, in language, and religion, we are one; and in government are much closer than is usually thought, or than is found between ourselves and any other country. Theirs is, under other names, an elective and limited monarchy, and ours a hereditary limited monarchy; and our reformations incline us to them, and theirs to us. Why should not such nations be one in affection and in fact?

On the part of the people generally, and of the churches in particular, I can truly assert that they are prepared for this exercise of amity and confidence. While I rejoiced that the churches at home were showing the strength of right and noble feeling, by sending forth a Deputation with their affectionate overtures of communion; I was uncertain whether it would be duly returned. On first landing on the shores of a distant and foreign country, I felt all the chilling force of this incertitude. But it lasted not a day; and the longer we remained, the more we saw, the stronger was the conviction, that this Christian overture was not made too soon, it was made too late. Had it been earlier, it had been better. We could not have been more disposed to send out delegates on a mission of fraternal affection, than they were to receive them, by universal kindness and excess of love.

And this feeling is not limited to the churches, it is common to the people. The exasperation beneath which they have frequently acted, and even felt, is as nothing compared with the strong and steady under current of mother feeling, which speaks to them of common blood and common origin. They desire to express love and esteem; but they require, before they do so, to know that they shall not be despised for it. The fault, then, will be ours, if our pride shall stand in the way of our established union and fellowship.

Intercourse is at once the means and the end of union; this, therefore, should have our considerate attention. Such intercourse, I am persuaded, is of high value to the churches on either side the Atlantic; and to the interests of religion generally. It might, for instance, besides nourishing Christian affection, prevent interference in our plans of general usefulness, and it might, by mutual conference, impart to them decided improvement. It might likewise promote a still greater resemblance between churches already so assimilated in form and discipline. Why should we not, for instance, have one Psalmody, as well as one Bible? and one *method*, as well as one faith? and this not by enacting a platform, but by the assimilating power of affectionate intercourse. Such fruits of intercourse would evidently give to the universal church assurance, and before the world, power.

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* The case of Boston, already noticed, is proof of this; and that of New-York, referred to in the Appendix, is yet more striking.

This intercourse may be sustained in many ways. That of delegation, as we have already adopted it, need hardly be named. Only let us see that as we have opened the door, we are at least as eager as any to keep it open. It is pleasing to observe that, on our side, the Baptist community are sending forth their deputation; and that, on the part of America, we have at the present time delegates from the two great religious bodies of that country, with the promise of others. I am by no means, however, pleading for annual missions. At present we could not commit ourselves to this if we would; and if we could, I should not think it desirable. They would lose much of their significance and power, if they were too often repeated; and, from incurring considerable charge with small benefit, they would drop into desuetude. What we shall want is, when the novelty has worn away, still to look steadily to the object; and to act upon it as frequently as a Christian, and not a mercenary, motive shall suggest.

Literary communication is another mode of intercourse commending itself to notice, because it may be always in exercise, and is attended with small expense. The churches there know very little of the state of religion with us; and we know still less of them. Great advantage would arise to both by a free and enlarged communication. Nothing can be more interesting to us than the state of religion in that land, placed as it is in new and untried circumstances; yet, up to the present time, nothing of value, or nothing that may be relied on, has been reported to us. Churches that are in all essential points one, have nevertheless been so absorbed in their own estate, and so little animated by the spirit of their Founder, as to remain not only without fellowship, but almost without the privity of each other's existence.

To sustain this intercourse with the best effect, we want accredited organs and agents. There should be, in both countries, some one periodical instrument, known and approved, by which every thing important to one body may be readily imparted to the other. With us, the Congregational Magazine, with decided arrangements to that end, might perhaps be made to answer for this duty; but in America there is at present nothing that meets this case. They have papers, and religious papers in abundance; but, because they are so abundant, they are limited in circulation. If, for instance, we desired to make a communication to the churches of New England, there is at present no recognised organ by which it could at once be done. On this account, a letter addressed to them generally, and not to the churches associated in a particular State, was actually passed from association to association, each one expecting the other to answer it, and no one deeming itself qualified to that end. According to existing provisions, it would require that a communication should be made to at least six different parties, to secure its circulation in the several States. If the like intercourse is sought with the Presbyterian churches, not less than four instruments must be employed; and, after all, it loses much of the power which might be derived from an accredited medium. This is an evil that will, I hope, soon find, in the zeal and practical tact of our transatlantic friends, an adequate remedy.

Then there is evidently wanted to correspond with such provisions, a suitable and recognised agency. This is of great importance. From what I have seen the last twelvemonth, there is quite enough to engage the hands and talents of one of our best men; and were the churches ripe for these more enlarged methods of usefulness and union, they could not do better service to the church universal than to devote a person to such engagements. At present, perhaps, there can hardly be hope of this; and in the want of it, the best should be done that circumstances may allow. Care should be had, that the agency should be such as is generally known and approved, rather than self-created; it should not be such as may be provided by private and pecuniary interests; and it should be decidedly such as will assuredly promote by the wisdom, temper, and piety of its communications, the knowledge, benevolence, and fellowship of the churches.

Why should not more than this be done? Is it not time that the churches created an agency by which they might hold communion and communication with kindred churches of whatever name, or whatever place? Why should not the churches of the European continent, for instance, which are reviving from papal oppression, or a dormant Protestantism, find some common centre where they might enjoy the sympathy and fellowship of all other Christian churches? Why should not the whole church become conscious of its essential oneness, by its sympathy with all the parts? and why should not the parts gather vigor and assurance by their felt connection with the whole? And why, as this intercourse advanced, should it not lead to personal conference and fellowship? Why might there not be a triennial or quinquennial convention, by delegates of the leading religious bodies in America, and of the reformed churches in England, Holland, France, and Germany, for the purposes of promoting a community of faith, harmony, and love, and of energetic and combined service for the redemption of the world? I can see no greater difficulties in the way, than those which have been overcome in the existing intercourse with America. I can see the highest advantages accruing to the interests of true religion, by its direct influence on the church, and by its indirect influence on the world. Without precisely determining method, the times call for movements of this comprehensive order. Romanism is one; Mohamedism is one; and Paganism is one; but we are not one. And until we become *one* in a different and better sense, the world will never be convinced, the Redeemer will never be acknowledged, and the subtle combinations of heresy and sin will never be destroyed.*

To enjoy the intercourse we seek, *peace* must be maintained. The native of either country cannot possibly visit, and become associated with, the inhabitants of the other, without deep lamentations that ever war should have existed between them. The resemblances are so great, the connections are so close, the interests so much in common, as to give to conflict all the horrors of civil war. If, in an ordinary case, war, not sustained by the plea of extreme necessity, is homicide; in this case it is *fratricide*.

Another impression I could not help receiving while in this country. It is, that if the religious community here, and the religious community there, were to adopt just views of the subject, and to express themselves in union and with decision on it, the Government would not be able, but in a case of self-preservation, which is not likely to occur, to prosecute a war. The accumulating feeling and determination of New England almost prevented the last war; and it is likely it would have been prevented altogether, but for the untoward provocation of firing their capital.

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* On the subject of intercourse with America, some facilities might be granted by the Government. It is painful to find that the transmission of letters and books meets with so little obstruction on one side of the ocean, and so much on the other.

I believe this view of the subject has not been fairly taken by the churches; and, so far, they have failed in their duty. In America, the very evils of the last short and unnecessary war, have had the good effect of awakening many generous minds in the cause of peace; and considerable advances have been made, by prizes, addresses, and sermons, to correct and arouse religious feeling especially on the subject. With us, the Peace Society has been too hastily regarded as a Quaker, and not a Christian Institution; and because it began by asking too much, nothing has been granted to it, and nothing has been done apart from it. But we must not deceive ourselves. The churches, in both lands, if united on this subject, possess within themselves a moral power, which, as it can destroy slavery, so it may make war all but impossible. This power it is not only legitimate to use, it is obligatory; and they are responsible for all the misery and carnage which arise from its not being used.

There is yet another view to be taken of this interesting and momentous topic. If the religious communities, by a due exercise of their influence, could make war between the two countries, in almost any supposable case, nearly impossible; the two countries, remaining in peace, might secure peace to the whole world. If those very nations, which have the least to fear from war, should be the first to keep the peace, what would be the silent influence on all other nations! And if they should actually employ their advice and influence against angry dispute swelling into deliberate murder, how soon would war become a stranger, if not an exile, from our world!

Not only by power, but even by situation, they seem remarkably fitted to set this example, and to arbitrate these differences, till the troubled nations shall have rest. They are so far from each other, that they are freed from those irritations which too commonly originate serious conflict; so that, if disposed to peace, they can scarcely go to war; while their reciprocal interests may continually strengthen their bonds of union and amity. And they are so placed, in relation to other nations, the one by a boundless territory, and the other by her insular situation, as that necessity can hardly occur for them to participate in the quarrels of others. By station and by power, they are prepared to act, not as parties, but as arbiters.

Here, then, is a field of service, worthy of the church—worthy of angels! And it can scarcely be considered as saying too much to state, as I deliberately do, that it is a field the church has not yet occupied. And still, it may be asked in reply, "Why should she occupy it? What has she to do with the ambition of the world and the 'strife of the potsherds?'" As a mere question of policy or expediency, I would say, nothing—just nothing. But the cause of peace can never be established amongst men on the principles of expediency and political advantage; and if it could, then it is rather the work of the citizen than of the Christian. Here has been the great error. It may be well and wise to refer to secondary considerations as dissuasives from war; and, with Burke, we may attempt to horrify the imagination, by calculating that it has destroyed as much life and property as are to be found, at the present time, on the globe, fourteen times told. Yet these representations are short of the mark, and show a feeble and imperfect conception of the monstrous evil. The only effectual argument against war is, that WAR IS SIN. This will lay hold on the conscience; this will justify the Christian in interfering; and this will not allow the church to slumber, while, for the purposes of vulgar ambition, one hundred thousand men are commanded to massacre another hundred thousand men, and to hurry them away into an awful eternity, uncalled, in their sins and in their blood.

It is not to be supposed that, in thus glancing at the subject, I should discuss all captious objection. But I would crave to have it observed, that it is no part of my intention to place the principle of peace in opposition to the principle of self-preservation. I can conceive of a case, whether of an individual or of a nation, in which resistance may be a virtue; though I am persuaded that this supposable case has been used to justify a thousand actual cases, which have no resemblance; and in which resistance is not a virtue, but a crime.

And as civilization and religion advance, why should not the barbarous and brutal practice of appealing to power, rather than to justice, be superseded by wiser and more humane methods? As in a community, the persons composing it are brought to commit their persons, property, and honor, to the provisions of that community; so, in the family of civilized mankind, composed of a number of nations, why should there not be a common and recognised authority, which should arbitrate the differences, and protect the interests of each and of all; bringing to the weak power, and to the injured righteousness? If any thing is characterizing the times in which it is our privilege to live, it is, that right is taking the place of might; or, in other words, that moral power is supplanting physical power. And nothing can be more favorable to the subject we are contemplating. Right is the harbinger of Peace; while force is the very sinews, and soul, and inspiration of the demon War.

But this appeal, if worthy of the name, is to the churches. This subject has not been duly considered by them; let them now consider it. Let them remember that they are "children of peace," that they obey the "Prince of Peace;" and that their religion breathes peace, not only on a nation, but on the world. Let them not condemn the evil in the abstract, and plead for it in the detail; nor deplore its soul-harrowing consequences, while they connive at its plausible pretences. Let them strip the demon of all his pomp and circumstance and glory; and let him appear, in all his naked and horrible deformity, that men may confess him to be a fiend of the lower, and not a resident of the present, world. Let them glorify their religion by banding together as an army of pacificators; and when the crisis for action arrives, let them raise their voice, and make it to be heard above all the clamor for war, distinctly, calmly, one. Nothing would be more worthy of them; nothing would contribute more to general civilization; nothing would so efficiently promote the advancement of religion and virtue; and nothing would so forcibly place the future, which would be the history of benevolence and peace, in contrast with the past, which is the history of bloodshedding and murder.

So far as America and England are concerned, peace, intercourse, and union, should be employed and sanctified as means of energetic *co-operation* for the conversion of the world. This is the end to which we should be steadfastly looking in all our intercourse; and, great as this end is, it may be thus contemplated without despondency. These nations are singularly prepared by Providence for this high service; so much so, indeed, as to indicate that it is consigned to their hands. Where shall we find two nations placed so advantageously on the surface of the globe to this end? Where shall we find them in possession of so much of the world's commerce, which is a direct means to this end? Where shall we find a people whose civil and religious institutions are so prepared to bless mankind? And where shall we find any people who are so ready, by desire and effort, as these, to bestow whatever makes them distinguished and happy upon all other nations? Blot out England and America from the map of the world, and you destroy all those great institutions which almost exclusively promise the world's renovation; but, unite England and America in energetic and resolved co-operation for the world's salvation, and the world is saved.

It is not only important that they should render these services; they should render them in union. It should be felt, that what the one does, the other virtually does also; and the very names, indicating the two people, should be a sort of synonyme, which might be applied to the same works. The service is arduous; the difficulties are great; and the adversary of liberty, light, and religion, should be suffered to gain neither advantage nor confidence, by regarding us as separable. We shall have more relative and more real power, by acting together. In this connection, one and one make more than two; they exert a triple force against every opposing obstacle.

Here, then, is the province of these two great countries. They are to consult, act, and labor in union for the conversion and blessedness of the world. For this they are made a people; for this they are evangelized; for this they are privileged, and blessed themselves. Theirs is no common destiny; and theirs should be no common ambition. They are to find their greatness, not in the degradation of other nations, but in raising them to an elevation of being which they have not known. They should rise from the patriot into the philanthropist, and express love to man from love to his Maker. Great as they then would be, their greatness would not create fear, but admiration and confidence; and He who made them great would not withhold his approbation.

Let them look to this! Let no one "take their crown." Let the man that would enkindle strife between them, be deemed an enemy alike to both countries. Let them turn away from the trivial and the temporary; and look on the great, the good, the abiding. Let them faithfully accomplish their high commission, and theirs will be a glory such as Greece, with all her Platonic imaginings, never sought; and such as Rome, with all her real triumphs, never found.

NARRATIVE

OF A

VISIT TO CANADA AND PENNSYLVANIA.

LETTER I.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Having decided to visit the Canadas, at the request of ministers and friends who sent deputations to us at New York, we left Boston on the 5th of June, and arrived at Burlington, on Lake Champlain, on the evening of the 7th. We there embarked in a steamboat, and reached St. John's, in Lower Canada, early on the morning of the 8th. This frontier town is a poor uncomfortable place; and much as I wished to cherish suitable feelings in once more entering the British dominions, I could find nothing pleasant either in the place, the people, or the surrounding scenery. The weather was hot; the dust was lying six or eight inches deep in the street; and the millions of flies which covered the walls and windows, could only be compared to one of the plagues of Egypt. The very atmosphere was so clouded with these troublesome insects, that one could not breathe or move without destroying life. And the number of those that were lying dead, appeared equal to that of the living; the duration of their ephemeral existence seemed, indeed, to be limited to a day.

It was the Sabbath. At the hour of worship we proceeded to the Episcopal church, a small building, and thinly attended. Glad should we have been to hear within its walls, the great doctrines of the Church of England faithfully and simply proclaimed. An opportunity of listening to these truths in such a place, would have been as "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." The sermon, however, was not calculated to afford either comfort or instruction. The text was Job xlii. 5. The preacher's main design was to apply the passage to the *season* of *spring*, and to show that its return was calculated to inspire the feelings which Job expressed. There was not one allusion to the confession of the following verse, as resulting from enlightened views of the Divine character and law; nor the least reference to the way of salvation by faith in Jesus Christ. Seneca or Plato could have made a better discourse. It was unsuccessful even in the sentimentalism at which it aimed.

I visited the Sunday school, which was conducted in the church during the interval of public worship. A young minister has been chosen by the people, to assist the old missionary, and is supported by them; and this school has been revived by his exertions. There were about fifty children in attendance.—The teachers appeared anxious to do good; but they are much discouraged by the indifference of the parents to the religious instruction of their children; as well as by the jealousy and opposition of the Roman Catholics.

We attended the afternoon service, and heard the junior minister. His sermon was quite in contrast with that of the morning. His theology was correct, and it was evidently his desire to be useful. If there was any deficiency in the discourse, it was in the want of adaptation to the circumstances of the congregation. It was suited to the edification of real Christians; but it related more to their experience than was likely to benefit those who had been used for twenty years to the preaching of the senior minister. There was no religious service in the evening. Upon inquiry, I found that no room nor place could be found in which we could hold a meeting. The mass of the people are Canadian French. It was distressing to see a large proportion of them spending the evening in idleness and pleasure. No such scene had been presented to us in the United States; and the contrast with what we had recently witnessed in towns of similar size, was very painful. Much of this Sabbath profanation may of course be attributed to French manners and Roman Catholic influence; but it indicates a gloomy state of moral desolation, and renders the plain and powerful preaching of the gospel peculiarly necessary. Protestants, in such a situation, should feel that zeal and consistency on their part are especially called for. The influence of an evil example, however, seems stronger than that of an opposite kind. This was the least satisfactory Sabbath we had spent in the New World.

On Monday we left St. John's for La Prairie (eighteen miles.) There was little to give interest to the journey. We had abundant opportunity to observe the pernicious effects of cheap ardent spirits. The public houses were thronged with people, and the work of demoralization was evidently going on. This day, as on former days, we met great numbers of Irish, proceeding to different parts of the United States. Many of them appeared to be in a wretched plight. When we reached La Prairie, we found that the steam ferry-boat had just arrived from Montreal, with three hundred Irish emigrants. Seldom have I witnessed such a scene of confusion, or such a motley company. Every variety of age, of appearance, and of character, was to be seen. Some were encumbered with boxes and trunks; others seemed to possess nothing but the rags which covered them. A few of those who had luggage, had obtained vehicles for conveying it; and in these they had already placed it, together with their wives and little ones. They were hastening onwards, not knowing what might await them in a land of strangers; while others, uniting in little bands, were slowly following on foot. A long voyage, and its privations, had given an appearance of wretchedness to many of the emigrants. But while the looks of some bespoke distress, and fear, and anxiety, others looked perfectly unconcerned, and reckless of consequences. In this way tens of thousands of these destitute beings are thrown into the midst of American society. What nation could receive such numbers of wretched, and too often demoralized, individuals, without sustaining deep injury? That the United States have been morally injured by this cause, I have no doubt.—Their bearing up against this evil as they have done, proves the elasticity of their national character, and the powerful influence of religious habits. I very much question whether, in our larger towns, we have succeeded so well in restraining the evil consequences of Irish and Roman Catholic emigration.

While waiting the departure of the boat, and surveying, with mingled emotions, the scene I have described, a poor creature came up to me, with a torn slip of paper, which she asked me to read for her. It had once contained the address of some person, but it was now so mutilated as to be unintelligible. The State was New York, but the name of the town I could not make out. This piece of paper was all she had brought from Ireland, to direct her to the habitation of her sister, who had previously crossed the Atlantic. I was sorry for her; but the only advice I could give her was to continue with those who had accompanied her from Ireland, till she reached the State of New York, and the settlements of her countrymen, and then to make inquiry. We crossed the magnificent St. Lawrence to Montreal; the distance, in an oblique direction, is about nine miles. The view of the town from the river was singular. The roofs of many of the houses being covered with tin, and glittering in the bright sunshine, presented a brilliant appearance. Our moist atmosphere would soon corrode and destroy such roofs; but there the air is so dry that they last for a number of years.

It is not my province to enter into a particular description of the city, even though I possessed ability to do so. Its peculiar aspect attracted my attention. The language, dress, and manners of many whom we met, might have led us to imagine we were in France. Many French names, too, met our eye on the doors of shops and dwelling-houses; but intermingled with these, there is a large proportion which plainly bespeak a Scottish or Gaelic origin. I read the names of Mackintosh, M'Gregor, and M'Donald, with an interest which, perhaps, I might not have felt if nearer home.

We found that the ministers and missionaries whom we expected to meet us at Montreal, had not arrived, though written to some days before. As it was likely two or three days more would still elapse, before they did come, we decided on going to Quebec. We embarked on Tuesday, at two P. M. From Montreal downwards for seventy miles, we had most magnificent views of the mighty river. It was the most splendid sight I have yet seen in the New World; and, indeed, I should think, cannot be surpassed in any part of our globe. Before us lay an immense body of water, extending onward as far as the eye could reach; pursuing its course in a channel two or three miles wide, and this channel filled almost to overflowing. It looked like a lake of molten glass, so clear, and placid, and full. The banks are thickly studded with cottages, generally built of wood, which give an air of life and cheerfulness to the scene. We had ample time to admire it, as our progress was somewhat impeded by having three vessels in tow. Night, for a little time, threw a veil over the objects at which we gazed; but it was followed by a lovely morning.—Vegetation here, at this season, wears all the freshness of spring. The foliage of the trees is but just making its appearance, bursting, as if with conscious delight, from its winter prison.

The distance from Montreal to Quebec is 180 miles; and the cottages of the Canadians continue to appear at thirty or forty yards distance from each other, all the way down. I was informed by a person on board, that they are equally numerous for ninety or a hundred miles below Quebec. It gives one the idea of a dense population; but I understand that the settled parts do not extend into the interior, more than nine or ten miles from the banks of the river. Near Quebec, the country becomes more elevated, and mountains appear in the distance. As we proceeded down the river, we observed canoes lying opposite to almost every cottage. Stone crosses occur frequently, and churches at every eight or nine miles. There were many rafts of wood on the river, proceeding to Quebec, to supply the British market. Some of these were of great extent, and of considerable value. Those which were navigated by Indians, had wigwams made of bark erected on them. Other navigators (chiefly Canadians) had sheds, formed of the materials they were conveying to the vessels. We passed one large raft, which was navigated by twelve or fifteen men. The owner of it was on board our steamer. He estimated the value of it at a thousand pounds sterling. He remarked that the trade was a great speculation, as the wind sometimes arises with such violence, as to separate the rafts entirely. In this case, the oak trees sink; trees of lighter wood can sometimes be drawn ashore and secured. But it not unfrequently happens that, in an hour or two, the hopes of the speculator are altogether destroyed.—As we approached near the end of the voyage, we saw the rafts taken into little bays, on both sides of the river, to which places some of the vessels come up to receive their cargoes. The approach to Quebec is very magnificent: the craggy rocks of Cape Diamond, crowned with the almost impregnable fortress, stand out in fine relief against the sky. Numerous vessels were lying at anchor, a short distance below the citadel; and in the back-ground is a range of blue hills, which form a striking contrast with the level and cultivated country before them.

We had not been many minutes in the town, before we had a visit from the Rev. Mr. Hicks, who was known to Mr. Reed. He had heard we were coming down, and soon received an intimation of our arrival. We spent the afternoon and evening with him. Our conversation related chiefly to the state of religion in the Canadas, where he has been for eighteen or twenty years, and was closed with devotional exercises.*

Next day we visited the Fort—the heights of Abraham—saw the field of battle, and the place where Wolfe received his mortal wound. A considerable part of the battle-field is built upon, so that the space now appears contracted. The ravine, by which Wolfe approached during the night, and gained possession of the heights, was pointed out to us, as well as a road to the right, leading from the suburbs of La Roche, by which the French troops marched to attack him. But I forbear description. We also went about nine miles, accompanied by some friends, to visit the Falls of Montmorenci.—With these I was much delighted. The principal fall is about a hundred and fifty feet in height, and thirty or forty in width. At a distance, it was like an immense sheet of the purest snow. The road to the Falls is tolerably good. The farming here is superior to what we had seen before. The owners of the land are chiefly English farmers. I noticed the backwardness of vegetation, and consequently of agricultural operations, compared with England, or even with the United States. My pear trees were showing blossom on the 12th of March, before I left home. In New Jersey, and around Baltimore, the blossom of the peach and pear trees was fully out on the 16th of April; at New York, on the 1st of May; at Boston, the 26th; and at Quebec, the 12th of June. Here, too, the simple and fragrant hawthorn is now displaying its richest bloom. The farmers are busy planting their potatoes. The soil appears to be good; and here there are few unsightly stumps presented to the eye. The views of Quebec, which we had, in going to, and returning from, the Falls, were very fine; as we could perfectly command both the lower and upper town, and the Fort crowning the whole.

We remained in Quebec for a short time after our return, in order to consult with friends, and obtain some information respecting the state of religion in the Lower Province. After communicating all they knew on this subject, "they accompanied us to the ship," and we sailed in the evening for Montreal. There were immense crowds of people; and in port, or a little way up the river, there must have been nearly three hundred sail of vessels waiting for cargoes. Our steam-packet had to receive a shipment of emigrants, from a Hull vessel, which had just arrived. They had such quantities of luggage to remove, that we were detained an hour or two beyond the time fixed for sailing. We had also nearly twenty Roman Catholic priests on board.—They were polite and obliging, but only one of them could speak English, and that in a very broken way. Most of them landed at the different places where they reside, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, before we reached this place, which we did yesterday afternoon.

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* This excellent and useful man is now no more. A few weeks after we saw him at Quebec, the cholera, which was committing fearful ravages in the town, seized him, and he also became one of its victims.

On Saturday we had a meeting with a number of ministers and other friends. We had with us, ministers of the Wesleyan, Scotch and American Presbyterian, Baptist, and Independent denominations. They seemed desirous to give us all the information they could, respecting the state of religion in the Colonies. The substance of their replies to our inquiries, together with the religious statistics of both provinces, which we obtained, will be given in this report. On Sabbath, the members of the deputation preached in the Presbyterian and Methodist places of worship, where collections were made to assist in the erection of a new chapel for the Congregationalists, their present place of meeting being small and inconveniently situated. It was gratifying to us, to find this cordiality among the Christians of different denominations; who, forgetting for a while their peculiarities, were willing to assist another section of the church, holding the same essential truths of Christianity with themselves. It ought also to be stated, that the Baptist chapel was closed in the evening, to allow the congregation to attend the Presbyterian church, where the collection was to be made. By this time, some other friends, missionaries and agents of different religious institutions, had arrived. We had two lengthened interviews with them, and received a variety of information respecting the eastern townships, and some of the newly settled districts of Lower Canada.—We deeply feel the responsibility of our present engagements, and anxiously desire that our coming may be for good to this neglected country.

LETTER II.

MY DEAR FRIEND—While at Montreal, I met with a Christian family from Greenock, related to the late Mr. Hercus, for so many years the esteemed pastor of the church there. A good man was visiting them, who has been a number of years in this country, but who was formerly a member of one of the Congregational churches in the Highlands of Scotland. He had come to Montreal, a distance of thirty miles from his residence, it the interior, in the hope of obtaining a missionary to labor for a few weeks in his township, where the people anxiously desire the preaching of the gospel. But, as they require one who can preach in the Gaelic language, I fear there was no probability of his being successful. He himself, however, has been indefatigable in using such means as were in his power. He has held prayer meetings, established five Sunday schools, and tried, in a variety of ways, to do good.

We left Montreal on Monday, the 16th, and arrived, on Tuesday afternoon, at Brockville, about 152 miles farther up the river. We travelled by stages the first thirty-seven miles, in order to avoid the Rapids; and then got on board a steamboat for the rest of the way. The views on the river are very fine, especially from Cornwall to Brockville. The islands are numerous, and the indentations of the shore present a continual variety.

The friends at Brockville gave us a very kind reception. We found several ministers, who had come from a considerable distance, in order to further the object of our mission. Here there are persons from various parts of the old country, some of whom we had met before they quitted its shores. To renew the intercourse so far from home was delightful.—The people in this place are anxious for additional means of religious instruction, and would willingly exert themselves to secure it. They had written to their friends at home, to send out a suitable minister, but had received no reply. In expectation of our arrival, notice had been given, that there would be a religious service in the Court-house, the place usually occupied on such occasions. Both Mr. Reed and myself preached.

The morning of the 18th was spent with the ministers from a distance, and Christian friends on the spot. Their communications were highly valuable and important. In the afternoon, we set off for Kingston, and arrived early on Thursday morning. Mr. Reed remained there, according to arrangement, while I went forward, in another steamboat, to Coburgh, about one hundred and twenty miles farther. The voyage up the Bay of Quinte was very delightful. It is about eighty miles in length, and four in breadth. One of the missionaries, who met with us at Brockville, accompanied me about half way up the bay, to his station. We passed an Indian village, inhabited by about four hundred of the Mohawk tribe. An Episcopal missionary, who takes care of their religious instruction, was also my fellow-passenger. He preaches once on the Sabbath in English. The church is a frame-building; and when the time of service arrives, instead of a bell, a flag is hoisted, to summon the people. Those of the inhabitants whom we saw at the village landing-place were miserable looking objects. I had a good deal of conversation with one of their tribe, who came on board. He knew English tolerably well, and very readily answered my questions. The boat arrived at the "Carrying-Place" late at night. It was a wretched spot, the stage-house poor and uncomfortable, and a long way from the water's edge. I was glad to leave it by the stage, at four o'clock on Friday morning, though the journey was far from being agreeable, on a swampy, muddy, corduroy road. The first part of it has been but newly made through the forest. I had particularly wished to see the superintendent of the Indian missions, who resides not far from Coburgh; but finding him from home, I proceeded at once to the town. It is an increasing, rising place, and promises to be an important settlement.

I was now within eight or ten miles of a family whom I had known in England, and whom I had promised to visit, if in my power. Having some hours to spare, I hired a vehicle, and a young Irishman (of whom there are many here) drove me to their farm, which is in Hamilton township. After we had proceeded a mile or two from the lake, we entered on the forest, and travelled more slowly.—Some parts of the road were newly cut, and it required considerable skill to drive with safety. A few farms had been cleared, others were but just undergoing that process. Some settlers were only clearing a few acres, immediately around their log huts. It must require a stout heart and strong hands to begin such a work. Many of the trees were fine majestic specimens of the fir tribe.

You may imagine the joy of ———'s family on seeing me, and hearing from me of their friends in

England. Valuable as letters are in a distant land, it is still more valuable to hear from the living voice, answers to the numerous and anxious inquiries which rapidly succeed each other. When I looked around me, and saw the dwelling, the scenery, and all the external circumstances in which the family are placed, I was much affected with the contrast presented to their former situation. A crowd of recollections rushed upon my mind; and I thought it must be a very plain case of duty, which can justify such persons in leaving their native land thus to dwell in the wilderness. I recollected my visits to this family about fourteen years ago. You know the beautiful situation of the farm which they occupied, the fine scenery and cultivated appearance of the valley in which it lies. The house and offices were new and commodious; every thing wore the appearance of comfort, and they were surrounded with friends and religious privileges. They had only to cross one of their own fields to reach the highway, and then they were close to the market-town. I remember considering it one of the finest specimens of an English farmer's *onstead* that I had ever seen. The interior of the house was suitably and respectably furnished, and the farm well stocked.

But what is their situation now? They have a log hut for a dwelling; and the only out-house is a smaller hut, of the same kind. There is but one apartment for the whole family, consisting of nine individuals; a ladder, it is true, leads to an upper room; but, judging from the height of the building, this must be a very low and inconvenient chamber. One of our meanest cottages at home affords conveniences, which this family do not possess in theirs. I saw neither cupboard nor closet, and I wondered much where the provisions and culinary vessels were kept. Before I left, however, I found they had a sort of cellar underneath, which they reached by removing one or two deals from the floor.—How different from the cool and spacious dairies, and neatly arranged closets, of English housewifery!

The mother, as might be expected, feels their privations most. The daughters, of whom there are five at home, appear more willing to be reconciled to their new circumstances. Of actual fatigue and hardship, the father has had the largest share. He spent nearly all his capital in the purchase of a farm, and cannot afford to hire laborers. The great burden of all the field labor has, therefore, fallen on himself, his sons being too young to be of much use to him. The farm consists of about one hundred acres, seventy of which were cleared when he bought it. He paid £500 for it, besides purchasing the crop on the ground; and then the farm was to be stocked. This exhausted his resources, and left but little to procure those articles of furniture which were almost essential to their comfort. While it is thus plain, that the family have been much tried by the change they have made, and perhaps have endured more severe privations than they expected, yet I was pleased to find, after the first burst of feeling had spent itself, that they spoke of the future with hope. They seemed aware that the first year or two was the period of trial; and that if they overcame that, the prospect would brighten, and they might begin to gather around them the comforts and conveniences of their early home. They have the necessaries of life already; their provisions are substantial, though served in a homely way. And they need have no anxiety about quarter-day, tithes, or taxes. The property is all their own; and, happily for new settlers, the provincial rates are too small to be worth naming. While in their own country, they had been every year losing part of the little fund they possessed; so that the parents were unable to make any provision for the children, or to establish them in business. It did seem a duty to save what yet remained; and though the parents will have to struggle while they live, they do so under the conviction, that, when they are removed by death, they will not leave their children destitute, or without a home.

But while, as I have said, they cherished resignation and hope, there is one circumstance in their lot which occasions unmingled sorrow, and that is —their religious destitution. The mother feels as a Christian parent ought to feel in such circumstances; and it seemed quite a relief to her to tell me all her sorrows. She described the blank presented to them on the Sabbath; no place of worship nearer than Coburgh; no conveyance to carry them there; and if they even could reach it, no instruction suitable for themselves or their children. She looked at them, and her heart sickened at the prospect of their growing up without religious ordinances, and without a sanctuary. They meet, it is true, with a few neighbors on the Sabbath, in a little log hut not far off, for singing and prayer, and reading the Scriptures but she felt that this was far less likely to engage the attention, and impress the minds of young people, than the preaching of a faithful and affectionate minister of Christ would be. She trembled lest her children should become indifferent, and perhaps opposed to sacred institutions, and forget the good old way in which their fathers had walked. Fixing her streaming eyes on me, she addressed me with the most moving earnestness:—"O, if the Christians of England only knew our situation, and that of thousands around us, they would not rest satisfied till they sent men of God to preach the gospel to us. If they only knew a mother's grief at seeing her children growing up without the means of grace, would they not feel for us, would they not send us help? Do tell them of our case, and that of many around us, who would willingly attend the preaching of good men of any denomination. Only let such men come, and we will show them all the kindness in our power." I need hardly say, I promised to let her request be known at home, and to do all I could to help them.

I was deeply moved by her appeal; and never did the possession of wealth seem more desirable than at that moment, as affording the means of sending forth laborers into such a sphere of usefulness. I thought how little our good people at home prize their religious advantages, compared with their real value; and how delighted many here would be to possess a tithe of what they enjoy. We had a solemn parting, not expecting to meet again on earth. The mother was the last to speak, and her words were an urgent entreaty—"Do not forget us; do tell the good people at home how much we need their sympathy and their prayers." And surely her request will find a response in every Christian parent's bosom, and plead more strongly than any arguments I could employ. This good woman's father was a venerable minister of Christ; and such having been the privilege of her youth, no wonder that now, in her old age, with all a mother's anxieties, she is so importunate for gospel ordinances. I did not see the father, as he had gone to the saw-mill. My thoughts will often revert to the scenes of that day in the midst of the forest.

LETTER III.

My dear friend—On the morning of the twenty-first, the steamboat from Kingston called at Coburgh. Mr. Reed was on board. And here he had a short but pleasing interview with two former pupils of the London Orphan Asylum. I had previously given them notice of his coming; and though it was about four o'clock in the morning when the boat came in, they were waiting, eager to see one whom they had been accustomed to consider one of their best friends. Their master was with them, and expressed his satisfaction with their conduct. These orphan lads are doing well; and they are indebted for their present situation, and their prospects of future support, to the institution which protected their youth, and provided suitable instruction for them. It must have been peculiarly gratifying to my colleague, to meet with instances, like these, of good resulting from a plan of benevolence, in which he takes so lively an interest.

From Coburgh we proceeded to Toronto, where we arrived about three P. M. This is a most important place, and likely to be very soon the largest and most influential city in either province. It is easy of access from the United States, and furnishes a convenient resting place for persons intending to settle in the farther West. Indeed, it forms a centre to an immense extent of country on the east, west, and north. The number of new houses built last year is five hundred, most of them substantial brick buildings. This year, in consequence of the derangement of commerce with the United States, only two hundred and fifty have been erected.—There are the outlines of an immense city. When these are filled up, and the proposed plan completed, it will certainly deserve the title "magnificent," which the good people are even already disposed to give it. The streets are making rapid encroachments on the forest. There is a daily struggle going on between the progress of civilization, and the scenes of savage life; the results of artificial culture, and the primitive wildness of nature, border closely upon each other. Large stumps of trees adorn some of the gardens in the centre of the city; and even the burying-ground, probably one of the oldest inhabited spots, contains a few such monuments of these noble trees. The population is about twelve thousand, and every year is adding thousands to it. There are six places of worship, capable of containg five thousand people; but not one half of that number attend on religious ordinances.

We secured quarters for the night at the Ontario House, and were almost immediately visited by some of those friends who had been expecting us, and who expressed great pleasure on our arrival. In consequence of a communication previously received from us, they had made arrangements for bringing together as many as possible of the persons most interested in the object of our mission, and who are desirous to secure for themselves a greater amount of religious privileges than they at present enjoy. Here also, as in other Canadian towns, several persons, whom we had known in Europe, or with whose friends we were acquainted, introduced themselves to us, eager to obtain all the information we could give them respecting their own country.

We were anxious to visit the settlement of Chippeway Indians on Credit river, about twenty miles from Toronto. The missionary stationed there, is Peter Jones, known to his own tribe by the name of Kahkewaquonaby, who visited England two or three years ago. We had heard various accounts of the condition of the settlement, and wished to judge for ourselves. The missionary has also become somewhat better known, both in our country and his own, in consequence of his marrying an English lady, who has exchanged a residence in London for his abode in the midst of the woods. We fixed Sunday, the 22d, for our excursion to the place, as a day on which we could worship with them, and ascertain more easily their moral and religious condition.

The roads were exceedingly rough, and our progress was slow and fatiguing. Our path lay chiefly through the forest. The morning was delightful: the scenery, the day, and the occasion of our journey, all furnished materials for reflection. We met very few persons on the road; and passed no place of worship, though one or two hamlets were in sight. The beauty of the birds, though without song, and the variety and brilliancy of the insect tribes flitting around us, gave life and animation to the scene. Nature was here undisturbed. No sound met the ear, in the depth of the forest, but the tapping of the woodpeckers, numbers of which were to be seen flying about. The farther we advanced, the more closely did the forest circumscribe our path; till we came to a part that seemed newly formed, the stumps of the trees remaining close to the edge of it. Still no settlement appeared, nor any indication of a human abode being near. On a sudden we heard the sound of a conch, or horn; it was repeated at intervals, as we supposed, to announce that the time for worship had arrived.—After this, we soon came in sight of the village and of the people—red men and white—hastening to the place of meeting, the largest building that we saw.

We arrived just in time to speak to Peter Jones before he entered. He received us kindly, but without much apparent feeling. I was somewhat curious to see his congregation, and to hear his mode of instructing them. The chapel would contain about two hundred and fifty persons. One half of the number present were Indians; and the other half, respectable white settlers, from the neighboring farms, with their families. I was pleased to see the "middle wall of partition," between white and colored men, broken down; and that they could meet, on an equal footing, to worship Him who hath made them both one blood.

Mr. Jones began the service by reading a hymn in English; he then read the same in the Chippeway language; and it was sung. In prayer and in preaching, he adopted the same method. My friend addressed a few words to the people. I confess I was rather disappointed in the appearance of the congregation. Perhaps I had gone with expectations too highly raised. But I was particularly struck with the dull and heavy countenances of the Indians. I was not surprised to see them appear uninterested when their minister was addressing them in English; but I did expect their looks would brighten when the gospel was proclaimed in their own tongue. I did not perceive any difference: nothing that was said seemed to arouse them. I am aware that it is a peculiarity in the character of the Indians, not to *manifest* emotion, though they may really feel it. But I had imagined that, when they had felt the love of Christ, it would considerably alter them in this respect. It was, however, gratifying to see so many wild men of the forest brought together, to be instructed concerning that "Great Spirit," who was to their fathers an "unknown God." The missionary was very mild in his address, and gave his hearers a simple statement of the gospel. He spoke English correctly, and with less of a foreign accent than might have been expected. It was pleasant to hear "the joyful sound," in the depths of a Canadian forest, from the lips of a native Indian, who, not many years ago, was in a savage state, ignorant of letters and of the true God. He and his brother, a fine-looking young man, are striking instances of the power of Divine grace. They have translated the New Testament as well as one or two smaller books, into the Chippeway language.

We accompanied the missionary to his cottage, one of the neatest and best constructed in the settlement. We found the interior, also, furnished in a style of elegance and comfort, which formed a striking contrast to the rude and unfinished appearance of the village in general. Of course, this is easily accounted for from Mr. Jones's connection with England. He entertained us in the kindest and most unostentatious manner. He appears to be a humble, modest man; though few Indians have had stronger temptations to cherish vanity. Considering the notice into which he has been brought, and the attentions paid to him in England, it is matter of congratulation, that he has hitherto worn well, and seems disposed to continue his labors among his countrymen.

He accompanied me to visit some of the cottages of the natives, and here I did enjoy the pleasure of seeing some expression of feeling. The entrance of their teacher brought a smile over their countenances, and gave a degree of animation to their looks, which I had not seen produced by any thing else. Their huts were not very commodious; and there was sometimes a singular mixture of articles, belonging to civilized and to savage life. But though our peasants would consider them deficient in many things essential to domestic comfort, yet the change for the better, from the former state of their inhabitants, must be very great. Living in scattered wigwams; indebted for support to their success in hunting, without the resources of agriculture; they must often have been in want and distress.* Yet there was considerable difficulty in collecting these people together, and were it not for the influence of religion, some of them would be off to the woods again. As it is, they so much love their former rambling mode of life, that once a year, if the season is favorable, they pay a visit of some weeks to their old hunting-ground. They take their children with them, and encamp in true Indian style, while they try to secure some provisions for the winter. At the same time, they are extending the means of support nearer home, by clearing more land. There was a grant of three thousand acres made to them by the Government, and it was made inalienable, so that no white man can tempt them to sell it. This forms a strong inducement to remain in fixed habitations. And though the whole settlement bears marks of recent origin, and much remains to be done in the way of adding to their external comfort, yet we may consider it as a successful attempt to reduce wandering savages to social order, and to the habits of a well-regulated community. It likewise proves the power of religion to produce these results; for there is no reason to suppose, that any other means than religious instruction, with the influence of a zealous and affectionate teacher, could have induced them to relinquish ancient customs, and powerful habits. In all such cases, Christianity must *precede* civilization. When once the purifying and elevating influence of religion is experienced, the chief difficulty is removed. There are then principles to work upon, which can overcome evil propensities; and motives to appeal to, which are as powerful with a converted Indian, as a converted Englishman. In this point of view, the change effected appears doubly important. They were formerly sunk into the most debased and abject condition; given up to excesses of every kind—intemperate and unclean—grossly ignorant, and having no wish to learn. But God has blessed the labors of their teacher, whom they know and respect as a chief of their own tribe. There are ninety of them united in church fellowship, who maintain a walk and conversation becoming the gospel. There is a Temperance Society established in the place, which has produced so great a change, that only two or three of the Indians continue the use of ardent spirits. And the people have among them the elements of progressive improvement. They have the Scriptures in their own language. Beside a Sunday school, attended by all the children, there is also a week-day school, where they are receiving such instruction as will fit them for the intercourse of civilized life. The habits of their fathers will be gradually forgotten or forsaken; and, as they become sensible of new wants and desires, these will stimulate them to increasing industry. The respectable character of the white settlers around them, is also likely to have a beneficial effect on their character. The population of the settlement is about two hundred in all.

Looking at the chapel, and the means used for the instruction of the people, it was gratifying to be informed, that English zeal and money had greatly promoted the good work. When Mr. Jones was in England, two or three years ago, he collected nearly one thousand pounds for this particular mission. But he does not entirely confine his labors to this place. He has lately travelled some hundred miles, to visit other portions of the Chippeway tribe, on Lake Superior.

As each of our party had to preach at Toronto in the evening, we were obliged to return thither, without attending the afternoon service at the settlement. On that evening, and next morning, we met with a number of Christian friends, of different denominations, with whom we consulted, on the subject which has hitherto occupied the chief part of our attention. Some of the most influential of these persons are anxious to obtain the services of a respectable and acceptable minister, who might act as an adviser and friend to missionaries sent to this part of Canada. They wished us to make suitable arrangements, and to prevail, if possible, on such a minister to come to them. We engaged to do so, and they promised to wait till such an individual came. We experienced great kindness at Toronto. I have especial reason to mention the valuable assistance of Dr. Rolph, a physician. Finding that I was unwell, he took me to his house, and treated me like a brother. His kind attention was most beneficial to me; and though we may not meet again on earth, I shall ever remember him with the most grateful feelings.

This is a country growing in importance every day. Of immense extent, and possessing a fertile soil, it is capable of sustaining a large population. Its commercial advantages are great; and the exemption from taxes, enjoyed by the favor of our Government, affords important facilities to all classes of the inhabitants, which they all are ready to acknowledge. The subject of emigration has excited so much interest at home, that I cannot altogether pass it over in silence. Canada certainly offers an asylum to many of those who find all their efforts vain, to provide comfortably for their families or themselves in their own country. But this can only be said of those who are *steady* and industrious. Let not the idle or the dissolute delude themselves with the idea of finding here that prosperity which is incompatible with the indulgence of their propensities elsewhere. The inspired adage is most peculiarly applicable to the state of these colonies, that, "if any man will not work, neither shall he eat;" while habits of dissipation are doubly dangerous, on account of the low prices at which ardent spirits may be obtained. Instances have been related to me, in which a whole township has been ruined by this circumstance; and persons habitually prone to intemperance, generally come to a premature and wretched end, within a few years of their arrival. But here it is also emphatically true, "that the hand of the diligent maketh rich;" even to them, however, this is "the land of hope," not of immediate ease and comfort. And to industry must be added, patient perseverance—a disposition cheerfully to endure hardships and inconveniences unknown before, for a few years at least; and perhaps, also, solitude, and almost entire seclusion from society. It is obvious also, that the exercise of these virtues must depend, in a great measure, on the possession of physical strength and elasticity of spirits. Persons of sedentary habits, of melancholy temper, or feeble constitution, are likely to suffer severe disappointment. A strong arm and a small capital are indispensably necessary to those who wish to become at once the owners of land. If a man has sons able to work, he may, of course, beneficially employ them; but the price of labor is so high, as to render it impossible, with moderate means, to hire assistance in the laborious occupation of clearing a new farm. Even all must be done by individual exertion; the bare necessaries of life may, in a year or two, be raised; but these are all that can be expected for a length of time; and it need scarcely be said, that the settler must have money to purchase provisions *until* he can raise them for himself.

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* Whatever encomiums Rosseau may have bestowed on savage life, it is a sorry and miserable state of existence among the Canadian woods.

To those who are able and willing to labor hard, but who are destitute of capital, the best advice that can be given is, to hire themselves as laborers for the first few years. There is a class of settlers who can afford to give employment to such persons. I refer to gentlemen who have bought cleared land, and are engaged in farming on an extensive scale. The common rate of wages will enable a careful man, in a few years, to purchase and clear land for himself. If life and health are continued, labor and privation are sure to be ultimately rewarded with competence and comfort. But it must be confessed, that the present state of these Colonies affords encouragement chiefly to the worldly and the irreligious portion of the community. The man who counts all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ—who values divine ordinances himself, and wishes to see his children cast in their lot with the people of God—will hesitate and tremble before he determines to go where the stated services of the sanctuary are not yet to be found; and where even the enjoyment of private Christian fellowship may be altogether unattainable. If it were practicable for the members of a church to emigrate in a body, taking their pastor with them, these disadvantages might be obviated. Or even, if a small company of Christian people, accustomed to agricultural pursuits, could unite and settle near each other, they would find it beneficial to their spiritual interests. But many difficulties would attend such a scheme, arising from the variety of interests and of temper to be met with, even among real Christians. No consistent disciple of Christ can reside any where without shedding a hallowed influence around him; and though such individuals must sacrifice much of their own comfort and edification, the increase of their numbers would, undoubtedly, be a great blessing to the Colonies. If, in coming here, they conscientiously follow the path of duty, as far as mature deliberation can enable them to ascertain it, they may be assured that "the great Shepherd of the sheep" will not overlook or forget them. Though poverty and hardship may, for a while, prevent their making those efforts for the establishment of his cause, which they would wish to employ, yet, sooner or later, their prayers shall come in remembrance before God; "the forest shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field shall be counted as a forest."

REPORT RESPECTING CANADA.

When we left England, it was not our intention to visit the British Colonies. The mission that we had to accomplish in the United States has already come before the reader. The claims made upon us were exceedingly numerous, and the time allotted to the discharge of our duties was so limited, that it was hardly possible to add to the services which we had already undertaken, without lengthening our visit to America, and putting ourselves to considerable inconvenience. Two deputations, however, from the Canadas, visited us at New York in May. They expressed their strong desire that, before we left the United States, we should visit them, and obtain in the Colonies themselves information respecting their present religious condition. They also stated their conviction, that the present circumstances of the two provinces had produced a crisis in their religious affairs; and required, on that account, especial attention from the friends of religion in England. In addition to the urgent requests of the brethren who called on us, they brought with them communications from ministers, missionaries, members of churches, and others, pressing us to visit the Canadas. All that we could do at that time was, to promise to attend to their requests, if in our power.

The object proposed by such a visit we viewed as most important. We felt for our countrymen, and wished, if possible, to do them good. We had frequently heard, from unquestionable authority, of the religious destitution of the Colonies. We were within a few hundred miles of them, and might by personal inquiry obtain information; and by conveying this to Christians in England, perhaps furnish additional reasons for attending to their pressing necessities. These claims, united with others, we could not resist. Accordingly, by postponing to the autumn some previously-formed arrangements, and lengthening our visit by two or three weeks, we succeeded in devoting to the Canadas the greater part of the month of June. It was, of course, impracticable for us to see much of the interior, or newly-settled districts; but we decided on visiting the principal towns, for the purpose of meeting with ministers and missionaries who preached in the interior, in order to obtain from them statistical and other information likely to guide us in our estimate of the religious condition of the provinces. To secure this important aid, we forwarded letters to Montreal and Toronto, before we left New England, requesting our friends in those places to bring together as many of those laborious men who were engaged in the newly-settled districts as could be conveniently assembled.

We visited Quebec, Montreal, Brockville, Kingston, and Toronto. In all these places we met with ministers and others. And having no other object in view but to ascertain the truth, we were ready to receive information from every quarter where it was likely to be found.

Every where we were received with Christian kindness and frank hospitality. The friends who had invited us received us gladly. Various circumstances which have since transpired, have led us to believe that we were providentially directed as to the time of our visit; and that, while we were put in possession of many facts relative to the Canadas, we in some measure gratified our Christian friends, who were glad to see two brethren from the land of their fathers. We rejoiced also in having had the opportunity of meeting with so many Christians of different denominations, who appeared desirous of promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom in the two provinces, of consulting with them freely and fully, as to the best methods of supplying the numerous districts of the country, still destitute of the preaching of the gospel, with the means of grace. We now proceed to arrange the information which we received, and to state the conclusion to which it has brought us.

In doing this, it is desirable to commence by giving, as far as could be ascertained, the Religious Statistics of the Canadas. The population of the Lower Province is now estimated at 600,000 souls. Of that number 460,000 are considered Roman Catholics. The remaining 140,000 are Protestants of different religious denominations. The number of religious teachers belonging to each class is as follows:—

Lower Canada.—Population 600,000.

460,000 Roman Catholics have 150 Priests.
140,000 Protestants have 68 Ministers, belonging to the following denominations:—

		Clergy.
Episcopalians	1 Bishop	28
Scottish Church		12
Other Presbyterians		5
Methodists		9
Baptists		4
Congregationalists		4
Missionaries of different sects, as far as could be found out		6
Total Ministers		68

Besides the above ministers, there are, in the eastern townships, where there is now a population of forty or fifty thousand persons, several small Baptist congregations, called "Freewill Baptists." But among them are to be found only two or three regular preachers.

The above enumeration gives less than one minister to every two thousand souls. But this calculation by no means affords a correct view of the real state of the Colony. More than one half of the whole number of preachers is to be found in the cities and towns. In such places, the proportion may be more than one minister for two thousand Protestants, but this leaves a still smaller number for the townships newly settled. When it is also considered that the population of these districts is widely scattered, and that, in addition to this, the roads are exceedingly imperfect, we cannot but perceive that, with such a small number of preachers, the religious destitution of the people must be very great. There are thousands, indeed, who never hear a sermon. The testimony of an agent of the American Sunday School Union was to this effect:—that his visits had extended to twenty-five townships in the eastern districts; only ten of which, however, had been particularly examined by him, and Sunday schools formed in them by his exertions. Each township is ten miles square, or a hundred square miles. In the ten which he had especially investigated, he found three ministers laboring among the people, and they could not furnish much instruction in such an extensive country, where the settlers were so widely separated. In some places which these ministers occasionally visit, the people do not hear a sermon for six months, others for a much longer time. Indeed there is one township which has been settled five years, where no sermon has ever yet been preached; and in another, which has been settled a much longer time, there has been no preaching for seven years!

One missionary stated to us, that he labored in six stations—a considerable distance from each other, and that he deeply regretted his inability to extend his exertions further into the new townships, which were, in an especial manner, destitute of instruction. They were without schools, without ministers, and without the ordinances of Christianity. The consequences were what might have been expected. The people were becoming depraved and disorderly, and, in some quarters, almost degenerating into a state of barbarism.

All these facts refer to the nominally Protestant part of the population. We have named the number of ministers. If we consider that one minister or missionary to about 500 souls in such a scattered population is not more than sufficient, then it may be said, that there is hardly one sixth of the supply that should be provided for the religious instruction of the people, for there is not in those districts one regular minister or missionary to 3000 souls. We have not, in our estimate of this religious destitution, taken into account the non-efficiency of some of those who are included in our list of ministers, and who are supported by the government grant. It is enough to say, that if zealous, faithful, self-denying, and devoted men, are needed for such a peculiar field of labor, then *these* men are not suitable. If Lower Canada had been left to depend on them for religious instruction, it would have been in a far worse condition than it is at present. Those faithful men, of different denominations, who have been supported by individuals and societies in this country, have been the chief agents in keeping the inland districts from entire moral desolation.

But there is another view to take of the religious condition of the Lower Province, still more distressing than even the one which we have just given. Inadequate as the means of instruction are among the Protestants, still there is some scriptural knowledge, and opportunities of improvement.—There can also be found, in the habitations of those who seldom hear a sermon, Bibles and useful books, which point out to men the way of salvation. But it is well known that scriptural instruction is entirely kept back from more than 400,000 Roman Catholics. The great object of their priests is, to retain them in the errors and superstitions of Popery. The peasantry are in general a quiet and contented race; but grossly ignorant, not only of the great doctrines of Christianity, but even of the first rudiments of knowledge, very few of them being able to read. They are entirely under the spiritual domination of man, blindly attached to the worst corruptions of Christianity. No ray of scriptural light has yet penetrated the thick darkness that surrounds that part of the population. The Scriptures are excluded, and Protestant teachers are not allowed to instruct the ignorant, if the priests can prevent it; and their power over the minds of the people is almost omnipotent. Some years ago a French Protestant, acting as a missionary under the patronage of the Methodist denomination, made an attempt to instruct them; but he was repulsed in such a manner, by the efforts of the priests, that he did not remain long among them.

With the above exception, this vast multitude of human beings—our fellow-subjects—are left completely in the power of a debasing and destructive system of superstition, without any effort being made to free them from this spiritual thraldom; one generation after another passing away, without those great doctrines of the Reformation being proclaimed among them, which we deem essential to human happiness.

Upper Canada is estimated to contain at this time about 320,000 inhabitants, of which number very few are Roman Catholics. The number of ministers of different Protestant denominations, as far as can be ascertained, is as follows:

	Clergy.
Episcopalians	40
Methodists	50
Presbyterians of different Sects	34
Baptists	30
Congregationalists	6
Total ministers to 320,000 souls	160

The above number gives nominally one minister to 2,000 souls. The remark, however, which applies to Lower Canada, does so with peculiar force to the Upper Province. Three fourths, or at least one half, of the above number of ministers, are fixed in the larger and smaller towns, while the old and new townships, with a scattered population, have only the services of the remainder. The denomination which acts systematically on the plan of itinerancy, is the Methodist. The Baptists and Congregationalists do so partially. When the latter sects employ missionaries, their labors are more extended, each one embracing as his preaching station a large district of country. One of these good men pointed out on the map eight townships, containing a rapidly increasing population, without religious instruction, except the preaching of a Methodist itinerant now and then. He had been an active laborer in the work of village preaching in Scotland, but he described his present fatigues and privations as being much greater than any he had before experienced. He seemed to feel much interested in his field of labor; but it was so vast, that his heart almost sunk within him at the prospect before him, for he found his strength utterly unable to answer the numerous calls made upon him for assistance. He had visited a good many townships occasionally, besides those in which he regularly preached, and his conviction was, that imperfect as the services of the Methodists necessarily were, the province was indebted for much of the religious profession that now existed in it to these exertions.

But even with these exertions, and the zeal of others, the Upper Province presents a melancholy picture of religious destitution. The population is rapidly increasing by emigration, and no means are used to meet this increase, by providing additional religious teachers. The evil, therefore, becomes greater every year. At this time it is sufficiently great to excite the sympathy, and call for the immediate aid of British Christians. In some of the new settlements on Lake Ontario, and in those formed by the Canadian Land Company, places of worship have been built, and Episcopalian or Presbyterian ministers have been settled. All these, however, are included in the number we have already mentioned. But it is to the back settlements, some of them far in the interior, that our most compassionate regards should be directed. Their population is thinly scattered, but this very circumstance places them beyond the reach of the few missionaries who would help them if they could. Their peculiar privations, too, would make religious ordinances the more valuable to them. The effects produced are the same as in other places where the gospel is not preached—irreligion, vice, and intemperance prevail. Many of the settlers in the more distant townships seem almost to have forgotten that there is a Sabbath, or, if the day is remembered, it is not as a day of rest, or of holy convocation.

Another consequence of this religious destitution is, the neglect of the education of their children. The Colonial Legislature engages to give twenty pounds a year, to assist in the support of a schoolmaster, if the settlers collect twenty children, and procure a teacher. But as many of the parents do not much value education, and the labor of their children, especially if they are sons, is so much needed on their farms, applications for the government grant are comparatively few. And in cases where aid is sought and given, the children only attend school a few months in the year. There is also a great difficulty in obtaining suitable teachers. The sum allowed by the government is small; and any thing that may be furnished in addition by the parents, comes in the shape of board and lodging, and not of money. Even when schoolmasters are obtained, it cannot be expected that, in a country where land is so cheap, and manual labor is so valuable, that they will continue teachers, when the remuneration for their labors is so trifling, and they can, as common farm servants, succeed better in securing a suitable income. In consequence of this circumstance, there is a great deficiency of instructers in the common branches of education. The Legislature, as we have seen, offers to assist. Besides this pecuniary aid, school-houses are built, in convenient situations, in the new townships. The intentions of the government are, however, rendered useless, in many instances, by the indifference of the parents, and the impracticability of procuring suitable men as teachers. No government can well remove these, in a country like Canada. Even a normal school would fail, if the teachers trained in it found, on trial, an inadequate return for the exercise of their time and talents; and they would soon direct their attention to a more profitable employment. Only men of a missionary spirit would continue to act in such circumstances; and these are not to be found in that country at present. Another evil results from the absence of ministers: few Sunday schools exist. These, in many cases, might have been a substitute for week-day schools, and have supplied many children with the elements of knowledge.

Such are the circumstances of both provinces. The moral destitution is plain, and our criminal neglect of our brethren in the Colonies is equally apparent. No one can imagine that such a state of things would have existed at this time, if the Christians of Britain had done their duty. We have hitherto failed: may we, for the future, be anxious, by redoubled activity, to make up for our past neglect of those who, as countrymen, have a powerful claim from us for immediate attention!

It may now be proper to state the various ways in which the present ministers were furnished; and, as we have already ascertained how inadequate the supply is to the necessities of the country, it will become a question, what should now be done to remedy this growing evil?

When the Canadas came into the possession of the British crown, the Roman Catholic religion was the established one; and it continued, under the protection and by the direct sanction of the British government, to be the established religion of Lower Canada. All their former rights were secured to the Popish clergy. The tithe of the land is theirs, and they possess property of great value in other ways. As Protestants increased in number, in consequence of the English taking possession of the country, some Episcopalian ministers were sent out, under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Application was subsequently made to the government at home for assistance; which was given in the shape of an annual grant to the Society, who appropriated it at their discretion. The persons sent out by them were called missionaries As the population increased, particularly in Uppet Canada, persons of other religious persuasions settled in the country. Ministers of other denominations were sent for. Some went in consequence of these invitations; and others went out on speculation, not knowing where they might be settled. These persons were supported, partly by individuals and societies in this country, and partly by the people themselves, without any aid from government. But the supply produced from all these various sources is, as we have already stated, totally inadequate.

With regard to Upper Canada, a different plan was pursued by the home government. This province not having been occupied in the same way as the other, by the Roman Catholic church, an Episcopal establishment was formed, as far, at least, as that could be done, by the appropriation of land, in every township, to the exclusive support of clergymen of the Church of England. These portions of land were called Clergy Reserves. But as the numbers and influence of other denominations increased, and began to exceed those of the government, jealousy and dissatisfaction were excited. Two causes contributed to this result: One was, that the government patronised one denomination exclusively; and the other was, the local injury done by many of the clergy reserves remaining unsold and uncultivated; these, too, lying often in the midst of plantations, and compelling the settlers to make those improvements entirely at their own expense, a proportion of which should have been borne by the owners of the clergy's land. Both these causes of discontent continued to increase, as the number of other sects still became greater, and land in the older townships became more valuable. In addition to these things, there was the spectacle constantly presented to the settlers, of land being appropriated to persons or purposes which brought no return to them, in the way of religious instruction; that they were not only injured by this plan for supporting religion, but they had, after all, to seek religious instructers for themselves, and to support them at their own expense. Those who belonged to the Church of Scotland, considered that they were treated unjustly, and stated, by petitions and remonstrances to the government at home, their grievances and claims. Those in possession, of course, defended their rights. Thus, two rival establishments contended for the state support.—Disputes have run high between the different parties, and no party seems pleased with the decision come to by the government, viz. that the clergy reserves should be sold, and the proceeds of the sale funded; the interest to be appropriated to religious purposes. With regard to the grant of money from the British government, that has been partly withdrawn, and in a year or two will entirely cease. Those denominations who conscientiously objected to all such plans for supporting religion, became every day more and more convinced of the utter failure of the government scheme for supplying the colony with religious instruction, and used means to provide ministers for themselves. But the great majority of the settlers, who, during the last twenty years, have rapidly arrived in the country, are indifferent on the subject of religion. The comparatively small number who value religious privileges, have invited a few ministers from England and Scotland, who are now settled, and doing good; but these, as stated before, are chiefly to be found in the large towns. The Methodists early exerted themselves, and were among the first who carried the gospel into the newly settled districts. But no one society or denomination has sent out so many missionaries as the Episcopalian Institution, which we already named. Too many of these individuals, however, have been perfectly inefficient (to say no more) in extending the knowledge of Christianity to the destitute townships. They have occupied the spots to which they were appointed; but few of them, indeed, have acted as missionaries of the cross. But if every one had exerted himself to the utmost, the number was inadequate to supply the religious necessities of the population, even though it had remained stationary.

These are the means which have been hitherto employed for the religious interests of both provinces. Even if all the ministers, furnished in the different ways that we have stated, were devoted to the work of evangelists, "spending and being spent," in seeking the salvation of men, there would not be one fourth of the number which the extent of the country and the scattered nature of its population require. But then it ought to be known, in order that the real state of the case may appear, that not more than one half of all the ministers do act as itinerants; and that a large proportion of those who are paid by the Government, are totally indifferent as to any moral and religious results, beyond their own little circle. The case thus assumes an importance, which, at first sight, might not seem to belong to it. Only let the mind contemplate the actual extent of the country, and the need of more teachers will be evident. This immense territory, larger when estimated in square miles, than the United States of America, is now settled for more than a thousand miles in length, and from twenty to two hundred miles in breadth; a far larger space than that which Great Britain includes.

Now for the question. Are there any plans which are likely to supply the deficiency we have described? In reply, we would say, that it must either be supplied by the efforts of the colonists themselves, by voluntary aid from the mother country, or by the co-operation of both.

With regard to the first plan, it may be said, that if it is left to the colonists to supply themselves, it will not be done. There is reason to fear, that a majority of the settlers are not religious persons, and, therefore, care comparatively little about the ordinances of religion. Besides, many of them leave their native land, struggling with difficulties, in order to provide an asylum and support for themselves and their families. The property they have is soon exhausted in the purchase of land, and they have nothing left to assist in providing religious instruction. In such circumstances, it is not to be expected that any attempt will be made to obtain pastors or missionaries.

The only persons in the Colonies, who are likely to interest themselves in this matter, are the Christians living in the cities and towns of both provinces. And it is but justice to them to say, that they have made various attempts to benefit their brethren.—The Methodists have done this to some extent.—The Canada Education and Home Missionary Society has done as much for Lower Canada, as its limited resources would allow. All these efforts, however, feeble as they have been, were not made without foreign aid. The Methodists receive grants from their Missionary Society in England. The Canada Education Society received more than half the amount of its expenditure for 1833, from the United States of America. The American Home Missionary Society has also given grants to one or two missionaries laboring in the eastern townships. While the American Bible Society has granted 4200 Bibles and Testaments, and the American Sunday School Union, 4000 volumes, to form Sunday school libraries in the same district of country.

Neither does it appear practicable, in the present state of the Colonies, that any institution should be formed there for the education of pious young men, as ministers or missionaries. It would be difficult to find a sufficient number of suitable candidates for the ministry, even if funds were in their possession. As far, then, as we can judge from the present condition of the Colonies and the character of their population, there does not exist any reason to suppose that the colonists can furnish themselves with the means of religious instruction.

Assistance in this work must, therefore, come from some other quarter; and whence is it to be expected but from the mother country? We have the men, and the pecuniary means. All that is required is, a strong conviction of duty, and of the urgency of the case. The most likely plan to benefit these Colonies is, either to form societies in this country for this special purpose, or to add the Canadas to the stations of the existing missionary institutions, whose province it is to find suitable men. This is the grand point to be secured. Much money has been expended by Government, without any adequate effect; and no better result is to be anticipated, unless there be some plan by which men of a missionary spirit can be obtained and sent. They must not go to Canada, because they cannot succeed at home; but because there is a wider field before them there, and a greater call for exertion. They must be men of ardent piety, warm-hearted zeal, of physical energy, and of persevering habits. Our best men should go; if not those of most popular talents, yet with well-furnished minds—men of discretion, as well as zeal. We repeat it again; it is not so much *the number*, as the *character* of the ministers sent to Canada, that is important. It might be easy to multiply official functionaries, who could formally attend to the ritual of religion. But souls cannot be saved in this way; and instead of a holy and devoted people, which may be expected under suitable and adequate instruction, there would be no more than the lifeless forms of religion, without its power. If, in our own land, where there are many counteracting influences, such teachers are a blight on the efforts of others, and retard the progress of truth; what must it be in colonies, where, in many districts, they would be the only men bearing the name of ministers? We cannot rejoice in the expenditure of funds, drawn from the national purse, to procure such a supply, even if we admitted the correctness of the principle of supporting religion by such a plan. We need not regret the withdrawment of the government grant to the Society already named. It will be no real loss to the Canadas, as not one really efficient man will cease his labors among the people. They become attached to such men, and will struggle to support them; and if there is one denomination in the Colonies better able to do this than another, it is the Episcopalians. Besides, as a greater number of that communion live in the towns, where there is greater wealth, and a more prevailing desire to attend on the forms of religion, there is less danger of any one of their missionaries being withdrawn, whose character and abilities qualify him for being a minister of Christ. In cases of an opposite description, it may be different; but the Society at home can assist them, till some other mode of support be found out. That such is likely to be the case, with efficient ministers, will appear from the following fact.

In a newly settled town, on Lake Ontario, it was no sooner ascertained that the government grant was about to be withdrawn, than the people immediately subscribed the full amount of the salary which their clergyman had been accustomed to receive from that source. In another case, where an additional minister was required, the people, by voluntary contributions, raised sufficient to support one, who is at this time laboring among them. Nor need there be any fear that it will be different in other places, where there is a sufficient population, and the men are worthy of support.

In cases where the population is small, or the ministers are inefficient, it may still be necessary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to assist. This can easily be done, as their funds are large, or can be readily obtained; so that the number of their missionaries need not be diminished by the withdrawment of the government grant. Indeed, the result is most likely to prove beneficial to Episcopacy, as it will no doubt rouse the Christians of that denomination in this country to assist their brethren in the Colonies. This mode of assistance will be more highly valued by many of the inhabitants, than aid received from Government. We say this, because one fact came to our knowledge. The Colonial Legislature having given annual grants to the Methodists and Presbyterians, the people, of the Upper Province especially, were greatly displeased. Even many persons belonging to those sects were grieved with the circumstance, and threatened to leave their communion, if it was not refused in future. There is a great jealousy of the Government, when it interferes with religion or its teachers. Voluntary assistance from England would be viewed differently, and received in another spirit. The most likely and unexceptionable mode of supplying the Colonies with the means of religious instruction is, for Christians to send them faithful ministers from this country, and, for a while, to assist in supporting them.

In connection with this view of the subject, it should be particularly noticed, that those ministers who go out to the Canadas should be entirely devoted to missionary labors. Even the teaching of a school, though otherwise useful, would materially lessen their efficiency; and a farm would occupy most of their strength, and time, and mind. They might purchase farms, and procure a living by their own manual labor, and they might preach occasionally; but a thousand such men would not be equal to a hundred men, whose whole energies and time were consecrated to the religious instruction of the people. No preacher who unites a farm, or other secular employment in the country districts of the Canadas, with ministerial duty, need expect any adequate remuneration from the people for his labors; and he must not expect success in his work. The distances are too great; the roads are in too bad a condition; and the destitution is too deplorable; to warrant the expectation, that farming and preaching can go on together. Neither need a preacher who has a good plantation of his own, expect the hardworking settlers to aid him. If the heart is not vigorously alive to the power of religion, the endurance of hardship is apt to harden it, and produce a spirit of selfishness unfriendly to Christian liberality. The body is the chief concern. To lessen its privations is the main object; and as irreligious men can see no connection between the gospel and the advancement of their comfort, they will not assist in supporting the former. These observations chiefly refer to those ministers who go to the Canadas on their own responsibility, for the twofold purpose of preaching the gospel, and of providing for a rising family.

With regard to those who are sent out by the aid of Christians in this country, it should be understood, that, while at first the expenses of sending out and supporting such missionaries, should be defrayed by them, this aid is to be furnished only for a time. When congregations are collected, and churches are organized, the assistance should be gradually withdrawn, as this people become able to assist. The amount so saved to be expended in sending out additional missionaries.

In carrying a great object like this into effect, the co-operation of all who love religion in the Colonies is necessary. To secure this, no better mode can be adopted, than to call into exercise their Christian zeal, by the manifestation of it on our own part. Let them see and feel that we are in earnest in helping their destitute countrymen, by sending to them the bread of life; and it will constrain them to make far greater exertions to benefit their neighbors, than they have ever yet attempted.

Let it not be supposed, from what we have said, that we wish to undervalue the labors of any, the most obscure of those who are faithful men, to whatever denomination they belong. We forbear mentioning names, lest the distinction might seem invidious. But we are ready to testify to the self-denial, and laborious travels and privations of some whom we met with, and heard of, in that wild country; and we shall ever cherish cordial esteem and admiration of their zeal and perseverance.

While there are many difficulties in that country to overcome, both physical and moral, yet there are some facilities which should not be overlooked, in forming a correct estimate of the duty before us. One is, that the language, of Upper Canada at least, is our own. The new settlements are formed by persons emigrating from England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the United States. Among these the English missionary can at once enter on his duties, not among strangers or foreigners, but as among his own countrymen and fellow-subjects. There is full protection given by the Colonial Legislature to those who are trying to do good. There is also a strong desire, on the part of the well-disposed settlers, to receive religious teachers. Amidst all their privations and poverty, a pious missionary would find, on almost every preaching tour, some family to give him a cordial welcome, and encourage him in his work. There are also to be found in most of the townships which have been some time settled, school-houses. In these the people can assemble, and Sunday schools can be formed. The plan of erecting such buildings is going on, and likely to extend to every township; and as these have been erected for the benefit of the people, they are open to the different religious denominations. So that when a missionary of any sect goes to preach, he has the use of it. When these are not conveniently situated, the houses of the people are opened to receive the messenger of peace.

The duty of furnishing the colonies with suitable religious instruction, then, devolves on the Christians of this country. It is for them to decide in what way, and to what extent, this assistance is to be given. That we have hitherto been culpable, no one who looks at the present destitution of the Canadas, can for a moment deny. "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." The sin appears so much the greater, when we look at our resources. Had the duty hitherto devolved on one of the smallest of our denominations, unable, perhaps, to extend much aid to any quarter, beyond its own little circle at home, the criminality would have been less. But when it is considered, that the duty of supplying the Canadas with the means of grace has been committed to all the Protestant denominations of Britain, the case assumes a different aspect. Persons from all these communities of Christians have settled in these provinces. They have gone from the congregations of Episcopalians, the societies of Methodists, the churches of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. A necessity was laid upon them to seek support for their rising families. They would gladly have remained at home. No discontent with the civil constitution of their country drove them away. It appeared to be the path of duty, and trying as it was to leave the loved associations of early life and of matured affection, yet they submitted to the providential arrangement, and went. They have left behind them relatives, friends, and neighbors. They have forsaken external privileges and religious enjoyments, and they and their children are in danger of suffering for lack of knowledge. Look at these claims of country and kindred, of our common humanity, and of Christian duty, and say if the present condition of the Canadas, is not a reproach to the Christians of Great Britain.

Should it not be wiped away? We have the power of removing much of the destitution of these Colonies, by exercising that spirit of Christian sympathy which should be felt for our brethren, and sisters, and friends, in a strange land. We cannot send them any boon so valuable as the gospel. The face of a religious teacher will be seen by the best of the colonists as if it were the face of an angel. Let him be a man of established character; let him carry his credentials with him, in the approbation of the Christian churches at home who have sent him forth, and he will at once secure the confidence of the good people in the Colonies. This is the way to bind the provinces to the parent state—to unite them more closely to us than can be done by mere political arrangements; and to secure for generations to come their affection and their gratitude. But to produce these effects, the ministers sent forth must go under the influence of enlightened zeal in their own hearts, and supported by the willing efforts of Christian love in others. The call now made on the Christians of this country is not made on one section of it, but on all its evangelical denominations. The exertions of all will be found necessary, if the necessities of the Colonies are to be adequately supplied. The Christian church of our beloved country must arouse itself to action, and, in the best and most efficient way, unite in one strong *effort*, if not in one great society, to remove these moral desolations.

While we thus consider it the duty of every denomination to be active in this work of Christian benevolence, we would especially urge upon the one with which we are more immediately connected, the peculiar claims which are made on its members. We consider the system of Congregationalism to be Scriptural, and well fitted to convey to destitute countries the gospel of Christ, whatever may be the civil policy of those several nations, as it does not interfere with the political arrangements of any land. But, especially, it is fitted for a new and destitute country like the Canadas, where a pressing necessity exists for immediate exertion; for men who could go through the breadth and length of the *country*, unfettered by geographical limits, canonical laws, or conference restrictions, preaching the gospel to all who are willing to hear it; and leaving the people themselves, when converted to God, to decide as to the form of church government which these religious societies should assume. In addition to this, it may be said, that, in many parts of the Canadas, persons holding our sentiments are to be found, and remain still attached to the great principles of civil and religious liberty, which they loved in this country. We cannot, therefore, but earnestly desire, that the zeal of Christians of our order may be awakened in some degree, corresponding with the magnitude of the object presented to them.

In closing this Report, we would respectfully and earnestly recommend the destitution of the Canadas to the sympathy, the zeal, and the prayers, of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We feel deeply interested in the condition of our brethren, and we should rejoice to be instrumental in arousing the friends of Christ in this country to do justice to their urgent claims. It is daily becoming more dangerous to neglect these. If succeeding years should witness as much apathy as the past, the people and the country may become alienated from us altogether. Every one acquainted with the state of the Colonies, knows that the seeds of discontent are widely scattered. The prevalence of irreligion will cherish them; and the next generation, if uninstructed in the knowledge of Christ, will become the easy prey of the political demagogue and of the infidel. A regard for our country—for our brethren, separated from us by the wide Atlantic—a regard for our consistency, as the professed friends of religion—a respect for His authority, who has commanded us to "preach the gospel to every creature"—should constrain every one who can assist to put forth his strength. If this be done, in a few years these Colonies would need no aid from us. There would soon spring up among them *native* preachers, and the foundation once laid, by the exertions of British Christians and the Divine blessing, the building would be reared by the cheerful labors of the Canadian churches of all denominations. The work is before *us* at present—it is plain, imperative, and solemnly important.—There are hundreds of thousands waiting on *our* decision. To them it is life or death—to us it will be shame or honor. Let us not shrink from the privilege of doing good, but apply our hand and heart to it, remembering who has said, "Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it."

LETTER IV.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I am again in the United States. On the 23d we left Toronto, and arrived at Niagara that evening. On the 24th we reached the Falls, a description of which you will find elsewhere; and on the 26th, went to Buffalo. Here Mr. Reed and myself had agreed to separate for a time, in order better to accomplish the objects we respectively had in view. He had resolved to go farther west and south; while I was anxious to secure perhaps the only opportunity I should have of visiting the northern part of Pennsylvania, where my uncle is settled as a Presbyterian minister, as well as to obtain information in other parts of the State.

We agreed to meet, if practicable, either at Pittsburgh or Philadelphia, the last week of July.

On June 27th, we sailed together from Buffalo, in the steamboat, one of the best we have been in. There were on board a number of settlers from New England, bound to the Michigan territory, which is at present a point of attraction to crowds of emigrants. Some of the families with whom we sailed included three generations, and among their goods and chattels were various articles, which looked as if they had descended to them through a line of ancestry much more remote. At the town of Erie ninety-three miles from Buffalo, I landed, while Mr. Reed proceeded forward to Sandusky. I went to a Temperance House, to which I had been directed, and arrived just in time to witness the conclusion of a prayer-meeting, rather a novel sight to me in an inn. Erie, which is in the State of Pennsylvania, contains a population of about 1500, who are well supplied with the means of religious instruction. The Presbyterian congregation, of which the Rev. Mr. Lyons is minister, is the largest in the town, consisting of five hundred hearers. The next in importance is a Seceder congregation, and there is also a Baptist place of worship. The Methodists have preaching in a room. A revival of religion has recently taken place in Mr. Lyons' congregation; about sixty persons have been added to the church, and the state of things at present is very pleasing.*

Owing to the negligence of one of the coach agents, who omitted to put my name in the waybill, when I sent to secure a place in the stage, I was unable to proceed on my journey, on the morning of the 28th, as I had expected. This was the only instance of such a disappointment which I have yet met with in America; and it was greatly aggravated by the perfect indifference of the agent, and his refusal to facilitate my getting on in any other way. I found that I should actually save time, and also be more certain of a conveyance, by returning to Buffalo, which I therefore did in the course of the day. I had before refused an invitation to spend the Sabbath there; but being now so unexpectedly brought back, I was anxious that this derangement of my plans should be turned to some good account.

On Sabbath morning, I attended the Presbyterian church, and heard the Rev. Mr. Eaton; and afterwards visited the Sunday School, where I found about one hundred and fifty children. The method of conducting it is very similar to our own. It is held under the church. The plan of having a room underneath, seems to be very generally adopted in the new places of worship where we have been.—These rooms generally extend to the whole area of the building. They are used for Sabbath schools and weekly lectures. I preached in the afternoon; and again in the evening, to young persons in particular, notice having been previously given to that effect. A large number of them were assembled. Here, as elsewhere, the friends of the Redeemer rejoice that our Congregational Union has commenced a friendly interchange of delegates with the American churches.

Monday, 30*th*.—I can hardly describe the fatigues of this day. Early in the morning, my route lay along the well-known *Corduroy* road, between Buffalo and Batavia, which has been a subject of complaint to so many travellers. I could not have imagined it possible to make any road so bad. Great trees are laid across, by no means uniform in shape or size; and the interstices not being filled up, the shaking of the vehicle is almost intolerable. We took ten hours to reach Batavia, though only forty miles distant. The road, after that, was somewhat better, though our progress was still slow; but, even at the worst part, yet the scenery around was so interesting, as to beguile, in some measure, the tediousness of our progress. After leaving Batavia, we passed through Stafford, where there are many English settlers. They seem to be good farmers. The corn (Indian) was about eighteen inches high. We saw some beautiful fields of wheat and oats. The walls of many of the cottages were adorned with a profusion of roses, which looked quite English. We dined at Canandaigua, which is considered one of the handsomest country towns in this State, (New York,) and certainly excels any other that I have seen. The principal street is 150 feet wide, and extends for nearly two miles; though the houses are not yet built all the way on both sides.

I arrived in Geneva in the evening; and soon after called on the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. E. Phelps, whom I had met with in the General Assembly at Philadelphia. I found him both able and willing to give me all the information I desired respecting the moral and religious condition of the place. Its advantages are very considerable. The population is nearly four thousand; and there are eight places of worship, of different denominations, all evangelical but one, which is Universalist.—About 2300 of the inhabitants attend public worship, besides 800 Sunday-school children.* Gratuitous instruction is provided during the week, sufficient for all the children in the town; so that no child need remain untaught, if the parents are willing to send him to school.

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* Appendix.

* Appendix.

The situation of Geneva is very delightful. It stands at the northern extremity of Seneca Lake, on ground which rises gradually from the water's edge to a considerable elevation. The principal street is very spacious, and extends for more than a mile. It is planted with trees on each side; and the houses are built with considerable taste. There are some affecting and interesting associations connected with this neighborhood. Within a few miles, is the place which was the seat of government of the Seneca Indians, or rather of the Six Nations. Various spots are pointed out, as the scenes of warfare between the whites and the Indians; and there is a fort, which belonged to the latter, still standing, a short way from the town. One cannot think of the wrongs inflicted on them, without the most painful emotions. No doubt the country now enjoys the blessings of religion and civilization, which it might not have done, had it remained in the hands of its original possessors. But this can never justify the means employed to dispossess them of their native rights and inheritance.

The names of the town and the lake awaken very incongruous recollections. That of the latter, however, is not classical, as might, at first, be supposed. It was, as already hinted, the name of an Indian tribe. And yet, perhaps, by the law of association, it suggested the many names of ancient places, poets, and heroes, which abound in this part of the State. We find Brutus and Cassius; Homer, Virgil, and Ovid; Marathon, Pharsalia, Ithaca, &c. But these are matters of little consequence; and it is now impossible to gratify any curious inquiries on the subject.

I was sorry to find that, in this part of the State, the ministers are so frequently changing the scene of their pastoral labors. The fault may sometimes be in themselves; but, from conversations I have had on the subject, I am inclined to believe that the people are fond of change. Whether the system of the Methodists may have assisted in producing this state of things, I cannot say. I should rather attribute the love of novelty to the new measures, carried out to an extravagant length, and now cautiously employed by the best and most judicious advocates of revivals. On this journey, I was surprised to learn from a minister, who has only been installed six years in his present situation, that, out of thirty members of his Presbytery, he had been the longest settled. Another gentleman with whom I conversed, a judge, and one of the shrewdest men I have met with, justified the practice of ministers and churches frequently dissolving their connection with each other. He seemed quite prepared to give his reasons for the opinion which he held, and urged them with considerable plausibility. He defended his views, on the ground that no man should be confined to one sphere of labor; that the field is the world, and wherever his services are most needed, there he should go. He thought that no people should be influenced by their partialities or affections in a matter like this; that they should not receive the truth more favorably from one man than from another. His arguments were combatted, on the ground that the duties of the pastoral relation cannot be performed aright, when frequent changes take place. He was told that his plan must destroy, or at least weaken, the moral influence, which a pastor may acquire by long continued labors, connected with a consistent character; that the truth, delivered to a people by a man of God whom they knew, under whose ministry they had grown up, who had probably been the instrument of their conversion, who had sympathized with them in seasons of joy and of sorrow, was more likely to affect them, than the same truth coming from the lips of a comparative stranger. But this good man could see no force in any of these considerations; neither did he admit, what was farther affirmed, that, next to the statement of truth itself, is the importance of adapting it to the temptations and failings, the duties and trials, of the flock.

The above remarks apply, with yet greater force, to the plan, so frequently adopted in this part of the country, of *hiring* a minister for a limited period—a year, or half a year. This must be injurious to all parties. It degrades the ministerial character; it tends to unsettle the mind of a minister; and it cannot but produce a captious, cavilling spirit among the people. Far from promoting that impartial spirit, in which the truth of God should be received, it appears to me likely to draw the attention away from the truth preached, to the various gifts and talents of those who preach it.

But though many are like-minded with the individual mentioned above, I have no reason to think that such sentiments will continue to prevail. The distinction between a Pastor and an Evangelist is becoming better understood. There are places in this State where the pastoral relation can hardly be sustained, owing to the scattered character of the population, and their inability to support the ministry of the gospel. In such circumstances, the labors of an evangelist, or itinerant, are suitable and invaluable. But when the state of society becomes settled, and the church is able to support a minister, another class of men is required. The interests of every church require the wise and persevering superintendence of an overseer. And the improvement of the minister, as well as that of the people, will be promoted by his permanent connection with them.

The evil complained of might be materially lessened by the friendly and seasonable advice of neighboring ministers and churches, who observe and deplore it. Such Christian counsel has already been, in several instances, successfully employed.

LETTER V.

My dear friend—I left Geneva early on the morning of the 1st, in a steamboat that sails daily during the summer, on Seneca Lake. I suppose it does so also in the winter, as the water never freezes so as to prevent navigation. The springs are numerous, which accounts for this circumstance. The lake is a beautiful sheet of water, about forty miles in length, and from one to two miles in breadth. The sail was delightful. On both sides the ground rises gradually, to the height of two or three hundred feet. In various places the woods are cleared away, and settlements made. The progress of civilization was seen in immediate contrast with the wildness of nature; and the eye could command the scene from the lake, better than in most other situations. A stage was in waiting to convey the passengers to Elmira. We were five hours in going twenty-three miles. The country was hilly, and the road in bad condition. As the evening approached, the brilliancy of the fire-flies increased. When it became quite dark, the scene was beautiful. The atmosphere was moist and warm. This, no doubt, brought out a greater number of these insects. Innumerable sparks were glimmering in every direction, and flitting with the quickness of lightning.

I remained all night at Elmira. I had secured a

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resting place at the inn, and made arrangements for the night; but the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. M. L. Farnsworth, *compelled* me to receive his hospitality. My name and mission were familiar to him, and I found myself at once in the dwelling of a friend. Having so many religious newspapers, information is circulated in all directions through the United States; so that if the deputation had travelled to the farthest West and South, the object of the mission, and the hospitality of the people, would at once have secured a cordial reception.

Elmira contains a scattered population of three thousand persons. There are four places of worship, viz. Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Methodist. The Sunday scholars are four hundred. The communicants are about five hundred; the regular congregations about twelve hundred. There is a temperance society, which has been the means of reclaiming some notorious drunkards. It consists of four hundred members.

I left on the morning of the 2d, in a private conveyance, for Athens. An incident occurred during the journey, which, in my non-adventurous life, might be called an adventure. It will amuse the young people to learn, that I encountered a rattlesnake. No harm, however, resulted to me, or to any one else, except to the creature itself. It might, no doubt, have proved rather a serious matter, and I wish to view it as a providential deliverance.

We had proceeded about half way, and were travelling along a part of the road called the *Narrowing*. On the left there was a perpendicular rock, about a hundred feet in height; and on the right hand, was the river *Shemung*, about fifteen feet below us, and rather deep at that place. The young man who drove the carriage suddenly drew up the reins, exclaiming, "There is a snake before us;" and in a moment added, "It is a rattlesnake." He instantly proposed to kill it. There seemed a necessity for doing so, as there was no way by which we could pass it, the road was so narrow, and the fore-feet of the horse were within two feet of the reptile. Our chief danger was that of the horse becoming frightened, and throwing us into the river beneath. We got out; I held the reins, after drawing the horse a little backwards, while my companion struck the snake with his whip. He did not succeed; and it began to coil itself and rattled; but before it could spring at him, he had struck it again and stunned it. It was then easily despatched. It was about three feet in length, and beautifully spotted. It had eight rings, or rattles, and was consequently about eleven years old. This little incident led me to look more narrowly at the sides of the road. It was, perhaps, owing to this circumstance that I did happen to see a greater number of what are called garter snakes, and a larger kind called the black snake, both, however, quite harmless.

I arrived at Towanda, where I remained all night. On the 3d of July, I arrived at Orwell, and I need only say, that my relatives were much delighted to see me. After a separation of twenty-six years, it was not surprising that we were unable to recognise each other. I found that my relation occupied a very interesting field of pastoral labor, in the midst of an intelligent and pious, though unpolished people. His parish (for the divisions are frequently called by that name) is nearly six miles square. I am glad of this retirement, after the excitement and fatigue of public meetings and journeyings. A few days would be of great service if I could only be kept quiet. Of this, however, I have, at present, little hope; for public engagements are already made for me, for nearly every day that I am to be here. My present feelings are of a mingled character. Of course, the days of other years have been reviewed, and the names and characters of many valued friends, who are now at rest, have come before the mind.

Yesterday (4th July) was to me a day of trial, and of duty. You may recollect, when now reminded, that one of the greatest days of the year, in this country, is that on which the "Declaration of Independence" was signed. It is variously commemorated, according to the taste and feelings of the people. The common way, some years ago, was to have public meetings to have the Declaration read; after which, some youthful orator would deliver a bombastic declamation on the subjects of tyranny, oppression, injustice, freedom, and so forth. The minds of the hearers being predisposed, it was not, perhaps, very difficult to produce feelings of resentment and jealousy against Great Britain. *Now*, there is a change for the better. It is, indeed, still considered desirable by many that there should be meetings, and that the Declaration should be read, but in connection with religious services, or Temperance Society anniversaries. In these ways good may result from the observance of the day. Others are beginning to think that it is neither wise nor proper thus to give a yearly provocation to cherish alienated feelings. They are of opinion, that respect for their national dignity, and regard for the "Father Land," may be better shown by forgetting than by remembering, the harsh deeds of former generations.

I was invited to give an address on the *Fourth of July!* I refused. The request was repeated, with the additional argument, that it was a religious service they wanted. I consented, after telling them that I must state the truth, and it would be their own fault if they found it unpleasant. I need not describe the whole service. It was strictly religious, except the reading of the Declaration, in which I had no share, as you may suppose. I found it rather difficult to address them after such a manifesto. It was a new scene, and a new duty to me; and while attempting to arrange my thoughts, I found myself annoyed by a brisk firing of rifles, and by the shouts of assembling youth at no great distance. I tried, however, to improve the occasion for doing good. I adverted to the peculiarity of my situation as a British subject, and the object of my coming to this country. Considering that it was on a mission of peace, I could not but regret to hear a subject introduced which was calculated to excite angry and tumultuous feelings. I asked them if they loved their liberty, their institutions, and their country. If they did, surely, then, patriotism might be kept alive, without an annual recitation of evils they had endured fifty or sixty years ago. And if the rising generation were properly instructed in the great principles of liberty and justice, they would hate oppression, and be sufficiently courageous in defending their rights. I hinted that there was a danger of the day becoming simply a commemoration of a *political* event, without connecting with it the goodness of God in conferring upon them civil and religious privileges—that they might be looking to the *men* of the revolution rather than to God, whose hand alone had secured their deliverance. I wished them to view it as an evil omen, when mere orators, statesmen, and politicians, commemorated the day in such a manner, as to excite irritated feelings against a country to which they were under innumerable obligations, and the inhabitants of which could not *now* wish them to be subject to British dominion, but rather rejoiced in their liberty and prosperity. I expressed my hope, that *if* it was necessary to remember the day, it would be a religious commemoration—a day of praise—of devout acknowledgment, for their many and peculiar advantages. And that while they recorded national mercies, each individual would be led to consider his own obligations to the God of Providence, and thus strengthen every motive that could urge him to be useful. I ventured to point out their dangers, their privileges, their responsibilities, as a people. I glanced at their prospects—bright, if they sought the favor of God—dark, if religious knowledge was not spread, or if God's work, his cause, and glory, were neglected.

I closed by describing the feelings that should be cherished by the people of England and America towards each other, especially by the *Christians* of both countries. We wished to witness their prosperity, and looking at the position we occupied in relation to each other, it appeared as if we had thus become connected for the most important purposes. Of one blood, one language, and one faith, our religious institutions, our commercial pursuits and enterprises, resembling each other, the two nations seemed prepared for uniting to bless the world. This was our high destiny, and could we lose sight of it by *again* proclaiming war against each other? I stated my conviction, that if the Christians of both countries did their duty as the friends of peace, war was impossible between them. That it was an excess of folly, even for nations not professedly Christian, to appeal to physical force, like the beasts of the forest, to avenge their quarrels; what must then be the folly and guilt of professedly Christian nations, thus to shed each other's blood? And that all these considerations, which might in ordinary cases prove the criminality of war, had tenfold force in regard to England and America, united by so many ties, I expressed a hope, that soon it would be decided, by the good sense and right feeling of the people, that the ceremony of that day was uncalled for, either by the situation of America, or the condition and designs of Britain. That while the document would remain on the page of their national history, to be seen and read in after days by their descendants, the present generation could do without it. Not that they were indifferent to liberty, but secure of it; not that they could forget their sufferings and their deliverance, but remember them with other feelings than those of resentment, and forgive what man had done, in token of their gratitude to Almighty God.

I did not forget to hint at the necessity of consistency in the love of liberty; and that while they valued their own, they should remember that their country was *not free* while slavery existed in it.

I then concluded, by addressing the irreligious, and pointed them to Christ. I referred to the inconsistency of celebrating the day, as connected with their political liberty, and that it would testify against them if they remained satisfied with mental and spiritual bondage.

I quite expected that my address would give offence. There was a large congregation, and they gave me their attention. I found afterwards that they were not displeased, but, on the contrary, reciprocated the kind wishes and desires expressed about the union of affection, and the Christian co-operation that should exist between the two countries. This is, as you know, the only instance in which I have given you such particulars respecting what *I* said; and I have done so on this occasion for two reasons. The first is, to convince you that I did not forget I was a Britain, nor compromise my principles; the second is, to show you that this people are willing to hear the truth, even though it reproves them, if it be stated in a spirit of respect and kindness.

My impression is, with regard to this celebrated day, that some attend to it merely for political purposes, without much real love to their country. Many do so, because they think it right to remind their children of the early struggles of their country for liberty; and many more observe it from the mere force of habit and custom.

I have no doubt whatever that it does great harm in many ways. It promotes intemperance, by bringing multitudes together for jovial purposes; it produces emotions in many minds, that are improper and anti-christian, and such as no Christian or wise legislator should encourage in the young population of a rising country. The safety and prosperity of America will not be found in its warlike propensities, or in jealousy of the land from whence they spring. The security and happiness of this land will rest on her peaceful character, on her moral elevation, on her Christian enterprise. Let these predominate, and she is invincible.

I had an interesting meeting to-day with an aged man. He was quite patriarchal in his character and appearance. He was the first settler in this district, and came to it about forty years ago. I have not yet told you that this county (Bradford) is comparatively newly settled. The forests in some places stand in all their original gloominess and grandeur. I have already seen the progress, from the first girdling of the trees, in order to prepare them for burning and cutting down, to the regular operations of the well-cleared farm. I have made an engagement with the patriarch of the district, who has promised to describe to me the history of his settling in this neighborhood. If I have time to give it to you, it will show you the difficulties, physical and spiritual, with which early settlers have to contend.

The spot where I now write is the highest ground in this neighborhood, and commands an extensive survey of the surrounding country. The cleared parts are not very numerous, and therefore the extent of forest is considerable. About eight miles distant there is a range of hills of moderate elevation, the base of which is watered by the Susquehannah; and in other directions the spires of places of public worship appear, for even in this comparative wilderness, "the sound of the church-going bell" is to be heard.

To-morrow is the Sabbath. There are two places of worship in which my relative officiates for the accommodation of the more distant settlers. It is in the one furthest off that we shall worship then. I am glad to find that the people are well supplied with the means of religious instruction.*

LETTER VI.

My dear friend—I have now had an opportunity of spending a Sabbath in the country, and of seeing the ordinary routine of religious services, in the midst of an agricultural population. I do enjoy the country, on the Sabbath especially, when there is no visible profanity to pain the mind, but, on the contrary, every thing to indicate that the ordinances of religion are prized, and that the sanctuary is loved.

We proceeded, at the customary time, to the meeting-house, (as it is called by many here,) about four miles distant from the village where the pastor resides. As we went along, we had a full view of the place of meeting for some time before we reached it, as it stood on one hill, and we had to descend another opposite to it; and thus we could at a glance survey the numerous groupes who were moving along from various directions, but all hastening to one point. It was a pleasant sight. The whole scene harmonized with the feelings thus awakened.

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* See Appendix.

The morning was lovely. The heat had not yet become intense, and animated nature appeared to rejoice. The insects sporting in the sun-beams were innumerable. Seldom have I seen more admirable specimens, both of the insect and feathered tribes. The butterflies were exceedingly numerous, large, and beautiful. The bees, wild and domestic, were filling the air with their soft murmurs; and in the woods we saw varieties of the woodpecker, and squirrels in abundance. They seemed to court the presence of man, rather than to shun it. The domestic animals were enjoying the rest of the Sabbath; and man, the only creature on earth that ever failed to answer the end of his existence, seemed this morning in some measure to be alive to his high destiny. The cottages and plantations were thinly scattered, and yet considerable numbers were on the road, the throng increasing as they approached nearer to the sanctuary of God. I was pleased to observe, that though a full proportion of the people that we passed were aged persons, *not one old person was walking*. The young people were either walking, or on horseback, while the parents, the grandfathers and grandmothers, were comfortably seated in their wagons or dearborns. The place of worship holds about four hundred persons, and it was filled. After the morning service, which, of course, as the stranger, I had to conduct, there was an interval of only a few minutes before the second service began. This plan is adopted to accommodate the people who come from a distance, and is indeed customary in some parts of our own country. The heat was very oppressive, being 86° by Fahrenheit, and you may easily suppose how I felt while preaching. I could not do as some of my hearers did, and which, I understand, is customary in country places, during the sermon; they had taken off their coats! I did not wonder that they were glad to dispense with this article of dress on such a day. It had, however, a singular appearance, to see some fifty or sixty men in such a condition, in a place of worship. But they were in the midst of friends; it was usual, and no remarks were made. In the interval of service, the place of general resort was a well hard by; and never did the simple beverage of nature taste sweeter than to-day. In going to and returning from worship, while a variety of dwellings in succession met my eye, my friends furnished me also with a glance at the history of some of their inhabitants.

In a country like ours, twenty cottages in a village may present few incidents worthy of notice, for the history of one is mainly the history of all; but, in the settling of a new district like this, the difficulties and privations, the successes and the disappointments, that occur, call into operation talents and energies, which, in other circumstances, might never be developed. Character is brought out, and the progress of society is more easily marked, than in older countries. One of the *chief* dangers connected with a *new* and thinly scattered population, is the temptation they are under to neglect religion. This arises, not so much from the want of a place in which to meet, for they can easily, by uniting their time and labor, erect a *log* church, large enough for their numbers; but because, for several years, their life must be one of incessant toil and anxiety, in order to secure the necessaries of life. In such circumstances, if the day of rest is observed at all, it is apt to become a day of indolence or worldly pleasure. Especially is this the case, if there be a few of the settlers who set a different example. The early mode of settling in this country is not now much practised. Formerly settlers of a new territory formed a village, from which their plantations diverged in different directions. This was for mutual defence and benefit. And, in every instance, the school-house and church were found near the centre of the village. But when the fear of attack from the Indians was removed, and larger plantations were obtained, the settlers became more widely separated from each other, and it became more difficult to get them to unite in erecting places of worship, and in obtaining a regular ministry.—Those who might be inclined to keep "holy the Sabbath," were seldom able to do this by their own exertions alone. To remedy this evil, societies were formed, in connection with neighboring congregations, in order to assist the people. This was done by sending Christian missionaries, who might plant the standard of the cross, and gather around it the scattered population. There was no desire, on the part of the supporters of these institutions, to deprive the people of their rights, by placing over them ministers not chosen by themselves. It was simply carrying into effect the apostolic method of extending the gospel. After a people had been collected and converted, they left them to choose their own pastors; but till this could be done, they gave them that Christian aid, which it is the duty of believers in Christ to do in all similar cases. It was in this way that the gospel was introduced, and became successful in this immediate district. Happily the first settlers were from New England. Their love to divine ordinances, and their early application for the services of a Christian missionary, gave a decided tone to the character of the place. I was pleased to learn, that, in most cases, the inmates of the cottages were either members of Christian churches, or regularly attended on the preaching of the gospel.

On returning, we again saw groupes of people hastening to the sanctuary beside the pastor's dwelling, but it was a mournful occasion that brought them together—the funeral of one who had been cut down in the morning of life. Wishing to see their mode of conducting such solemn services, I also repaired to the place. The youth's father belonged to a different denomination, and his own minister had come to preach a funeral sermon, which I understand is customary at the time of interment.—The corpse was brought into the place of worship, and placed on a stand beneath the pulpit. After the discourse, the mourners accompanied the body to the burying-ground, where, without any farther ceremony, it was committed to the grave.

I deeply regretted that, on such an occasion, when so many persons were assembled, the individual officiating should so lamentably fail in his statement of truth. If at any time the mind should be solemn, and disposed to listen to the voice of instruction and comfort, it is when the heart is softened, and the conscience awakened, by the presence of death.—And surely a minister of Christ should seek to improve such an opportunity. But the preacher studiously avoided addressing the ignorant, the inquiring, or the penitent. He had no message, no invitation, no counsel, no consolation, for them. He spoke only of covenant privileges, and this he did unscripturally. A stranger, ignorant of religion, could not have learnt from his discourse that there was any salvation for sinners, any way by which man could be redeemed. And what made the omission of the gospel more distressing was, that in the history of the youth whose mortal remains were there, there was much to alarm and impress the hearts of the young. But all was passed by unnoticed and unimproved. Need I tell you that the preacher was a Hyper-Calvinist? I am glad to add, that only a few persons attend on his ministry.

On the 7th of July the annual meeting of the Bible and Missionary Societies was held. After a brief address, respecting the objects which these institutions have in view, the members proceeded to transact the business of the meeting. It was pleasant to witness, in this remote corner, the orderly and practical habits of the people. Each individual who took a part in the proceedings seemed to understand business well. The officers were chosen, and the collectors appointed. I particularly observed their strict adherence to constitutional rules, and how they managed to apportion the responsibility among the different members of the committee.—But what amused me more than any thing else, was the circumstance, that the chairman, who was a man of considerable property in the neighborhood, was without his coat; and several of the speakers were in the same cool and airy situation. It did look rather singular, after the very different scenes I had witnessed in the large cities a month or two before. I was glad, however, to see that the same principles influenced men in very different circumstances; and that, too, without the excitement and *eclat* of large public meetings. Here I found Christians pursuing regular plans of usefulness, in *undress* certainly, yet promoting the same great objects with the wealthy and more refined inhabitants of New York and Boston. When I state that the thermometer was ninety-two in the shade on the day of meeting, you need not be surprised at what I have named. If it were as hot in England, probably the same custom would prevail in country villages.

It appears that some of the early settlers in this part of the State met with severe losses at first in the purchase of lands, owing to the rival claims between the States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The latter, on the ground of some ancient grant, or purchase, from the Indians, sold large quantities of land to private speculators. The former afterwards asserted their right, and upon trial it was decided in their favor, so that those who had purchased lots from the speculators found their titles worthless, and lost both their money and their land.

I called, in the afternoon, on one settler, who entered on his plantation some twenty years ago. It consists of about three hundred acres, of which about one hundred and thirty are cleared. Of course, there is not a field without large stumps of trees, notwithstanding which, it appeared to promise good crops, especially of grass. In the course of conversation, he expressed a desire to dispose of his plantation, and retire to a less fatiguing life than that of farming. I was curious to know the value of such a property. He mentioned to me that it produced the ordinary crops, except wheat, and that it was chiefly meadow, and fed fifty or sixty head of cattle. He was willing to sell the plantation, including the dwelling-house and all the out buildings, for 2,500 dollars (about 550*l.*) I thought how glad a farmer of small capital in our country would be to secure support for a family, and at once enter on a property which might be purchased by two or three years' rent of a farm at home not much larger than the one we are speaking of in the present instance. And in this case, there would be no spiritual deprivation, for the gospel is faithfully proclaimed in the parish, not only by the Presbyterian minister, but also by other denominations. It would, however, require great personal labor, and unwearied industry, and would hardly answer unless there were several sons in the family. Manual labor is so expensive, that few owners of small plantations can afford to hire men-servants. There is no class in newly settled districts analogous to what we call "gentlemen farmers." The highest and lowest departments of farming operations are filled by the owner of the property. He must be able and willing to put his hand to any thing, or every thing, that demands his aid.

I examined to-day (the 8th) the plan of obtaining maple sugar. The person who accompanied me through the plantation had only about forty acres in wood; but without difficulty, from a small number of trees, he obtained about one hundred and fifty pounds weight of sugar in the season. A maple grove may, therefore, be considered as a valuable possession to new settlers distant from towns, and having few dollars at their command. He had collected the sap of the trees for a number of years, and, as far as could be judged by appearances, they had not been injured by the process of *tapping*.

The 9th was one of the warmest days that I have met with in this country. When I tell you it was 93° in the shade, and that I had to conduct a religious service in a Methodist chapel in the afternoon, you can, in some measure, imagine the inconvenience that I felt from the heat. It was really overpowering both to preacher and hearers. I have not had time to be seasoned, and perhaps felt it more than the natives of the place.

On the 10th, I went to Wysox, about fourteen miles from this place, to meet with a number of ministers and elders. My object was to learn from them the state of religion in this and the neighboring counties. I found the utmost readiness to communicate all the information which they could. I was glad, also, to hear expressions of kind feeling from them towards all the Christians of our beloved country. Besides the present state of religion, I was desirous to ascertain how far the absence of support from the State legislature had affected it; and to know their opinion respecting the working of the scriptural method of sustaining and extending the preaching of the gospel in this newly settled district of country. It is not necessary to give even the substance of a conversation that occupied two or three hours. It is sufficient to give the result. With regard to the state of religion, it was the decided opinion of all who were present, that it was making progress in this and in the neighboring counties; and that, in some places particularly, great and beneficial changes had been effected. With regard to the question of State support for religion, there was but one expression of opinion. They firmly and unequivocally stated their abhorrence of such a plan, or of the State interfering, in any way, with the selection or appointment of ministers. All they sought from the Government was *protection*, and freedom for all denominations, to exert themselves in promoting religion according to their own views. They considered that a grant of money from Congress to support religious teachers, if it could by possibility be obtained, would be a curse instead of a blessing; and that the only way by which the purity and efficiency of the Christian ministry could be secured, was to give the people the privilege of choosing and supporting their own pastors. If, in some cases, owing to the limited numbers of the people, or their poverty, they were unable to support a minister, they considered it safest for neighboring churches to assist, still leaving *all* power in the hands of the people; so that they could invite the minister most likely to benefit them, after they had become able to discriminate between one preacher and another.

I inquired if it would be incompatible with their views to receive grants from the State Legislature to build places of religious worship. They answered, that their objections to such a plan were many. They considered that it would encourage indifference among the people, if others should *do* what it was their duty and privilege to perform themselves, as much as to build their own dwellings. That, in their country, the great principle being acknowledged and acted upon, that all sects are equal in the eye of the law; grants could not be made to any denomination, without producing jealousies, and forming a source of heart-burnings, most destructive to Christian love, and to the prosperity of religion. That alienation and religious feuds would be the result among them instead of harmony and Christian co-operation. If, to remove this difficulty, *all* denominations should receive aid, according to the number of adherents in particular places, without any reference to truth or error, it would at once be giving the money of the friends of truth to the support of errors which they abhorred. If, again, the denomination which formed the *majority* of the people should be nominated by the State the *National* religion, and assisted accordingly, it would place itself under the control of the State, for no human government is disposed to give its patronage without some return. The *quid pro quo* is as well understood in such matters as in political affairs. And these ministers stated it as their firm conviction, that there was not one denomination in this land who would accept of such State patronage. Two circumstances would prevent them, *viz.* that it would be an act of injustice to others, who supported their own religious services and ministers; and it would be giving up their Christian liberties, into the hands of men, generally ignorant about religion, and who *in no age* ever legislated on the subject without doing the cause of truth the greatest injury.

When it is considered that some of the churches which these men represented are dependent for aid on the Home Missionary Society, connected with the Presbyterian church, we cannot but admire their disinterestedness in preferring the present mode, because they believed it would secure greater purity and efficiency to their churches. For, in these cases, State support, or compulsory taxation, would probably have afforded a more permanent, if not a more liberal, provision.

The result of the meeting is a conviction that, in none of the old settled States had the efficiency of Christian principle been put to a severer test than in the northern part of Pennsylvania; and that, notwithstanding every obstacle, it promised to supply the people, not only with places of worship, but also with ministers well educated and zealous in their work, and prepared to elevate the character of a new population.

I have spent another Sabbath at Orwell very satisfactorily. During my visit to this place, I have mingled much with the people. I have been in many of their dwellings, and have seen a good deal of their domestic arrangements. I have tried to ascertain the feelings which the different denominations cherish towards each other. I find that there is a spirit of competition among some of them, but it is destitute of that bitterness and sectarianism which prevail so widely in our country. No one sect has any reason to consider itself as superior to all others, and the others have no cause to complain that they are oppressed and injured by a State religion. One of the deacons is an Episcopalian, and, not long ago, the bishop of the diocese visited him, and a few of similar sentiments in the district, and, on that occasion, preached in the Presbyterian church.

I shall soon leave for Pittsburgh, where I expect to meet with Mr. Reed, who parted from me on Lake Erie.

LETTER VII.

My dear friend—I have been delayed on my journey to Pittsburgh, by the difficulties of travelling in this elevated region. I am now on the western side of the principal range of the Allegany Mountains. Rough as the roads were, fatigued as I have been travelling early and late, I have much enjoyed my journey. When I tell you, that I have taken six days and three nights to get to this place, (about two hundred and fifty miles,) you may suppose how far we are removed from the facilities of English travelling. We left Orwell shortly after I wrote my last letter, on the 14th of July, and, as there was no stage coach the route I intended to take, my relative was kind enough to accompany me, in his family wagon, for about one hundred miles, till I got into the great line of road to the West. We managed the first day to travel about forty miles, and reached a small town, called by the Indian name, *Tunkhannock*. The whole road was hilly, and in one part, lay across a mountain of considerable height. The openings in the forest, next the roads, were covered with beautiful shumachs, and rhododendrons; the flower of the latter had passed away, but the shumachs were in full leaf, and the blossom ready to display itself. Some parts of the scenery greatly delighted me. The ground was so covered, in some places, by large and loose stones, that it required considerable management to escape an overturn. We had not allowed ourselves sufficient time to get to our intended place of destination, before day-light departed; and here darkness comes suddenly. There is no lingering twilight to warn us of the need of haste, before the shades of night fall on the traveller. We were consequently benighted. The road was narrow and imperfectly formed in some places. The moon appeared, but it did us little good, as the trees were of great height, and so close together. In addition to the darkness and the awkwardness of the path, a storm came on; and, in this country, storms are no trifling matters. I do not remember ever to have observed such continued and vivid flashes of lightning, and such tremendous peals of thunder. The horse had to be led for several miles through the forest. With considerable difficulty we arrived, without injury, at our inn, about ten or eleven o'clock. The tempest abated for a little while; but, about midnight, it burst forth again. I never trembled before during a thunder-storm, but this one really produced alarm. It appeared as if the whole atmosphere was on fire, and the roll of the thunder was so loud and long continued, and so near, that it felt as if all nature was crumbling into ruins. We were mercifully preserved; but I ascertained, from some of the local newspapers, a few days afterwards, that very great injury had been done both to crops and buildings, by the storm, of that evening, particularly in the valley of Wyoming.

I had hardly had time to dress, on the Tuesday morning, about five o'clock, when a summons came, requesting me to repair to a school-room, where some Christians were assembled for prayer. I was taken by surprise, but I went immediately, and it was interesting to find, at that early hour, nearly twenty persons met for such a purpose. The meeting was composed of some of the most respectable people in the place. It was a weekly service, and had been found useful to those who engaged in it; and the hour had been fixed thus early, because six o'clock, or half-past, is the usual time for breakfast. The particulars related to me afterwards, respecting this little company, and the state of religion in the place, were interesting. The village had been remarkable for wickedness, the people having given themselves up to many excesses. Means had been used to do them good, but in vain. The state of things became worse, and the ministers in the neighborhood determined to make another effort to stem the progress of irreligion. They met in the place, and held a protracted meeting. The religious services were continued for some days, and the blessing of

God evidently accompanied them. A number of persons became convinced of the folly of their ways, and desired to be the servants of God. More than twenty were united in Christian fellowship, and for two or three years, have maintained a consistent Christian profession. A missionary, stationed in the neighborhood, preaches once a fortnight to them, and meets with them on other occasions. They had commenced that meeting for mutual assistance and encouragement in the ways of God. I was glad to observe that a substantial brick building was erecting for them, in which they can meet on the Sabbath. It is large enough to hold four hundred people. This was preparatory to a pastor settling in the place. A great change has been produced in public opinion, and the conduct of the people, in general, is much improved.

This day brought us into the Valley of Wyoming —a name familiar to all who are acquainted with Campbell's "Gertrude." We travelled along the whole length of it, and a beautiful valley it is. We encountered another storm, which obliged us to take shelter in a cottage. As this happened to be nearly opposite to the place where the massacre of Americans took place, we had leisure to indulge in the recollections awakened by the scene. It was only lately that the bones of the murdered victims were collected and interred in a large trench. A monument is now being erected to record the melancholy event. Tomahawks and arrow heads are found near the spot. We saw to-day the ravages made by the storm—hundreds of trees had been torn up by the roots; many of them being broken and shattered by the violence of the hurricane; while the corn now five and six feet high, in some places on the banks of the Susquehannah, was lying nearly prostrate on the ground. We observed that the wheat harvest had commenced in some sheltered places. The soil of the district through which we were passing appeared fertile. Many delightful spots present themselves on the banks of the soft-flowing river—the favorite haunt of the last lingering tribes of Indians, who struggled in vain against the united attacks of alcohol and the white men. Brainerd, indeed, tried to do them good, and some were saved by his labors; but the place that once knew them, knows them no more for ever!

Wilkesbarre, where we remained all night, under the hospitable roof of the Rev. Mr. Dorrance, is situated at the end of the valley, and was called Wyoming originally. It contains rather more than two thousand inhabitants. There are three places of worship, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Methodists.* I found the plan adopted here of building a church at the united expense of two denominations, and each using it alternately. This is the case, I understand, in other new settlements, when neither sect is strong enough to build a suitable place of their own; but it is not found to answer. Jealousies are produced, and it is very difficult to arrange opposing claims so as to please both parties.

On the 16th we proceeded in the stage, and with difficulty we reached Berwick. The roads were the worst that I had yet seen in these hilly regions, two and three miles an hour being our rate of travelling the greater part of the day. It was not till nine A. M. of the 17th, that the stage reached Danville, forty-six miles from Wilkesbarre. Here I rested for the day; and parted from my relative, who had accompanied me thus far. I found Danville in a very interesting condition, as it regarded religion. One or two revivals of religion have lately taken place, and one hundred and twenty persons have been added to the church. Many, in the best informed, and most influential classes of society, have bowed to the authority of Christ, and professed to be his disciples. It was very animating to mingle in the society of those new converts, old enough to have tested the reality of their profession, but possessing all the freshness and ardor of young disciples. There were some "old disciples" too, who rejoice in this work of God. I met with one lady of ninety-four; she had some of the infirmities of age, but was still able to converse on the great subjects of religion with perfect correctness. Her daughter was present; she is about seventy; her grand-daughter also, who is forty, and a great-grand-daughter, in her teens. There were four generations; three of them, at least, the servants of God. I had intended to leave in the evening, but was prevailed on to stay, and at an hour's notice we had a company of two hundred and fifty people in the lecture-room, where I addressed them. God has greatly honored the labors of the minister, the Rev. Mr. Dunlap, of the Presbyterian church,* and he rejoices in his success.

The population amounts to about 1500 people. There are three places of worship, viz. Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Methodist. About 850 persons attend, of whom 325 are communicants.—There are besides six Sabbath schools, containing 320 children. There is a Temperance Society, which is prospering. I was assured, by those who knew the place, that ardent spirits are not used in the town, either by religious or irreligious families. Indeed, the face of society has been greatly altered, owing to the influential character of many of those who have decidedly embraced the gospel.

On the 18th I passed through the town of Northumberland, at which place the northern and western branches of the Susquehannah river form a junction. The scenery at this place is very beautiful. It was in this town that Dr. Priestley lived for a number of years, after coming to this country in 1792. He died here in 1804. Having to remain a few hours, waiting for the stage, I made inquiry of some religious friends as to the effect produced by his residence here, and the efforts he made to propagate his peculiar opinions. It might have been expected that this would be the head quarters of Unitarianism in this State; but I ascertained that there was not even a place of worship for that denomination. The only place where error is preached is a very small Universalist meeting-house, where few attend. I found, however, that this town had not been favored, as the neighboring towns had, with revivals of religion. The Presbyterian congregation is without a pastor, though they had regular preaching every Sabbath by means of stated supplies. Religion is not flourishing here, as in other places where I have been.

I was amused in passing through the small town of New Berlin, in Union County, to find a number of the inhabitants, at their doors and in the streets, employed in reading newspapers. On inquiring the reason, I found that it was publishing-day; and that three different newspapers are printed every week, two in English, and one in German. The population is between four and five hundred persons! I got a copy of each. They were rather curiosities in their way. One was Masonic, and the others anti-Masonic. It appears that the division of the public mind, on the subject of Masonry, has led to the publication of a great number of newspapers on both sides. The whole appearance and character of the journals were insignificant; but this was not surprising in such a small place, and with such a small circulation. Three cents was the price; though even this is not charged to strangers.

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* See Appendix.

* See Appendix.

I travelled the whole night, and late on the evening of the 19th, arrived at Ebensburgh, and determined to remain over the Sabbath. I had a strong inducement to do so, for I had previously heard that there was a Welsh settlement at this place. I was very desirous to become acquainted with the condition of the people, and learn as many particulars as I could respecting their past history. Ebensburgh is about eighty miles from Lewistown, which we had left early in the morning, taking eighteen hours to go that distance. During the whole day we travelled over a mountainous region, approaching nearer and nearer to the Allegany Ridge, till we actually crossed it. The mountain over which we passed is the highest in this part of the State of Pennsylvania, being more than two thousand feet above the level of the sea. This town is on a table mountain, belonging to a lower ridge of hills, that runs parallel with the highest range of mountains. These elevated and uncleared regions, seem the favorite residence of snakes of various kinds. The driver of the stage killed a very large rattlesnake on the road to-day; and others of a harmless description were destroyed by some of the passengers. The company in the stage was the worst that I have yet met with since I travelled in this country. Horse-racers, swearers, and immoderate devourers of tobacco in its most offensive forms. Lewistown contains about four thousand inhabitants, and has six places of worship.*

The road from Lewistown led us along the course of the Juniata, and the line of the canal between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The difficulties which have been overcome in forming this chain of canals by the aid of the waters of the Susquehanna, Juniata, and Allegany rivers, have been numerous and great. Traversing the whole State of Pennsylvania, from east to west, they open communications with agricultural and mineral districts of great extent. There was something very striking presented in this day's journey. We sometimes ascended to the height of six or seven hundred feet, approaching nearer and nearer to the immense forests that covered the more elevated regions. On looking to the left, down abrupt descents, we saw, at their base, the Juniata silently pursuing its course through the defiles of the mountains, and the canal sometimes parallel with it, and sometimes diverging from it to find a more favorable level. We saw the work of man mingling in striking contrast with the stupendous works of God. The skill of man had surmounted mighty obstacles, and was now conveying, through that solitary region, the productions of both hemispheres. Ever and anon, the eye caught the canal boats pursuing their slow, but regular course through mountains almost unpeopled, and exhibiting the triumphs of science in her most useful forms, in the midst of the wilderness and silence of the native rocks and forests.

I found the inn at this place crowded by persons, some of whom had come a considerable distance to attend a "protracted meeting," which had begun some days before, and was to close on the Sabbath evening. I was glad that I had arrived in time to witness its termination. The landlord and his wife were both from Wales.

The protracted meeting was held by the Baptist denomination. The services had been held in their chapel on the former days; but when the Sabbath arrived, it was found too small to accommodate the additional crowds that had arrived. They accordingly had the use of the Congregational place of worship, which is much larger than their own.

I attended the meeting in the morning, and heard one of the most talented of the preachers, who had come from a distance. His discourse was sensible rather argumentative, and by no means fitted to excite the passions. It was dry and formal, and deficient in that energy and fire which I had expected. There was nothing in the preaching, or in the appearance of the congregation, to disapprove of. On the contrary, the doctrines of the gospel were correctly stated, and the people listened to them with deep and silent attention. I saw no movement, nor any visible indication of peculiar feeling among them. Another of the ministers preached in the Welsh language in the afternoon, to a crowded congregation. I passed the door of the place of worship, and heard the speaker addressing the people, with all the energy that is peculiar to ministers from the principality, when they speak in their native tongue. Judging from the perfect stillness of the congregation, I should suppose that he was speaking with good effect.

When I returned to the inn, I found the landlord at home, which rather surprised me. It appeared, however, that though he came from Wales, he did not understand Welsh. From him I learnt some interesting particulars respecting the settlement; but he referred me for full information to Judge Roberts, the pastor of the Congregational church. It was pleasing to think, that the colony which arrived first at this place, had brought with them from their own mountains and valleys the institutions of religion. Many delightful associations were awakened in my mind, by finding these settlers more than four thousand miles from their native hills, and yet not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which they had heard in their youth. The truth of God is the same, whether preached on the mountains of Allegany, or those of Wales. They had the additional privilege of hearing it, in the language which, above all other tongues, is sweet to them; so that the very sound might be called a joyful sound in their ears.

After the service, I sought an interview with the pastor, to whom I had been referred, for information. I did not mention my name; but merely expressed a desire to be made acquainted with any particulars respecting the settlement, which might be interesting to a stranger, who had come from the mother country. He frankly expressed his readiness to do so, but I saw that he looked as if he wished to know who I was. I found it would be more courteous to tell him. When he heard my name, he knew at once my errand, for the numerous religious newspapers of the country travel even across these mountains. The firm grasp of his hand expressed his welcome and his joy in seeing a brother from the old country there. "You *must* preach," said he. I declined, for I was much exhausted by my previous journey, and needed rest. But, as was too frequently the case, no denial would be taken. He urged compliance more strongly, on the ground that the Deputation was from the Congregational Union of England and *Wales*. They were Welsh, he said; they were also Congregationalists; and it would be hard indeed, if one of the delegates from the Welsh, as well as from the English churches, should be there and not address them. It was the first time, he added, since the settlement, thirty-seven years ago, that an English minister had been in the town, and, therefore, I *must* preach. What could I do? Necessity was laid upon me, especially when he went out, and immediately returned with several Baptist ministers, who united their requests with his.

The service of the evening was, to me, peculiarly interesting. The place of worship was quite filled. After I had addressed the people, the preacher of the morning followed up what I had said, by a renewed and solemn appeal to the congregation, to decide instantly for God. By this time some of the people seemed much affected. Their moistened eyes and expressive countenances showed the interest they took in the services; but, beyond this, I saw no movement, no physical excitement of any kind. All was silent among the people, except once or twice a subdued sigh, which broke on the stillness of the worship, and marked the emotion of a heart that sought relief. When the minister closed his address, he invited those persons, whose minds were seriously impressed, who desired salvation and the prayers of the church on their behalf, to move to the "anxious seats" immediately before the pulpit.

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* See Appendix.

I confess I was taken by surprise. I did not expect that such a proceeding would have been resorted to on this occasion. I hope my dislike to this *new* measure was not the result of prejudice: I had read, conversed, and thought much on the subject. I had seen the plan attempted to be carried into effect in one or two instances; and the decided conviction to which my mind had come, was—that it was injudicious, and was fitted to do great injury. It has always appeared to me something like an *outrage* on the feelings of those who were humbled before God, and were ready to shrink from the presence of their fellow-men, under a deep consciousness of personal guilt. It was enough to have this contrite feeling, without being called on to come openly forth from their fellow-worshippers, and then to place themselves in a prominent situation, before a large assembly, exposed to the gaze of the curious and irreligious, as well as to the kind and encouraging looks of Christians. A more private and tender mode of treatment seemed better fitted to accomplish the important design which the friends of this plan profess to have in view.

On this occasion, these and other thoughts passed through my mind. I wished the minister had *not* asked those who were impressed to occupy the seats already named. As he *had* done it, I was desirous to mark the effect upon the people. That there were some present, whose minds were seriously impressed, I have little doubt; and that, in another way, they would have sought and gladly received Christian counsel, I am quite prepared to believe. But, in this instance, the invitation was not accepted. Not one person arose to move to the front pews. There seemed to be a shrinking of the people from this hasty and public avowal of their sentiments, feelings, or intentions; and I was not prepared to condemn them. I considered that they acted modestly and judiciously. The invitation was repeated: still it failed to produce compliance. Of course, I had no right to interfere openly; but I thought it my duty to whisper in the ear of the minister, who was beside me in the pulpit, that, perhaps, it would be better not to persevere in inviting them to the anxious seat; that more good would probably result from the services of the day, if those who were under serious concern about their souls were to remain and converse with the ministers, or meet them next morning, for the same purpose. He took the hint in a Christian spirit, and adopted the plan. I have not heard the result of this protracted meeting.

I had a brief interview with Mr. Roberts after the service. I found him a pious and simple-minded man, deeply interested about the welfare of the people committed to his care. He communicated some affecting particulars respecting the early settlement of the colony in this place. There was not, however, time to give me all the information I was anxious to obtain. He was so kind as to promise to write out some facts connected with the history and present condition of the place, and send it to me before I left America.* I parted from him with feelings of great respect, and cherishing the hope of meeting again in a better country.

In the evening, the landlord requested me to conduct family worship. I was pleased with the request. We had a large family party, as some of the strangers had not departed. Early in the morning, before the stage left, I requested the landlord to tell me what I had to pay. "*Nothing*," was the quick reply. I insisted on giving him what was proper; but he peremptorily refused, and added—"I am glad to have had a minister of the gospel under my roof: that is my reward." I yielded, and accepted of his hospitality in the name of a disciple.

I leave this place in an hour or two, for Pittsburgh. I shall remember the Sabbath spent here with feelings of pleasure. This Christian colony appears prospering, and, in some measure, to appreciate the religious advantages they possess.

LETTER VIII.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I arrived safely at the Pittsburgh Hotel on Monday evening, the 21st of July. Two or three months ago we were invited by the Rev. A. D. Campbell, one of the clergymen of the town, to visit Pittsburgh, and to take up our abode with him. We promised to do so, if we should journey so far West. I have received from him a frank and Christian welcome. He resides about two miles from the town, in a beautiful situation, commanding a fine view of the Ohio, and the numerous vessels on it. There is near his house a maple grove, which furnishes a pleasant shade, though even there the thermometer was 88° on the day of my arrival. The ground around the house is finely undulated, more like the fields around Durham than any locality I have been in before. Indeed, the whole scene around me is more like home than most I have yet met with. The only *un-English* thing within my view, is the Indian corn. There is a large field of it just before my window, eight or nine feet high, with its silky tassels waving in the wind. Next to this, there is a good field of wheat, but it is so dwarfish and feeble compared with the other, that it seems less beautiful than at home, where it has no such competitor to overtop its rich and golden ears.

My host has pointed out to me in his garden various trees and shrubs, which he loves to cherish as reminiscences of a visit he made to England some years ago. He has imported young plants of the thorn, in order to imitate what he so much admired in our country—our hawthorn hedges. These and the laburnum tree he is endeavoring to naturalize. There is nothing I miss more in this western region than the beautiful divisions of our fields. I am not yet reconciled to the Virginian, or worm-fences, or dry stone walls, as substitutes for our green hedgerows, so luxuriantly adorned with roses and woodbine. Pittsburgh itself is a very extraordinary place. The bustle and the smoke might be thought disagreeable; but there are points of interest which make one forget these trifling inconveniences. Sixty years ago the town had no existence. The ground on which it stands was then covered with a forest, the abode of wild beasts, and the hunting-ground of red men. Few white men were seen, except those employed to defend the border settlements on the east of the Allegany mountains. Fort Pitt was erected, chiefly as a defence against the Indians and the French, but there was no resident population beyond what was required for that purpose. After this part of the Valley of the Mississippi had been entered upon by the Americans, the locality of Fort Pitt was found to be a most suitable place for manufacturing and commercial enterprise. The Allegany and Monongahela rivers here form a junction, and their united waters, under the name of the Ohio, open a communication with all that immense country which takes its name from the Mississippi. And again, that mighty river, uniting with the Ohio, flows on till it empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico, its whole course extending to more than two thousand miles. At the early period I have referred to, these majestic streams were navigated only by the slight canoes of the Indians. Now they are covered with large and convenient steamboats, which convey thousands of passengers into the western wilds, and bear, even to the inhabitants of Mexico, the fruits of Pittsburgh industry. In one of my daily walks through the town, I saw lying at the wharf twenty-five steamboats, each capable of containing four or five hundred passengers, in their cabins and on deck. One hundred and forty-five now navigate this mighty stream. But besides these facilities for intercourse with the West and South, there is also a communication with the trade of the wide Atlantic and the rich stores of Europe. So late as forty years ago, it was with difficulty a horse could cross the mountains with those commodities which the few inhabitants of Pittsburgh at that time needed. There is now a canal from the town to the foot of the Alleganies, a rail-way across them, and another canal joining it, reaching to Philadelphia.

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* Mr. Roberts fulfilled his promise. His letter will be found in the Appendix. I have preferred giving it in his own simple style, that the friends of the writer in Wales and elsewhere may see some of the trials which a colony, though composed of Christians, may expect to meet with in a foreign land. In one or two instances minute details are omitted, as they could not be generally interesting. In such cases, however, the aggregate of numbers is given.

There is another natural advantage, of incalculable value to a manufacturing town, and that is, the abundance of coal to be found in the neighborhood. There are here literally solid mountains of coal. The openings made for the purpose of working it more resemble our lead mines than our coal pits, being cut horizontally into the sides of the hills. By means of inclined planes, the coals are brought to the very furnaces of some of the foundries. Large quantities of them are also shipped off to very distant places.

The most celebrated manufactures of Pittsburgh are those of glass, iron, and cotton; and the trade carried on in these articles is immense. Under the guidance of my kind host, I have visited the principal manufactories. One of the principal glass manufacturers mentioned an amusing incident. Some Indians had been as a delegation to Washington, about some claims for reserved lands; and they spent a few days here on their return. One of them, a chief, had seen all that was curious in Baltimore and Philadelphia, without being much excited. While here, he visited the glass-house, and watched all the various operations with great apparent interest. At length, he saw the process of making some cream-jugs. The body of the jug was formed first, and when the material of the handle was fixed and formed, it was found to be a perfect vessel. Seeing all this produced from molten glass, the chief could restrain himself no longer. He rushed forward to the workman, took him by the hand, and declared he must have the spirit of the great Father within him, or he could not have performed such a wonder.

Considering that four fifths of the town have been built within the last twenty or thirty years, I have been astonished at its *old* appearance. It is much like one of our second-rate manufacturing towns. To this resemblance, the coal smoke no doubt contributes a good deal. The houses in general are substantially built of brick. A considerable number of them are handsome and commodious; and in calling on various individuals, I found every house well furnished; some, indeed, elegantly so. Very few of the *frame* houses, so common in the small country towns, are to be found here. The churches also are large and well finished. One is now being erected, which is to cost 30,000 dollars (about 6,500*l.*)

I had the pleasure, on Wednesday, the 23d, of seeing a minister, who came to this State three years ago, from a place near Birmingham. He had heard that I was coming here, and he travelled thirty miles to meet me, and to hear some particulars about friends at home. This affords peculiar enjoyment to those who, like him, have chosen this land as the place to live in, and in which to die; and who yet feel a strong and warm attachment to the land of their fathers, and to friends left behind, whom they never expect to meet again in this world. I was glad to hear of the success of this good man. He has become the pastor of a parish where the congregation is good, and the church large and prosperous. He has bought a farm of one hundred acres, and has a salary sufficient to support him. He is well known to the ministers of Pittsburgh, and highly respected by them. He came to this country with the highest testimonials from well-known ministers in England; and no man who has these will fail to meet with a cordial reception from brethren in the West. Let character be well guaranteed, and it will gain their confidence at once, frankly and wholly.

In all my intercourse with the ministers of this town, the professors of the Theological Institution, and pious laymen connected with benevolent and religious societies, I find enlightened views of Christian policy. The religious interests of the world appear to receive much of their attention; and I find among them all a decided affection for the father land. They admit their obligations to this country, and express their warmest wishes for our increasing happiness and prosperity. The affairs of England command as great a share of attention in this distant quarter as in any other part of the country; and uninterrupted peace and harmony between the two nations is the object of universal desire.

Our usual dining-room is a verandah, open on one side to an orchard, and the green hill beyond it. The party that assembled to-day in this cool retreat was intelligent and agreeable. The freest remarks were allowed with regard to their institutions. The religious and political character of the country was amply discussed. They seemed to apprehend no danger to their political constitution, except that which would arise if ignorance were allowed to prevail. They appear to feel deeply that, with an elective franchise so extensive as theirs, their condition would be most alarming, unless knowledge, and knowledge founded on religion, pervade the mass of society. This appears essential to the right exercise of their political privileges—to set them alike free from the power of the despot and the arts of the demagogue. The elective franchise cannot now be limited; what remains to be done, is to diffuse knowledge in every direction, and by placing the population under the influence of healthy moral principles, to secure peace and liberty. The establishment of schools bearing an essentially religious character is unquestionably important. But the absence of taxes on knowledge, also afford great facilities for doing good.

There can be little doubt that our own country, also, would be greatly benefited by the removal of all taxes on knowledge. The wiser people are, the better it is for good governments, and the more difficult to excite commotion among them. The press is the safety-valve of the public mind. Political as well as religious knowledge should be as widely diffused as possible among a free people. Let information come to every cottage; let it be of that decidedly useful kind which every judicious friend of the people must value and approve; and good will assuredly result. If the tax on paper was removed, and the duty on newspaper stamps repealed, a mighty impulse would be given to the community. Instead of six or twelve mechanics going into the ale-house to read one newspaper among them all, each of their families might have one at home. And thus the poor man's fireside would acquire new charms for himself, while he felt the pleasure of communicating entertainment and information to his household. Bibles, tracts, and magazines, might also be circulated to a much greater extent than they are at present. These remarks have been suggested to me by what I have seen here. I have no doubt that commercial prosperity is promoted in an equal degree, with the cause of religion, by the means just referred to.

Yesterday, the 24th instant, I met with the Board of Directors of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. The progress of this Society has been equal to that of our most favored institutions at home. Its income for the last year was seventeen thousand dollars, and it has only been two years in existence. There is something almost romantic in its history. It is only about fifty years since the first preacher passed over the Allegany Mountains, into the Valley of the Mississippi. This was a clergyman, the Rev. Dr. M'Millan. There were few inhabitants then; and for some time he labored almost alone. Two or three years ago, this venerable and apostolic man visited the churches which he was instrumental in planting. And, in the Synod of Pittsburgh, there are now twenty-three thousand communicants, and about a hundred thousand hearers of the gospel, besides Christian churches of other denominations. But not only has this good been effected for the people themselves. In this infant town they have begun to feel for, and to assist the heathen. How surprising that, from this distant region, messengers of peace should be sent forth to Northern India, Western Africa, and even to Jerusalem itself. The two former countries already have devoted and well trained missionaries from this Society; and arrangements are now making to establish missions in Palestine, in Asia Minor, and in China. We have been told of the surprise expressed by certain custom-house officers in one of the European ports, at finding a ship's papers dated Pittsburgh. No less surprising will it be to the Christian traveller, to meet, amidst the ruins of the Seven Churches, or the mountains of Judea, missionaries sent from a spot in the other hemisphere, perhaps unknown to him even by name, and itself but recently blessed with gospel light. One of the missionaries in Northern India, from some of his letters which I have read, appears to be a peculiarly devoted and noble-minded man. He is a son of the honorable Walter Lowrie, clerk to the Senate of the United States, at Washington. After finishing his studies at college, he offered his services to the Western Missionary Society. He left his father's house, the comforts, and the distinction which he possessed at home, for the cause of Christ; and his communications breathe the spirit of him who counted it an honor to be the Apostle of the Gentiles. Influenced by that Christian liberality which is best suited to the character of an evangelist, he desires to co-operate with men of kindred minds from other societies, or of different denominations, wherever he may meet with them. I observe that he has brought before the board of directors here, the circumstances of a numerous tribe hitherto overlooked in the efforts of Christian benevolence. I refer to the Seik nation, containing between one and two millions of people, and occupying a considerable part of Lahore, a part of Moultaw, and those districts of the Province of Delhi, which lie between the Jumna and the Sutledge. The directors are anxious that the London Missionary Society, with which they seem best acquainted, should co-operate with them in this interesting field of Christian enterprise; and they have requested me to state their wishes to the directors in London. Various resolutions were passed at the meeting yesterday, expressive of their sympathy with the exertions and the success of kindred institutions in England; as well as reciprocating the friendly regards of our Congregational Union. They appear desirous to open a correspondence with the directors of the London Missionary Society, in order to receive advice in matters respecting which they have, as yet, had little experience. I was much pleased with the business habits of the committee, and with the warmth and affection of their feeling towards the British churches. I noticed here, as I have done elsewhere, that much of the success of religious institutions in this country, may be traced to the talents, devotedness, and general efficiency of the official agents of those societies.

On returning from the meeting, I visited the Western Theological Institution, which stands in an elevated situation. It is a spacious building, and convenient for its intended purpose. It is one hundred and fifty feet long, seventy feet wide, and three stories high; and can comfortably accommodate about one hundred students. Nearly forty young men are now in the house. The library, as might be expected, is small—only five thousand volumes. Nearly two thousand of these were obtained by the Rev. A. D. Campbell, from friends in our country. This portion of the Library is placed by itself, and each book labelled, "English and Scotch Library." It gave me great pleasure to look over the names of the donors, inserted in the first blank page, and to find thus recorded the liberality of many whom I know and esteem. They have, in this way, rendered an essential service to the institution. And these books form a link of union and attachment between Britain and America.—They are pledges of friendly regard on the part of those who bestowed them. And the rising ministry, educated in this seminary, while receiving benefit from their perusal, cannot but feel their best affections drawn towards the father land.

LETTER IX.

My dear friend—On the 25th, I visited one of the coal-hills which I mentioned in my letter from Pittsburgh. The heat in the town was intense, at least 90° in the shade. We had to climb the hill for half a mile, in rather a winding direction, and there were no trees to shelter us. When we arrived at the mine, two thirds from the base of the hill, we were too much heated to enter it immediately. We therefore stopped for a little time in a shed. We then walked into the mine for thirty or forty paces; but the atmosphere was so cold and damp, that I felt obliged to return. I, however, saw the process, and learned some particulars respecting the circumstances of the workmen. The tunnel, or arched way which leads to the interior of the hill, was high enough to admit of our walking nearly erect: and a railway is carried along, by which the coals are conveyed in wagons to the outside. The number of persons employed is much smaller than in the principal collieries of our country.

The same day, I called on a minister, the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn, of the Reformed Dutch Church, who had been living for three years among the Indians, as a commissioner from the government. He gave me some accounts respecting these aborigines. He seemed, however, to be so deeply interested in the mission of my colleague and myself to America, that he dwelt more on that topic than any other. Seldom have I heard any individual express more affection for our beloved country than he did. And his situation was such as to give peculiar force to all he said. He was so ill that he was obliged to be supported in bed; while one of his children was fanning him, to prevent exhaustion and fainting. His health had been for some time declining; and when he arrived at Pittsburgh, he was unable to proceed to Utica, his usual place of residence. His looks indicated extreme feebleness, but he seemed to receive new energy when speaking of Britain, of British authors, and the British churches. He expressed his joy that the plan of delegation had been thought of; and his wish that it might promote the kindest feelings between the two nations. He had heard I was in the town, and wished to see me, that he might tell me his views on the subject. I was much impressed with his conversation; it looked like the dying testimony of a good man, in favor of that Christian union which it was the object of our mission to confirm. But what especially interested me was the fact, that while he spoke so warmly of Britain, it was always in connection with the conversion of the world. The moral power which the two nations possess, and which he was so anxious to see combined in accomplishing the salvation, and securing the liberties of men, appeared to be the great subject that occupied his mind. His zeal and animation were too great for his enfeebled frame; and while I listened to him with delight, I feared he was shortening his few remaining days by over exertion.

We united in presenting supplications to the throne of grace for both countries, and for all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, as well as for ourselves. I then left him, expecting never to meet him again, till we meet before the throne of God. These are seasons of deep and hallowed interest—moments when the realities of religion press powerfully on the mind, and when we feel as if in the immediate presence of Deity. To meet for the *first* and *last* time a fellow-Christian who appeared to be rapidly hastening into eternity; and to hear him express his confidence in God—his love to the people of God throughout the world—his desire for the spread of the gospel—and his happiness in the prospect of meeting with all the friends of the Redeemer at last, was a privilege of no common order.

I left Pittsburgh on the evening of the 25th, and reached Bedford Springs the evening following. The journey across the Alleganies was slow, and in some parts rather dangerous. The declivities of the road are considerable, and the drag seems to be very little used in these parts.

How different from the mountains I have seen in my own country are these! What they lose in sublimity by the comparison they gain in beauty, being clothed to the very top with luxuriant and lofty trees. It would be difficult to imagine scenes more full of interest and variety, than those of the morning's ride. As the sun ascended, masses of cloud still floated around the hills; but the eye rested on one, whose elevated peak, with its crown of verdure, rose far above them, penetrating into a clearer and purer region. But the scenery varied every moment as the road ascended and descended, crossing one ridge after another. While gazing on some magnificent group of hills that seemed retiring from the view, and escaping into the distance, a deep valley would suddenly open before us. And here the hand of man had ventured to invade the forest. A little spot was cleared—the log hut was erected—and corn was growing amidst the trunks and wrecks of stately trees. Farther on, a wider range of cleared land presented itself to the view. The rivulet, which could only have flowed a mile or two from its source in the mountains, was seen directed into a narrow channel; and formed the moving power of a miniature corn-mill, erected for the convenience of the owner and his neighbors. For thirty miles, these alternations of hill and valley continued, till we felt as if we should never see the plain again. Yet, each dark recess or sunny glade presented some new feature of wildness or of beauty, which effectually beguiled the otherwise tedious progress of our heavily-loaded vehicle.—When, however, we suddenly emerged from these, and found ourselves on the summit of the last Allegany range, all that had previously charmed us was forgotten in the magnificent spectacle which opened on our sight. An immense plain, extending to hundreds of miles, lay spread out at our feet. We stopped to gaze on it for a few moments, but it almost seemed too vast to contemplate at once. While we slowly performed the gradual descent of eight or ten miles, we had more leisure to grasp the more prominent points around the spacious horizon. I shall never forget the scenes of that morning; the reality has passed away for ever, but recollection brings the picture vividly before the mind.

I spent the Sabbath at Bedford, where I heard a sermon twice in the Presbyterian church. In the inn, I met with Christian people from various sections of the Union, some of them from the Southern States. I find a respect for, and an attention to, religion, in the inns of this country, which I never observed in England. The books, lying in the different rooms, as well as those to be found in the small library of the landlord's parlour, are chiefly religious books, reprints of our standard works. Owen, Bunyan, and Doddridge; Boston and Scott; are thus presented to the notice of the passing traveller. The governor of the State twice attended the church to-day.

Early on Monday morning I pursued my journey, but had not proceeded far, before I was taken ill. The cholera was in Pittsburgh while I was there. I had seen one of the steamboats come in from New Orleans, which had lost ten passengers, and two more were then dying. I had now every reason to think that I was seized with that disease. I persevered, however, in travelling, till ten o'clock, when I was compelled to stop at an inn, at Chambersburgh, and allow the stage to go on without me. Having used the ordinary remedies, I lay down, quite exhausted, and my spirits, as you may suppose, much depressed. Far from home, separated from my companion, and in the midst of strangers, I had never felt so ill or so desolate in all my previous wanderings, as at that moment. "There is a Friend who sticketh closer than a brother;" and his presence was not withdrawn from that remote corner; but the thoughts of home in such a situation were painful. In the midst of my solitary musings, the landlady came in, looked at me, and said, "Are you one of the gentlemen from England?" I replied, that I was from England. "Yes, but I mean, are you one of the ministers who came from England, as a deputation to the Presbyterian church?" When I stated that I was one of the individuals referred to, I found that this was at once a passport to her confidence, and secured for me immediate and unremitting attention. She and her husband did all that the kindest friends could have done for me. But my curiosity was excited, to know how they had found me out. Here, again, one of the religious newspapers had been my pioneer, by making them acquainted with the arrival of the deputation in America, the names of its members, and its subsequent movements. Seeing mine in the way-bill and on my luggage, they concluded who I was. The aged minister of the town soon called on me, at the request of my kind hostess, and remained with me a considerable time.

Chambersburgh contains a population of between three and four thousand. For this population, there are eight places of worship.* There are a good many Germans in this part of the State. Two of the congregations here consist of German Lutherans. Only one of the eight, and that a small congregation, professedly holds heterodox opinions.

After remaining till Tuesday, I felt so much recovered, that, finding there was room in the stage, I proceeded towards Philadelphia. The valley, through which I travelled for nearly seventy miles, is very beautiful and well cultivated, chiefly settled by Germans. The cottages and farm-houses are of brick; the barns, &c. are superior to most that I have seen in the other States. The crops of wheat were standing in the sheaf, and appeared to be good. Some fields were only being cut down. Seeing no gleaners, I remarked the circumstance to some of the passengers. They declared they had never seen any. They said that the poorer people could find more advantageous employment, both for themselves and their children. The German settlers have beautiful teams of horses. Every thing around them wears an air of plenty and comfort. As we passed along, in the afternoon, we saw the old ladies, sitting in the porches of their dwellings, with their children and grand-children around them. Their dress, which was quite foreign, at once pointed out their origin; and they also retain many ancient customs of their fathers. It was pleasant to see their prosperous condition, and to think that they enjoy freedom and security, greater than what their own land afforded. But this pleasure is mingled with the fear, that they are not in a state of spiritual prosperity. I have elsewhere alluded to the indifference of this class of settlers in general, to the means of education. In this respect, they resemble the Roman Catholics more than Protestant denominations. One of the natural effects is, that they are cold and formal in their religious observances; and they seem to regard modern improvements in science with equal apathy. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to obtain full and correct information respecting the real condition of the Germans. We passed through the town of Lancaster, which contains ten thousand inhabitants. It has eleven places of worship. There is a rail-road from thence to Philadelphia, about sixty-eight miles. It has been recently finished, and there are not, as yet, any locomotive carriages on it. Our travelling was tedious for a rail-road, about six miles an hour, including several stoppages.

When I arrived here, I found that many of the friends we met with in May were absent. At this season, the large cities are thinned of thousands of their inhabitants; and I do not wonder that all get away who can do so. For two or three days past the thermometer has averaged 88 or 90 degrees in the shade; and the heat is here almost intolerable. It was 94 in the shade, in Walnut-street, at one o'clock on the 29th. My anxiety to receive letters from England did not suffer me to remain here; I therefore passed rapidly on to New York, where I expected to find several packets awaiting me. None can know, but those who have experienced it, the load of suspense that presses upon the heart of a traveller when long deprived of communications from home. The kindness and hospitality of friends can afford him no relief. Their attentions may soothe and divert his mind for a little while, but still the anxious and unanswerable question, "Is all well with those I love?" returns with redoubled force, to haunt him in every scene of temporary pleasure. The burden accumulates with every passing week; and the perturbation of the spirit becomes increasingly violent, as the moment approaches, which shall either confirm every distressing fear, or turn all his trembling hopes into a blessed certainty. Happily for me, the latter was my case; and I can compare the transition of feeling only to the transport of a captive, long confined in a dungeon, suddenly restored to light and freedom.

After remaining in New York till the 5th instant, I returned to Philadelphia, expecting the arrival of Mr. Reed from the south. I have spent some days in the company of Christian friends, and seen all that is worthy of notice in the scientific and philanthropic institutions. There is a garden here, which is usually visited by strangers, to whom the owner (Mr. Pratt) allows this privilege. The situation is good, and the grounds are laid out in a superior manner to any thing on the same scale which I have seen in America. But the gardens of this country in general cannot be compared to those of England. I have been disappointed at the little taste displayed by the Americans in the cultivation of flowers. The gayest and most common shrubs in flower at present are the altheas. The heat is favorable to many of the tender annuals of our country, but it soon destroys our more common and not less valued plants. The severe storms and heavy rains that frequently occur, are very injurious to the flower garden. The cottage gardens, too, are far inferior in beauty to ours; but what they want in ornamental plants, is made up in the number and variety of their vegetables. Large quantities of cucumbers, squashes, and melons, pumpkins and tomatoes, occupy the ground which in our country would be filled with cabbages and turnips. The use of the cucumber is very frequent, and, I should fear, in many cases injurious.

The city presents much simplicity in its appearance, and is a fair specimen of the taste of the "Friends." They had formerly more ascendency here than they have at present. The division of this denomination into two parts, one section (which, I am sorry to say, is the larger) holding erroneous and dangerous sentiments, has much weakened their moral and benevolent influence in this country. I fear that, unless the majority return to a pure and scriptural faith, they are not likely to do much good in future. Philadelphia contains a large proportion of wealthy persons, who have either partially or wholly retired from business. Many of these are Christian men, who are much engaged in promoting the objects of the religious and benevolent societies established among them. Considering the resources of the place, however, and the number of professing Christians to be found in it, I cannot but think that more might be done by them in support of the great Christian institutions of their country. The city is well supplied with places of religious worship. The Roman Catholics are making considerable efforts to extend their influence; but I think there is little prospect of success in the way of proselytism. By importation they may add to their numbers. The Unitarians here can hardly maintain one congregation.

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* Appendix.

I cannot leave this place without naming the unwearied kindness and hospitality of Dr. Ely, from whom we have always met a cordial welcome; though, at this time, according to a previous promise on my part, I have received the hospitable attentions of another Christian friend, Robert Ralston, Esq. Dr. E. had invited the Deputation to reside with him, even before it left the shores of England, promising to afford us every assistance in his power. And he has more than redeemed his promise. Every thing that he could do to promote the object of our visit he has done in the most frank and friendly manner. I shall ever retain a lively sense of his unwearied kindness.

LETTER X.

My dear friend—After having given you an outline of my journeyings through Pennsylvania, you are, no doubt, prepared to be informed respecting the impressions made on my mind as to its religious condition. The situation of the United States, generally, you already know. A few facts, with reference to this particular State, may enable you more easily to understand the effects produced by the exercise of Christian principle, in sustaining and extending religion without State support. To this point I directed my attention, as involving a question of great moment to America, to Britain, and to the world. The conclusions to which I have come will be frankly stated; and you will be left to approve or reject them, according to the nature of the facts that may be brought before you. As far as they go, they will furnish data to assist the mind in the investigation of truth. On both sides, this information should be sought; for it is neither wise nor safe to come to any sweeping conclusion respecting the efficiency or inefficiency of any plan, without securing all the evidence that can reasonably be expected. Every friend of truth must rejoice in the accumulation of evidence in support of it, or in the detection of error. The eternal interests of men are too important and solemn, and the claims of party are too insignificant, to justify regret at the elucidation and confirmation of important principles, even though our preconceived notions are found to be erroneous. The Christian, to be consistent, must value truth wherever it is found.

Considering the time that Pennsylvania has been settled, it has made less progress in religion and in education than any of the rest of the non-slaveholding States, which have been settled an equal time. A variety of circumstances may account for this.—The early settlers were men of heterogeneous habits and character, and the same may be said of them to the present day; while those who settled in the Eastern States were united in their character and their pursuits. The extent of the country, too, their protracted wars with the Indians, and frequent contests with settlers from Connecticut, must all be taken into the account.

There are to be found in this State, colonies of Germans, Dutch, Irish, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, (or people from the north of Ireland,) English, Welsh, and New Englanders, besides individual settlers of other nations. These have not been scattered over the face of the country, and mingled with each other: they have rather formed separate settlements, and retain, to this day, many of the customs and prejudices of their countrymen. This want of amalgamation has retarded both their religious and educational improvement; for the efforts of domestic missionaries have been impeded; and the State could not so easily pass laws respecting a general system of education, as it might otherwise have done. Isolated as these different colonies were, they looked with jealousy on any legislative measure, which seemed to interfere with their national customs or language. Thus, a law passed last year, legalizing the collection of a general tax for the support of schools throughout Pennsylvania, has given great offence to the German population, as threatening to annihilate their language; and is likely to be much opposed by them, when it begins to be carried into effect.

At the same time, the past history of this State, and its present condition, cannot be contemplated without feelings of deep interest. When William Penn arrived in the Delaware, in 1682, to take possession of the territory, in virtue of his charter, he found in the country three thousand people, Dutch, Swedes, Finns, and English. The history of Pennsylvania, to the time of the Revolutionary War, presents little else than a catalogue of wars and skirmishes between the settlers and the aborigines. This State took a leading part in the revolution.—It was in her capital that the Declaration of Independence was made, which had such an effect on America and on the mother country. In 1776, a constitution was formed, which was superseded by a second in 1790. It is from the latter period that the prosperity of Pennsylvania may be chiefly dated. So that most of the improvements made in religion, education, morals, and science, may be viewed as resulting from the exertions of little more than forty years. The advancement made is quite as great as could have been expected in so short a space of time. When it is also considered, that this State is twice the size of Scotland; and that the middle section of the State, containing nearly one half of its area, is mountainous, and very partially settled; the number of ministers and churches—of collegiate and theological institutions—will appear considerable.

Various questions will occur in connection with this part of the subject. How are the ministers appointed and supported? What kind of places of worship do the people erect, and how is the expense defrayed? Is the accommodation sufficient, both in towns and in country places? Are there not great commotion and disturbance in choosing their ministers? What is the moral character of the people, and their attention to religious duties? And what means of instruction have they for their respectable youth, and for the mass of the children of the State? I shall attempt to answer the above inquiries.

The ministers are appointed, and are entirely supported by the contributions of the people, collected in the way of pew-rents, and voluntary subscriptions. The amount, of course, depends on the situation, the number, and ability of the people. In new settlements, the ministers are aided for a while by various Domestic Missionary Societies, with which they are denominationally connected. In large towns the salary is very respectable. In country places about four hundred dollars a year is the minimum amount (I speak of the Presbyterian ministers) received either from the people or from societies. Where there is little money in circulation, provisions are given instead of it. In those districts where the income of the minister is small, the expense of living is moderate. A large proportion of them are also provided with houses, and grass for a horse and cow. The system which the Methodists act upon provides what is considered sufficient by the Conference of Ministers themselves. The other denominations have no fixed amount of salary for their pastors; and formerly, in the thinly settled districts, one minister had sometimes to officiate over two congregations, in order to obtain a sufficient income. This plan, however, is only temporary, and arises from necessity. The people, as well as the pastors, are anxious that each regular congregation should have its own minister; and if his whole time is not occupied with his own flock, he devotes what he can spare to those destitute places in his neighborhood which are not adequately supplied with the means of religious instruction. In this way, the gospel has spread from place to place, so that no township, or parish, can now be found without preaching by one denomination or another. In those districts where the population is numerous, there are several denominations. Circumstances permitted me to meet with a considerable number of pastors, some of them in the midst of their flocks. From what I saw and learnt from the parties most concerned, I should say, that in general they had a sufficiency, and are in possession of the substantial comforts of life. That some have pecuniary difficulties to contend with is very likely; but I heard few complain of their people. The education of their children, when they grew up, I found to be a difficulty, but even this was less felt than perhaps in this country. The benefits of a classical and theological education are open to nearly all ranks, if they are disposed to take advantage of them. There are also greater facilities for fixing sons in situations in which they can support themselves, than can be well found in an old country like ours. In the rural districts of Pennsylvania, no youth arrived at eighteen years of age, need feel any difficulty in obtaining sufficient and respectable support for himself, if he is willing to be industrious. In towns the facilities are fewer, and the distant West is often the point aimed at when an independence is desired by the young and enterprising.

The places of worship are of various descriptions, acccording to the amount of population, and the resources and wishes of the people. In a few instances, in the towns, they are built of stone, but chiefly of brick; and in the country parishes, a great many of them are built of wood. In Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Lancaster, and Harrisburgh, the places of worship are spacious; some of them rather elegant, and all of them comfortable. In travelling through the State, we see no structures presenting the appearance of venerable antiquity, and covered with luxuriant ivy; but it is gratifying to see that the *best*, the largest, and most substantial buildings, both in the villages and towns, are the places of religious worship. Though there is nothing in the appearance of these buildings to carry back the imagination to the olden time, they are by no means destitute of ornament. Many of them have spires, though less frequently than in the New England States, where these are common to all denominations. Philadelphia, however, still retains an appearance of Quaker simplicity. In very few instances can steeple, turret, or bell, be found attached to her sanctuaries.

There are two plans by which they generally defray the expense of erecting places of worship. The first is—after a number of people have been collected by the preaching of the gospel, and the nucleus of a congregation has thus been formed, some of the wealthiest and most enterprising among them use means to get a house of worship erected. These persons are responsible, till the building is finished and ready to be occupied; the pews are then publicly sold to the families in the parish, and become private property, and can be sold by the purchasers to others, if they should leave the place. It happens, occasionally, that more is obtained by the sale than what the building cost. When this is the case, the surplus is sometimes expended in building a minister's house, and in adding a field to it. This plan is somewhat similar to the one adopted in this country with proprietary chapels. In cases like these, the minister is supported by direct subscriptions from the people. I was astonished to learn how large the amount of individual subscriptions were, to support their ministers. People who had not, perhaps, a hundred dollars passing through their hands in the course of the year, would give a fourth, and sometimes a half of it, to support the gospel among them. All this is done cheerfully, as a free-will offering. In many of these country places there is, comparatively, little money in circulation; most of the business being done in the way of barter.

The other method I have referred to, is to collect subscriptions first, and when a certain amount has been obtained, to begin to build a place of worship. The farmers and mechanics often give their labor gratuitously. If a debt remains, they seek assistance from their richer brethren, in the towns and more populous districts. Few of the places are burdened with debt, as too many of the chapels in this country are.

The idea which I had formed of a *wooden* church, was by no means flattering. But when I saw their size and general appearance; when I examined the interior, and found every thing respectable, and, in some instances, rather too fine; I became convinced that they were by no means deserving of contempt. The interior of many of them was far superior to most of our country chapels, and had more of finish and comfort than our ordinary parish churches.—There were stoves in them all; this, however, is absolutely necessary during their severe winters.—When I looked at the appearance of the pulpits; at the matting on the aisles; cushions in the pews, and boards on which the people might lean their elbows; I considered that for a young people, of republican habits, they had gone quite far enough, in the way of furnishing and adorning their places of religious worship. All was provided that could be desired by the most fastidious mind. The divisions in the interior of their churches were also convenient, and done in such a way as to lose no room. I here speak generally; my remarks extending to the greater number of the buildings which I visited, in my journey through the breadth and length of the State.

The next question may be divided into two distinct branches. Does this plan of voluntary supply furnish a sufficient number of places for the population? and does it provide a number, equal to that which an Establishment would be likely to do?—Each of these will require a distinct answer. With regard to the first, the best answer will be, to give the religious statistics of Pennsylvania, as far as they can be ascertained. It may be said, that the statement is under, rather than above the truth.

POPULATION.....................1,347,672

	Chs.	Mins.	Com.
Presbyterians..................	475	337	50,988
Methodists....................	252	252	74,106
Baptists	151	133	11,103
Evangelical Lutheran Church...	370	180	26,486
German Reformed Church......	150	50	10,000
Church of United Brethren.....	11	10	2,900
Dutch Reformed Church.......	8	8	1,671
Associate Reformed............	12	36	2,650
Friends	150		
Roman Catholics...............	54	40	
Unitarians.....................			
Universalists..................			
	1633	1046	179,904

The result of the foregoing statement is, that there is one place of worship for every 830 souls, and one minister for every 1300 souls, and the proportion of communicants is as one in seven of the population. The disproportion between the places of worship and the number of ministers, is chiefly accounted for by including the Friends' meeting-houses, and by the fact, that one minister preaches in two, and sometimes in three places of worship, where the people are poor, or the churches small. It may, I believe, be said with truth, that not one orthodox denomination has any of their sanctuaries closed on the Sabbath. When there is no settled pastor, there is a sermon read, or there are the services of licentiates, missionaries, or local preachers. But besides the regular buildings erected for worship, the school-houses are open on the Sabbath, and many of the pastors preach in these, when situated in distant parts of their parishes. There is, however, evidently room for the services of additional ministers, and it would be well if this necessity were speedily supplied.

The second question is one of comparison. It is enough to say, in reply, that the supply in Pennsylvania is greater than in Scotland. Judging from what I have seen of the size of places in both countries, I should say that the places of worship in Pennsylvania average a larger accommodation than those in Scotland.

But there is a still more important question connected with this part of the subject, and that regards the character and efficiency of the religious teachers who occupy these buildings. Unless this is considered, we shall fail to obtain a correct view of the real amount of religious instruction which the people voluntarily furnish to themselves. What then is the character of the Protestant ministry in Pennsylvania? I would say, that it is of an enlightened and spiritual character—that their ministers are regenerated men. The suspicion of being a mere worldly professional preacher, would deprive a man at once of the confidence and support of the people. No inconsistency would be allowed, the utmost propriety of demeanor is expected; and if an individual is a deceiver, he must act his part well, or he will be detected, and deprived of his office. There are three things that secure a spiritual ministry among the Presbyterians (and the remark will apply to nearly all the other denominations to the same extent.) These are, the religious character of the people, and their love to the doctrines of the gospel. The fact, that these persons choose and support their own pastors, and the caution exercised by the ministers already settled, before they give their sanction to those who are probationers. Thus, the people cannot knowingly choose a bad man, or a preacher of error; and as they have to support him, they are not likely to prefer an inefficient man.—The neighboring ministers have also such a regard for the cause of religion, and the character of their own denomination, that they "lay hands suddenly on no man." But there is another way by which the spiritual character of the ministry is secured in this, and in the other States of America, and it is found effectual. No young man *is admitted* into the theological seminaries of any of the evangelical denominations, who does not give decided proofs of piety. And no student can pass through his course of education in such institutions, without his abilities, and principles, and conduct, being fully tested. If there is just ground for suspicion, he is not sanctioned in his intentions to enter on the work of the ministry.

We are then to contemplate the labors of more than a thousand spiritual pastors and missionaries truly devoted to their work. Besides, they are able to occupy new uncultivated ground, without any law to prevent them. And in places where the population is rapidly increasing, they can use means to increase the number of laborers, without any hinderance being thrown in the way. These things give a power and an efficiency to the exertions of these men, which would be unknown to double the number of those who are trammelled by legal or canonical difficulties, though perhaps in the neighborhood of a destitute and perishing population.

My decided conviction is, from all that I saw and heard, that the ministers in Pennsylvania compose an active and spiritual body of men. If there is any exception, it is among the German population, whose ministers are orthodox, but less zealous and devoted than the others. The people are, consequently, in a more formal and lukewarm condition, as it regards divine things. This is chiefly occasioned by their tenacious adherence to the German language, and their slender acquaintance with good books. They also stand aloof from other professing Christians; and have hardly any share in the impulse that has been given to other sections of the Christian church by revivals, and by the exertions of Bible, Missionary, and Sunday-school societies.

In speaking of the numbers of the different sects, it may be stated, that, as far as *communicants* are concerned, the Methodists rank the highest; though by no means equal in number, as a denomination, to the Presbyterians, who form the most influential body of Christians in the State. Their ministers are, generally, well educated and intelligent men, and the active supporters of the religious institutions of the day. It ought, however, in justice to be stated, that the comfort and usefulness of this denomination have been lessened by divisions in their church, between some of their best men, on points comparatively of minor importance. At the same time, it can be said that they have had a considerable share of those revivals of religion, which have taken place in different parts of the State. As far as that denomination is concerned, there appears to be a necessity for more forbearance with one another; less tendency to misapprehend each other's sentiments; a greater readiness to yield, on questions where *principle* is not affected; and a stronger desire to keep "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

LETTER XI.

My dear friend—In looking at the religious statistics of Pennsylvania, it is to be considered, that, as no law ever existed in that State allowing or enjoining the different denominations to tax themselves for the support of their own system of religion, similar to what once existed in the New England States, the experiment of supporting religion without an establishment has, therefore, been more fairly made. It has also been tried in circumstances, which throw the greatest obstacles in the way of such a plan, viz. in newly-settled districts, and among a thinly-scattered population; and in towns which have rapidly increased in the number of their inhabitants. In the former case, our own country presents no point of resemblance; in the latter case, it does; and, therefore, we are better able to make a comparison. I will do this, by giving some particulars respecting Pittsburgh, situated on the western border of the State of Pennsylvania.

It contains 25,000 inhabitants, and has existed not more than fifty years. Its rapid increase has taken place during the last twenty years. This circumstance has thrown obstacles in the way of religious improvement. Being a manufacturing town, and containing a large class of operatives, who had come from England and Germany, the difficulty was increased. For there was not only rapidity in the increase, and variety among the persons who came to the place, but they were chiefly adults; so that instruction could not be provided in that gradual way, which is required by the natural increase of inhabitants; but at once a demand was made for a great assemblage of persons, too old to learn, and having much to unlearn. Great temptations were also placed before foreigners. Among these may be mentioned, high wages, and the low price of ardent spirits. These might be procured for two shillings a gallon. Many, also, of those, who were temperate and steady, were chiefly influenced by the desire of accumulating property; and they looked to the farther West, hoping there to find the *el dorado* of their anticipations. Indeed, Pittsburgh was merely a resting-place to many emigrants, till they could fix on some more distant point, to which they might proceed. In such cases, they could have no interest in any religious institution of a permanent kind, which might be calculated to benefit the town. In addition to all this, there was the diversity of religious opinion amongst the people. Some of the denominations were able to secure religious ordinances for themselves; but others were too few and feeble to do so. Besides, this was a community of individuals, with nothing in common but the desire of gain; and though all had one object in view, this very circumstance often produced a spirit of competition, which was not at all favorable to unity of action, in promoting any Christian or benevolent enterprise. The character of society had not, as yet, time to be formed. The materials were there; but so diversified, that it was impossible to say what form it might assume. Here there was certainly much to dread, as it regarded the interests of religion. Yet it was religion alone that could correct the evils which existed; and its native, unassisted power to do so, has, in this case, been strikingly displayed.

In order that this may be seen at one glance, it will be better to give the statistics of Pittsburgh, drawn up by two ministers on the spot; one of them being Dr. Halsey, the President in the Theological Seminary; and the other being the Rev. A. D. Campbell.

The population of Pittsburgh and suburbs is about 25,000.

Ecclesiastical Statistics.	Material.	Cost.	Will Seat.	Average attendance.	Commnic'ts.
		Doll's.			
1. Presbyterians (Gen. Assembly) . . .	7 of brick.	81.900	6,300	3,300	1,125
2. Associate Reformed (answering to the United Secession of Europe)	2 ditto.	18,000	2,000	1,300	576
3. Associate (answering to the Antiburgher body of Europe .	1 ditto.	6,000	750	400	330
4. Reformed Presbytery (answering to the Covenanters . .	1 ditto.	4,000	650	400	200
5. Cumberland Connection	1 ditto.	1,500	500	400	125
6. German (Reformed) .	2 ditto.	10,500	968	630	320
7. German (Lutheran) .	One forming.				
8. Baptists	3 of brick.	8,200	900	400	215
9. Campbellite Baptists	1 of wood.	1,500	500	150	110
10. Methodists (Episco.)	5 (3 brick & 2 wd.)	4,925	2,950	2,600	1,024
11. Methodists (Protest.)	2 brick.	2,500	1,800		
12. Episcopalian. . . .	2 (1 wd. & 1 brick.)	17,700	1,050	500	170
13. Roman Catholic . .	2 brick.	46,500	4,200	3,000	2,900
14. Unitarian	1 ditto. small.				
Sunday Schools, 43.	30 churches.	203,225	22,568	13,080	7,095

Looking at these results, we cannot but admit, in this instance at least, the sufficiency of the voluntary principle; it has supplied religious instruction to all the inhabitants of the town, if they are willing to receive it, as well as school instruction for their children. I do not know a single town in Great Britain, with a population of twenty-five thousand, with such ample means of religious instruction.—There may be towns where new churches have been built with grants of public money, and the ministers may be supported by endowments or by taxes. To these may be added, dissenting places of worship, and yet the aggregate will be found far behind this city in the Wilderness. It has, as already stated, sprung up within forty years. No provision is made by the State for religion, no individual is taxed to support even his own denomination; but all emanating from the people themselves, and supported annually by their free-will offerings. In such circumstances, the idea of taxing others to support their religious services could never have entered into their minds. Such injustice would excite universal abhorrence in that land. This continued support of Divine ordinances is given by men who are any thing but fanatics. They are sober, practical, and business-like men, who act on the honorable principle, that if they are to receive religious instruction, they ought to provide it for themselves, as they would do, in seeking to obtain possession of any other good.

But has this desire to obtain religious instruction gone no farther than themselves? In their wish to secure the gospel, have they forgotten others? Let the history of their Foreign Missionary Society answer these questions. Then, it may be asked again, do they direct all their energies to the distant heathen, and leave their ungodly neighbors and countrymen to perish? Certainly not. The very same ordinances which they support for their own edification, are also the divinely appointed means for the conversion of sinners. The gospel is preached to the poor, and to all who are willing to hear it, without money, and without price, even though they may be too indifferent to its value to contribute their share in supporting it. And here we see the beauty and the universal adaptation of New Testament principles. The people of Christ can no where live contented without the bread of life dispensed in the public preaching of the truth, and they confine not the benefit to themselves.—"*The Spirit and the* BRIDE *say, Come!*" Thus, the very places round about God's hill become a blessing; and the collective body, which supports a Christian pastor, as well as each individual member of it, is as a light shining in a dark place. Sinners are converted—the churches have numbers added to their communion—and as new inhabitants settle in the town, new places of worship are provided, and the good extends.

It will appear obvious, that considerable exertion must have been made to raise such large sums for the building of churches, and that similar efforts must be continued, in order to furnish the annual charges incurred in supporting the ministers and in keeping the buildings in repair. To accomplish all this, there must be a vitality about their system, which no compulsory mode of religion can possess. There are thirty places of worship in Pittsburgh—the least of which will seat five hundred persons, and the largest about fifteen hundred. Of these, twenty-six are orthodox Protestant congregations, of different denominations. The character of the ministry stands high for propriety of demeanor and for evangelical sentiment. The great peculiarities of the gospel are held and preached by them all, with the exceptions already mentioned. And it is a point deserving special notice, that there are upwards of four thousand communicants who have given credible evidence that they are Christians, before they were admitted to the Lord's table.—Such is Pittsburgh!

With regard to the character of the people of Pennsylvania, I can only speak generally. It is plain that a people who contribute so liberally for places of religious worship and pastors for themselves, besides supporting many institutions for the benefit of others, must be considerably influenced by religion. From all that I saw, or could learn by inquiry, the Sabbath is not so strictly observed in this State as in New England, nor is domestic religion so generally prevalent as in that country. But I think I am warranted in saying, that the mass of the people are more under the influence of religion than with us. Among us, the very highest and the very lowest ranks are, perhaps, the least attentive to religious observances. In Pennsylvania, these extremes of society hardly exist. There are few very wealthy, and few very poor, persons. There are not many places in the State where those willing to be industrious may not find an adequate support. Immense quantities of land are yet to be settled, so that the children of the present inhabitants can find room to locate themselves, without going far into the Valley of the Mississippi. Indeed, I had much pleasure in observing the outward circumstances of the people. The lowest class of laborers could command a full supply of the necessaries of life. In visiting their log huts and cottages, and the dwellings of land owners, who are more numerous than tenants or servants, I found them generally in that happy state which was the object of Agur's prayer. They were freed alike from the temptations presented by luxurious living, and arising from abject poverty. The door of the dwelling where I resided for nearly a fortnight, was never locked. Valuable articles were allowed to hang in the open air all night, and in the outhouses, and none of them were stolen. Travelling early in the morning, when the cottagers were asleep, I frequently discovered the same exposure of clothes to depredation. I made inquiry in different places, if it was generally so; and found that, except in the vicinity of large towns, no precautions to protect property were taken, and no depredations were committed.

When I approached the mountainous districts, many miles remote from cities, I naturally expected to see the people rude and uncouth in their manners. It was not so; the dress of the men was similar to what it was in the eastern parts of the State; and there was a neatness and a propriety in the dress of the females of all classes, which most agreeably surprised me. Among those whom I met with, there was of course great diversity, both of character and condition. I entered freely into conversation with them. They were blunt in their manner, certainly, but never rude or offensive. I found them in general intelligent, and, especially, well acquainted with the constitution of their own country. Indeed, there is a remarkable acuteness in the agricultural population of Pennsylvania, as compared with the same class in our country. I was pleased to find that few—very few—ever indicated a *bad* feeling towards England. On the contrary, even among those who were decidedly irreligious, and *rather* vain of their own political rights and privileges, there was a respect and an interest shown for Great Britain, that was gratifying to me. The religious part of the community with which I necessarily came most into contact, invariably expressed their affection for England, and their earnest desire that peace might be uninterrupted; and that in every way, both by our political relations and religious institutions, we should benefit the world at large. I found, in conversation with persons in the stages, a decided respect for religion. In only two or three cases did I meet with profanity or infidelity, and these were evidently much disapproved of by the rest of the company. I was much annoyed, as other travellers have been before me, with a very disagreeable custom—the frequent use of tobacco, and that in its most offensive form. Even those, who of all men should "keep themselves pure,," were sometimes guilty of yielding to this perverted and extraordinary taste for a poisonous narcotic.

In thus speaking so favorably of the people's respect for religion, I do not wish to be understood as saying that all the people are truly religious, or that the majority are under its sacred influence. There are in the towns, and no doubt in the country likewise, open opposers of religion, and neglecters of Divine ordinances, and who, if not controlled by laws and public opinion, would be ready to commit any excesses. But I think it may be asserted, that religion has a very extensive influence in all the ranks of which society is composed in that State, from the general and the judge to the inmate of the log hut, just beginning to clear the forest, and preparing to sow and reap. That it is more than sufficient to produce submission to the laws, and orderly behavior, may safely be said; for a general regard is paid to the ordinances of religion, both in town and country. The chief drawback on the improvement of the people, is the influx of new settlers from other countries, who have no religion. Hence, there is much to be done besides supplying their own population with religious instruction. Vigorous measures are necessary to keep pace with the demands of new adult settlers, who are, in general, disinclined to serious things.

But are the religious people properly concerned for the education of their children? A satisfactory answer may be given to this inquiry, as far as the wealthy and respectable part of the community is concerned. There are nearly a hundred endowed academies and high schools, and nearly all the religious denominations have colleges and theological seminaries. Scattered throughout the State, there are great numbers of common or district schools, especially in the northern part, where many natives of New England are settled. At the same time it ought to be stated, that education is much neglected among the German population; and in various parts of the State, it has not made that progress which it might and should have done. It may be said, indeed, that the subject of general education has not received that attention in former years which its importance demanded, and which the legislature appears now desirous to give. The proportion of the population under instruction is much less than in the other Middle or Eastern States. The resources of this State are great, but they have not by any means been developed, at least not in an equal degree with those of the State of New York, with which it is, perhaps, more fair to compare it, than with those which are older and smaller. This may be partly accounted for by referring, as we have already done, to the mingled character of the population, which has rendered it difficult for them to unite in any general plan. But the legislature has at length roused itself to discharge its duty. The subject of education for *all* the children of the State has been discussed; and last year a law was passed, which, when brought into operation, will, no doubt, supply most of the deficiencies which at present exist. The report on which the two houses legislated, is one of an interesting character, and furnishes many important facts as to the operation of the common school system in a number of the American States.

After the preceding statement respecting a deficiency of education, it may appear somewhat remarkable, that the number of newspapers is greater in proportion to the population than in any other of the old States. In the State of New York, containing nearly two millions of people, there are 267 newspapers; in Pennsylvania, there are 220; one sixth of the whole number to be found in the Union. I can only account for this fact, by supposing, that the distinctness preserved by the various classes of settlers, leads each to provide their own vehicle of intelligence, rather than to support one of a larger and more general character. Of the number stated of these publications, the *religious* newspapers also bear a larger proportion to the amount of inhabitants than in the other States. This is a peculiar feature of the press in this country; and, while it must have an important bearing on the character of the people, it may, at the same time, be taken as an indication of what their prevailing character is. There is an eager desire for information on all points affecting the religious interests of the more distant parts of the State. And as each denomination is carrying on its own plans of Christian benevolence, it is natural that each should have its own medium of communication respecting these.

That there are disadvantages arising from this class of reading, when carried to a great extent, there can, I think, be no doubt. It too often supplies the place of more solid and useful instruction, and promotes indolent and desultory habits of thinking. And where a controversial spirit abounds, it is frequently strengthened and supplied with materials through this channel. It also tempts many writers to expend on ephemeral productions, talents and energies, which, if rightly directed, would accomplish works of standard excellence. I found also that these publications *sometimes* interfere with the sacred hours of the Sabbath: and they are apt to make premature disclosures as to revivals of religion, or other promising appearances, which are better to remain private, till the test of time has confirmed the hopes excited by them.

With all these drawbacks, however, the religious newspapers answer many valuable purposes. Among these may be mentioned the wide circulation they give to the transactions of the principal religious institutions. I was often surprised, in the most remote parts of the State, to find individuals acquainted with the most recent accounts of the operations of these societies in all parts of the world. And when the continuance of these operations requires increased pecuniary aid, an appeal can easily be made to Christians throughout the whole country. It has a tendency to keep the religious institutions in a state of purity and activity, when they are thus kept constantly before the eye of the public. The churches of Christ in different places are better able to cherish mutual sympathies, when made acquainted with each other's circumstances. When intelligence is received of revivals in some other section of the State, a desire is awakened to enjoy a similar season of refreshing. This is a class of reading suited to the taste of the young; and it may be expected to diffuse a missionary spirit among them. And last, though not least, it is an important auxiliary in refuting dangerous errors. The absolute freedom of the press, and the cheapness of periodicals, have enabled the irreligious and the skeptical to circulate their mischievous doctrines. They must be encountered with their own weapons, and it is of great consequence that their attacks should meet with a speedy repulse. A monthly magazine would be too tardy and too unwieldy an instrument of defence. Truth is important, in whatever form it is communicated; and we may hope that, among the many who have acquired a taste for reading in this way, some will be found, whose increasing thirst for knowledge will lead them on to cultivate severer studies.

The intellectual tone and character of the people may thus gradually be improved. And as the first step towards this improvement, I think it would be desirable to reduce the number of the publications under review, and by this means to concentrate more of the talent and excellence, which are now scattered through them all. There is nothing in the history of Pennsylvania more remarkable than the rapid increase of the different religious denominations during the last thirty years. The population has more than doubled since 1801; but the number of the ministers and congregations has increased at a much greater ratio. The Presbyterians are now nearly as numerous, in Pennsylvania alone, as they were in the whole United States in 1800. The Episcopalians have increased fourfold since 1801; and the others, with the exception of the German Reformed Church, have multiplied nearly to the same extent. It is also gratifying to know, that while the orthodox sects have been making such rapid advances, the preaching of error has not prospered. The Unitarians make no progress. It is with some difficulty that they can keep up a congregation, even in Philadelphia. It may be said with truth, that they have not six congregations, or six ministers in the whole State. The Universalists are more numerous, but there is no reason to believe that they are *increasing* in numbers or in influence. Indeed, in various places, the orthodox are making inroads on them, and will, no doubt, eventually destroy them, as error must ever flee before the light of truth.

In conclusion, it must be confessed that the Christians of Pennsylvania have yet a great deal to accomplish, in order to do full justice to their principles, their obligations, their country, and the world. They have by no means kept pace with some of the other States in zeal for the missionary cause, and for the circulation of the Bible. They have done less for week-day and Sunday schools, for colleges, and theological seminaries, than some other States with fewer resources than they have at their command. The Temperance cause has not made that progress which it has done elsewhere. There is, however, every reason to believe, that in all these respects they are improving.

It is not my province to speak of the progress made by this State in commerce, agriculture, science, and wealth. On these subjects I could only give extracts from documents which are accessible to many; and I should be departing, in a great measure, from the object of the mission.

The time which I spent in the State was pleasantly passed. I could not but become attached to the people. They were invariably kind and hospitable. Their domestic manners were simple and unostentatious; free and communicative, without rudeness; and partaking much of the character of the best specimens of our own agricultural population. They are aware that there is much room for improvement. They have around them, in their own republic, striking examples of what may be done by zeal and perseverance; so that we may confidently hope that, in a few years, they will equal the Eastern States in all that is intellectual, moral, and religious.

I cannot close this brief notice of one of the States of this immense empire, without expressing my warmest wishes for its continued prosperity. As an individual, I feel my obligations to many of the Christians of that land. Their kindness I cannot forget. Their character I shall always esteem, and their friendship I shall ever value. The many farewells that I was obliged to take of Christian friends, formed the most trying part of my duty.—A meeting with them all again is one of my brightest and most delightful anticipations. That religion, which brought us together, and at once inspired mutual confidence, gives us good hope respecting the future. In happier circumstances, we may expect to meet; and surrounded by recollections that will render renewed intercourse the subject of increasing praise. Oh, for a place in that vast assembly, which no man shall be able to number, and from which none shall go out any more for ever!

APPENDIX

I.

COPIES OF MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES.

THIS MAY CERTIFY,
That Mr.
and M *were*
SOLEMNLY UNITED IN MARRIAGE
on the *of the* *of* *in the*
year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred
and Thirty- *according to the ordinance of*
God, and the legal prescriptions of the State of
New-York.
WITNESSES:

Officiating Minister,
and Pastor of the *Presbyterian Church.*
New-York, *A. D.* 183

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, *That on the*
day of *in the year of our Lord*
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-
at *in the county of Philadelphia, and*
State of Pennsylvania,

and

were, by me, united in the bonds of MARRIAGE,
according to the form of the Presbyterian Church,
and the laws of the State of Pennsylvania.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, *I have hereunto set my hand, on the day and year above written.*

II.

Copies of Letters Missive.

The Bowdoin-street Church, in Boston,
To the Ecclesiastical Council, to be convened on the second Thursday of the present month, to organize (if deemed expedient) a new Evangelical Congregational Church,
SENDETH GREETING.

At a meeting of the Bowdoin-street Church, held September the 7th, 1834, a letter from Jacob Abbott, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, requesting the presence of that Church, by its Pastor and Delegate, for the purpose of organizing a new church at Roxbury, on Thursday, the 18th instant, having been read,

It was Voted—To comply with this request; and thereupon, Brother Deacon Daniel Noyes was appointed Delegate. A true record,
(Attest) GEO. WM. PHILLIPS, *Clk.*
Boston, September 8, 1834.

Ordination of Mr. Abbott.

Roxbury, September 15, 1834.

To the Rev. ANDREW REED.

A number of individuals, resident in Roxbury and vicinity, having felt themselves called upon, in the providence of God, to take measures for the formation of a church of Christ here, and having taken the necessary preliminary steps, you are hereby invited to sit upon an Ecclesiastical Council called for this purpose. The Council will meet at the Hall in Mr. Spear's Academy, on Thursday of this week, at 11 o'clock A. M.

The Council will also be requested, if they see fit, to ordain Mr. Jacob Abbott as an Evangelist.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements,
J. ABBOTT, Chairman.

The other Pastors called are, Mr. Burgess, of Dedham; Mr. Giles, of Milton; Dr. Codman, of Dorchester; Messrs. Wisner, Anderson, Adams, Jenks, Blagden, and Winslow, of Boston; and Rev. Dr. Matheson.

III.

Order of Exercises.

COMMENCEMENT AT AMHERST COLLEGE, 1834.

PRAYER.—1. Salutatory Oration.—2. Essay. Patriotism.—3. Essay. Common Sense.—4. Discussion. Fact and Fiction.—5. Essay. Excitement.—6. Essay. Independence.—7. Disquisition. Propriety of Appeals to the Passions.—8. Oration. Moral Influence of Works of Imagination.—9. Dissertation. Guilt, as affected by Temptation.—10. Dissertation. Progress of Society.—11. Disputation. Is Phrenology entitled to special Attention from its practical Utility?—12. Dissertation. Bibliomania.—13. Discussion. Expediency of making Temperance a subject of Legislation.—14. Poem. Death of Byron.—15. Essay. Contrasted Character of Napoleon and Howard.—16. Oration. The Memory of La Fayette.—17. Dissertation. Despotism.—18. Oration. Natural History of Eloquence.—19. Philosophical Oration. Emotions.—20. Disputation. Are encomiums upon the Dead beneficial to the Living?—21. Philosophical Oration. Mind.—22. Oration. Skepticism in cultivated Society.—Degrees conferred.—23. Oration. Influence of physical Science: with the Valedictory Addresses.—Prayer.

IV.

Order of Exercises.

ANDOVER COMMENCEMENT, SEPT. 10, 1834.

FORENOON.

Prayer.—1. Gen. ii. 17.; The tree of knowledge of good and evil.—2. Doctrinal preaching eminently proper in a revival of religion.—3. Influence of Calvin on civil and religious liberty.—4. On the Monthly Concert.—5. Inquiry respecting the meaning of 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.—6. Preaching modified by the spirit of the age.—7. The faithful Pastor.—8. Love to God.—9. Exposition of Rev. vi. 13.—10. Deficiency of classical literature in the spirit of the gospel.—Sacred music.—11. Augustine.—12. Evil of Sin.—13. Does the word in Gen. i. mean the term of a natural day?—14. Analogical preaching.—15. Evils resulting from the frequent removal of Ministers.—16. On Holiness.—17. How would the conversion of Palestine affect the interpretation of the Scriptures?—18. Puritan preaching.—19. Uniformity of the method of Providence in the spread of Christianity.—20. Source of lax Theology.—21. On Heb. i. 14.—The Ministry of good Angels.—22. The religious attitude of Greece.—Sacred music.

AFTERNOON.

Sacred music.—23. Influence of eminent piety on the eloquence of the Pulpit.—24. The true end of human and divine knowledge, the same.—25. Remarks on Isa. lxiii. 1, 6.—26. Causes of inefficient preaching.—27. Agency of the Christian preacher in the sinner's Conversion.—28. Agency of the Holy Spirit in the sinner's Conversion.—29. Agency of the sinner in his own Conversion.—Hebrew chant.—30. Pious feeling as connected with pastoral duties.—31. The true test of pulpit eloquence.—32. On 2 Pet. iii. 10: "The earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up."—33. What bearing should the laws of interpretation have upon Christian Theology?—34. Is self-love the foundation of religion?—35. Efficiency of voluntary associations.—36. Revivals of religion in England.—Original hymn.—Prayer.—Benediction.

V.

Articles of Faith, and Form of Covenant, adopted by one of the Congregational Churches in Lowell, Massachusetts.

ARTICLES OF FAITH.

I. We believe, that there is but one God, the Creator, Preserver, and Moral Governor of the Universe; a being of infinite power, knowledge, wisdom, justice, goodness, and truth; the self-existent, independent, and immutable Fountain of good.

II. We believe, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by inspiration of God; that they are profitable for correction, for reproof, and for instruction in righteousness; and that they are our only rule of doctrinal belief and religious practice.

III. We believe, that in the Godhead there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory.

IV. We believe, that God has made all things for himself; that known unto him are all his works from the beginning: and that he governs all things according to the counsel of his own will.

V. We believe, that the law and government of God are holy, just, and good.

VI. We believe, that God at first created man in his own image, in a state of rectitude and holiness, and that he fell from that state by transgressing the divine command in the article of forbidden fruit.

VII. We believe, that in consequence of the first apostacy, the heart of man in his natural state is destitute of holiness, and in a state of positive disaffection with the law, character, and government of God: and that all men, previous to regeneration, are dead in trespasses and sins.

VIII. We believe, that Christ, the Son of God, has, by his obedience, sufferings, and death, made an atonement for sin; that he is the only Redeemer of sinners; and that all who are saved will be altogether indebted to the grace and mercy of God for their salvation.

IX. We believe, that although the invitation of the Gospel is such, that whosoever will may come and take of the water of life freely; yet the depravity of the human heart is such that no man will come to Christ, except the Father, by the special and efficacious influences of his Spirit, draw him.

X. We believe, that those who embrace the Gospel were chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and without blame before him in love; and that they should be saved, not by works of righteousness which they have done, but according to the distinguishing mercy of God, through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth.

XI. We believe, that those who cordially embrace Christ, will be kept by the mighty power of God through faith unto salvation.

XII. We believe, that there will be a general resurrection of the bodies both of the just and unjust.

XIII. We believe, that all mankind must one day stand before the judgment seat of Christ, to receive the just and final sentence of retribution, according to the deeds done in the body; and that, at the day of judgment, the state of all will be unalterably fixed; and that the punishment of the wicked and the happiness of the righteous will be endless.

XIV. We believe, that the Sacraments of the New Testament are Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that believers in regular church standing only can consistently partake of the Lord's Supper; and that visible believers and their households only can consistently be admitted to the ordinance of Baptism.

FORM OF COVENANT.

You do now, in the presence of God and men, avouch the Lord Jehovah to be your God, the supreme object of your affection, and your chosen portion for ever. You cordially acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ in all his mediatorial offices, Prophet, Priest, and King, as your only Saviour and final Judge; and the Holy Spirit as your Sanctifier, Comforter, and Guide. You humbly and cheerfully devote yourself to God in the everlasting covenant of grace; you consecrate all your powers and faculties to his service and glory; and you promise, that, through the assistance of his Spirit and grace, you will cleave to him as your chief good; that you will give diligent attention to his word, and worship, and ordinances; that you will seek the honor of his name, and the interests of his kingdom; and that henceforth, denying all ungodliness and every worldly lust, you will live soberly, and righteously, and godly in the world.

You do now cordially join yourself to this as a Church of Christ, engaging to submit to its discipline, so far as conformable to the rules of the gospel; and solemnly covenanting to strive, as far as in you lies, for its gospel peace, edification, and purity; and to walk with its members in all memberlike love, faithfulness, circumspection, meekness, and sobriety. Thus you covenant and promise.

We then, the members of this Church of Christ, do now receive you into our communion, and promise to watch over you with Christian affection and tenderness, ever treating you in love as a member of the body of Christ, who is head over all things to the Church.

This we do, imploring the Great Shepherd of Israel, our Lord and Redeemer, that both we and you may have wisdom and grace to be faithful in his covenant, and to glorify him with the holiness which becomes his house for ever.

And now, beloved in the Lord, let it be deeply impressed upon your minds, that you have entered into new and solemn obligations. Henceforward, you can never be as you have been. The vows which, in presence of God, angels, and men, you have now assumed, will follow you through life to the judgment-seat of Christ; and in whatever state your final destiny be fixed, they will for ever abide upon you. If you walk worthily of your profession, you will be to us an ornament and a delight; but if otherwise, a shame, a grief of heart, and a vexation. And if a wo be pronounced against him who offends one of Christ's little ones, wo, wo be to him who offends a whole church! But, beloved, be not overwhelmed by these considerations; for we are persuaded better things concerning you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak. May the Lord guide you by his counsel; and, when the trials of this short warfare shall have been ended, receive you and us to the church triumphant in glory, where our love shall be for ever perfect, and our joy for ever full!

VI.

The Law on Religion.

THE LAW AS IT WAS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

As the happiness of the people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality:—therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature *shall, from time to time authorize and require*, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, and religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily. And the people of this commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority *to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid*, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend:—Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise, it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised. And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

AMENDMENT AS PROPOSED IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1820.

As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the public worship of God; and as the public worship of God will be best promoted by recognising the unalienable right of every man to render that worship in the mode most consistent with the dictates of his own conscience; therefore, no person shall by law be compelled to join, or support, or be classed with, or associated to, any congregation or religious society whatever; but every person now belonging to any religious society, whether incorporated or unincorporated, shall be considered a member thereof, until he shall have separated himself therefrom, in the manner hereinafter provided. And each and every society, or denomination of Christians, in this State, shall have and enjoy the same and equal power, rights, and privileges, and shall have power and authority to raise money, for the support and maintenance of religious teachers of their respective denominations, and to build and repair houses of public worship, by a tax on the members by any such society only, to be laid by a major vote of the legal voters assembled at any society meeting, warned and held according to law.

Provided nevertheless, that if any person shall choose to separate himself from the society or denomination to which he may belong, and shall leave a written notice thereof with the clerk of such society, he shall thereupon be no longer liable for any future expenses which may be incurred by said society.

And every denomination of Christians demeaning themselves peaceably and as good citizens of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law, and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

THE LAW AS IT IS IN MASSACHUSETTS, PASSED IN JUNE, 1833.

As the happiness of the people, and the good order, and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality; therefore, to promote their happiness and secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to make suitable provision at their own expense for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance thereof. *Provided*, that all religious societies shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance, and, provided also, that the obligations of no existing contract shall be hereby impaired.

And all religious sects and denominations, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good citizens of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

THE LAW IN VIRGINIA.

Be it therefore enacted, by the General Assembly, "That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities."

Act for the establishing of Religious Freedom, passed in the Assembly of Virginia, A. D. 1786.

THE LAW IN NEW JERSEY AND GEORGIA.

No person shall ever, within this colony, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor, under any pretence whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall any person within this colony ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates, for the purpose of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately and voluntarily engaged himself to perform.

THE LAW IN NEW YORK, CONNECTICUT, CAROLINA, AND MISSISSIPPI.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall, for ever hereafter, be allowed within this State to all mankind: Provided, that the liberty of conscience thereby declared shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.

THE LAW OF PENNSYLVANIA, KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE, OHIO, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS.

All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; and no man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishments or modes of worship.

VII.

Welsh Settlements.

Ebensburgh, July 20, 1834.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—Agreeably to my promise, I shall endeavor to give you a brief sketch of the history of the society denominated Independents in this place. In the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, a considerable number of Welsh families emigrated from Wales to this country. The Rev. Morgan J. Rhees, an educated and respectable Baptist minister, was among the first of them. They came with the intention of forming a Welsh settlement in some convenient place, and Mr. Rhees, acting as their leader, applied to Congress to grant a tract of land for this purpose. In this he did not succeed, and many other attempts to obtain a suitable spot were equally unsuccessful. It appeared as if Providence shut and bolted every door against us, only the one on the top of the Allegany mountain. Mr. Rhees formed forty or fifty of the Welsh people, who found a temporary residence in and about Philadelphia, into a church; containing nearly an equal number of Baptists, Independents, and Calvinistic Methodists. Mr. Rhees administered the Lord's Supper for the first time, I think, in July, 1796. I still think that we enjoyed a very precious and refreshing season. Mr. Rees Lloyd, an Independent minister, administered the Supper in the same church in August.—In the fall of that year, and the spring of 1797, a number of families arrived at this place, and in April the Independent Church was formed, consisting of twenty-four members; of these, twelve had belonged to the Calvinistic Methodists. The Rev. Rees Lloyd, who had been ordained in Wales, drew up a confession of his faith, which agreed in substance with the Assembly's Catechism; and a church covenant, consisting of ten particulars, all of which were adopted by the church; and at that time they chose Mr. Lloyd to be their pastor, and your humble servant to be deacon. The church progressed perhaps as might be expected, laboring for many years under many disadvantages, the country being new. The Lord's Supper was administered once every four weeks, except in some instances, when wine could not be had. Once a fortnight, on a Wednesday, we met for devotional exercises and conversation on religious subjects, doctrinal and experimental. Mr. Lloyd preached generally twice every Sabbath. Our toil and difficulties in the wilderness were great. We were much scattered, and had no roads; but we often found it good to draw near to God, in attending to the means above mentioned. By the best accounts we have, we received ten persons by letter, before the close of the year 1801; and from that time till the close of 1809, we received by letter nineteen, and by examination twenty-nine. It ought to be recorded with gratitude, that in the year 1804, the Lord in a very gracious manner visited the settlement with a precious revival. "The Lord did for us at this time great things; our mouth was filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing." The greater part of the number last mentioned, as received by examination, may be considered as the fruit of this revival; and these, with few exceptions, have held on their way. In the year 1805, I was called by the church to speak publicly, by way of trial; and in June, 1806, was ordained by Mr. Lloyd, and called by the church to officiate as co-pastor with him. Mr. William Tibbot, who had preached for many years in Wales, was ordained at the same time; and coming to live at the settlement, he was shortly after called by the church to be co-pastor with Mr. Lloyd and myself. In the fall of 1817, Mr. Lloyd left us on the most friendly terms, and went to serve a vacant church composed chiefly of Welsh people, within twenty-three miles of Cincinnati. He is yet living, but is now superannuated. In January, 1822, Mr. Tibbot's connection with the church was dissolved under very unpleasant circumstances; and in 1827 he died. He was an excellent preacher; I have no doubt that his ministry had been owned and blessed in a special manner. In the summer of 1822, Mr. Morris Jones arrived here from Wales. In the following winter he was called by the church to exercise his gifts as a speaker; and in April, 1827, he accepted a unanimous call to serve them as co-pastor with myself. In August, 1826, it pleased the Lord to cause somewhat of a shaking among the dry bones; and in a few months about twenty persons were admitted as members, whom we consider as the fruits of this excitement. We enjoyed at that time some sweet and precious seasons. The church, since Mr. Tibbot left us, has progressed with a good degree of unanimity, and contains at this time upwards of two hundred members in full communion, and living within four or five miles of our meeting-house. Our meetings, and our Sunday-school (which commenced in 1819,) have been, and continue to be, well attended. We have been for some years in a very lukewarm state, yet not without occasional additions. We can say with good John Newton, that we are not what we ought to be, what we would be, or what we hope to be; yet I trust that we are not what we once were; and that it is by the grace of God we are what we are. We should not forget the goodness of God, among many other things, in giving us a convenient house in which to worship him. It is a good strong building of brick, forty feet square, with galleries on three sides. It cost us about one thousand four hundred dollars; the money was nearly all collected among us, without any serious difficulty, and paid according to contract.

Hoping that you and your Rev. colleague may return to your families and charges very much animated, that your visit may be a great blessing to both countries, and that you may be very useful till death,

I remain, with Christian affection,
George Roberts.

Remarks.—The *Common Schools* are numerous and sufficient; all the voluntary provision of the instructers and the neighborhood. Classical education is also supplied to all who choose to pay the price of tuition, by teachers who depend on their reputation and skill for support. It is rarely found that any citizen (unless from Europe) is unable to read or write; the freedom of the press, the elective franchise, the absence of monopolies and all restraints upon industry and ascent, together with the diffusion of moral influence from the different religious societies, are found to produce excitement enough to secure a practical and universal education.

Objects, *benevolent and moral*, are found to be attained by voluntary exertion. We have one asylum for the *poor*, which is provided by the city. But as a result of the popular nature of our political organization, and the general diffusion of knowledge, a spirit of independence is generated among the poor, which makes them averse to their being withdrawn from the mass of citizens. Our public paupers are therefore few. Our churches, generally, have a stated collection, at the season of administering the "Lord's Supper," which sum is applied to the occasional and partial needs of the poor of the congregations, by the pastor and other church officers. Our winters are long, and in this season, the females and children of the laboring families are occasionally in need of some addition to their supplies, such as fuel, flannels, hose, &c. A *Benevolent Association of Ladies* explores the several wards of the city, and furnishes what may be needed. *Orphans* may be accommodated by the city, at the asylum for the poor. But the ladies of the different religious denominations have formed themselves into one benevolent association for the more complete supervision of this interesting class of sufferers.—The society has obtained "incorporation," and obtained adequate funds for their institution from private contributions. We have also for the improvement of morals, besides the ordinary religious influence of the sanctuary, the Bible, and Tract, and Sunday-school Associations, which severally explore every corner of the city. The *Temperance Society*, and a very large and influential "Society of Young Men," (under thirty years of age,) unite to promote the general interests of morality and knowledge. They publish a weekly paper called "The Friend,"—have founded a public library,—and are extending branches through the neighboring districts. The influence of all these associations is decided and manifest, but they are not so efficient and complete as their evident advance gives promise that they will be. Our city is recent, composed of individuals from all nations, who have not got rid of all those peculiarities and prejudices which are partial impediments to combination and sufficient action. But associated action is daily improving; suppleness, mutual confidence, and success, are redeeming previous defect. You are aware we have a double task to perform; to amend the obliquities and perfect the characters of our settled population, and properly dispose of a host of emigrants, consisting of the more neglected population of Europe.

In the statistical table furnished above, we have not found ourselves at liberty, or inclined to make any alterations, as the information was furnished by the several denominations, and is, we believe, substantially correct, with the exception of No. 13, which, although believed by the reporter, we are confident is overdrawn, as is the estimate of their force through the nation at large. We might add, that in the circle contemplated by this report, are seated the *Theological Schools* of the Associated Reformed Church, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, both of which have received considerable donations from the vicinity.

Luther Stalsey.
A. L. Campbell.

VIII.

History of the Free Churches in the City of New York.

TO REV. ANDREW REED, LONDON.

New York, February 1, 1836.

Rev. and dear sir—Our mutual friend, Rev. William Patton, having communicated to me your desire to receive information concerning the Free Churches in this city, I will very cheerfully give you such facts in my possession as may be interesting and useful to you or others on this subject. It would have given much pleasure to any of the brethren, conversant with the facts, to have communicated them to you when you were in this city, if they had enjoyed the opportunity. And as other persons have made similar inquiries, it may not be improper to publish this letter for their information also.

In the month of May, 1830, two individuals (the one a member of the Reformed Dutch, and the other of the Presbyterian Church) who had frequently mourned together over the desolations of Zion, invited a meeting of three or four Christian friends to deliberate upon the subject of commencing a new church. Rev. Joel Parker, then pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New York, (being providentially in the city,) was invited to attend the meeting. The brethren interchanged their feelings and opinions with respect to the state of religion in the city; the almost total exclusion of the poor from the Presbyterian and Dutch Churches; the great neglect of the careless and impenitent on the part of professing Christians; and the importance of more direct and faithful efforts for their conversion. The result of this conference was a pledge on the part of the five individuals referred to, to take prompt measures for the commencement of a new congregation; a guarantee of a sufficient sum to defray the expenses of public worship; and an engagement on the part of Mr. Parker to be the minister, provided his own church and presbytery would consent to his removal.

The church at Rochester, with a readiness and unanimity worthy of all commendation, consented to the translation of their beloved pastor to a field of greater usefulness; and the new congregation in New York commenced its existence under his ministry on the 27th June, 1830, in a room formerly occupied as a lecture-room by Rev. John B. Romeyn, Thames-street.

It is worthy of remark here, that the church that had so disinterestedly given up their pastor, was blessed temporally and spiritually immediately after, thereby verifying the divine promise, "He that watereth, shall be watered also himself." The congregation made a successful effort to pay off a large debt that had greatly troubled them, and one of the most powerful revivals of religion took place in that congregation and city that has been known in this country.

The congregation in Thames-street originally consisted of only three families. The "upper room" where they assembled had been hastily fitted up to accommodate about 350 persons, at an expense not exceeding 125 dollars. A Sabbath school was commenced the first Lord's day, composed of five children, and one of the projectors as superintendent.—Public notice had been given by placards posted up in the streets, and advertisements in the newspapers, of the new place of public worship. The congregation at first was about forty persons, and gradually increased to nearly 400, filling the hall and the passages. There were two sessions of the Sabbath schools every Lord's day, and three religious services; Mr. Parker regularly delivering three discourses every Sabbath, and a lecture on each Wednesday evening, besides attending a church prayer-meeting once a week at a private dwelling-house. About half the sermons were wholly extemporaneous. The Holy Spirit appeared to attend the preached word from the beginning. A young woman was hopefully converted under the first sermon, and the number of persons awakened increased weekly.

Application was made to the American Home Missionary Society to take this infant congregation under its charge; but on account of the unpopularity of the undertaking, the Executive Committee thought it prudent to decline the overture. Application was next made to the First Presbytery of New York, to organize the church under the name of the First Free Church of the city of New York. Great opposition was made in this ecclesiastical body. The *name* (Free Church) was objected to, and the necessity of a new church in the lower part of the city was denied. It was also said that a new church and Sabbath school could not be built up without subtracting the members and scholars from existing churches and Sabbath schools; and strong doubts were expressed as to the ability of the persons engaged in the enterprise to sustain it. At length a commission was appointed to organize the church; and this solemnity, together with the ordination of two elders, took place on the 22d September, 1830. The church consisted of sixteen members, seven male and nine female.

The church had the communion on the first Sabbath in each month, and received accessions on every occasion; and the Sabbath school rapidly increased. In order to ascertain the moral destitution of this section of the city (the first ward, containing at that time not less than nine churches of different denominations,) various experiments were made.—One of them was the following:—The Sabbath school teachers districted the whole ward, and visited it for the purpose of ascertaining the number of young persons who did not attend any Sabbath school. In three weeks eighty-seven persons, who were not attached to any other, were enrolled in our school. In these visitations, families and individuals were invited to attend the meeting, and suitable places were sought out in which to hold neighborhood prayer-meetings. The keepers of two groceries consented to have prayer-meetings held over their shops, and it was observed that thereafter they did not open them for the sale of liquors, as before, on the Sabbath.

On the 20th of February, 1831, owing to their place of worship being too small to accommodate all the persons who thronged to hear the word, the congregation met in the Masonic Hall, in Broadway, at that time the largest and most central hall in the city. Here it continued to assemble until the 9th October. After the commencement of public worship in this hall, it was usually filled. The Sabbath school was greatly increased, and several Bible classes were formed. The minister, elders, teachers in the Bible classes and Sabbath school, and, in fact, every member of the church, considered it their duty to labor personally and unitedly for the *immediate* conversion of sinners. They believed it to be sinful, and leading people to perdition, to tell them to "wait God's time," or to tell them to "go home and repent;" and therefore inculcated that God required sinners to repent NOW. The teachers in the Sabbath school felt that they could not continue to teach unless some of their scholars were converted every Lord's day. The consequence was, conversions took place continually, and the school and Bible classes were made truly the nursery of the church. The hall being situated in one of the great thoroughfares of the city, many persons who stepped in from curiosity were convicted and converted.—Among others, a young man, who ran in to escape a shower, was hopefully converted the same evening.

Real estate is extravagantly high in the lower part of the city, and the congregation did not possess the means of purchasing lots and building a house for public worship. Four substantial brick stores, occupied by grocers, at the corner of Dey and Washington-streets, forming an area of seventy feet by eighty, being offered at auction, it was ascertained that the upper lofts could be converted into a chapel, while the first story could be let for enough to cover the interest of the purchase money, and part of the expense of fitting up a place for public worship. After seeking divine direction, the estate was purchased. Money was hired on a long term of years for a large part of the cost, and a bond and mortgage given as security; a part of the balance was hired on the personal security of a few members of the church, while the expense of fitting up the house was raised by subscription, chiefly among the congregation. The chambers were thrown into a hall, the walls were raised, and the place prepared to accommodate from 800 to 1,000 persons, being exactly of the same size as the church in Broome-street, occupied by the congregation lately under the pastoral care of Rev. William Patton. The expense was about 7,000 dollars. The congregation voted to have all the seats FREE, and consequently dispensed with pew doors. Experience had shown that the system of free churches, if judiciously planned and properly sustained, was the means, under God, of drawing in large numbers of persons who are too often excluded from houses of public worship, in consequence of the pews being owned or occupied by those who make no direct efforts to accommodate persons in humble life, or those who need to be urged to attend public worship.

As it had been determined by the congregation not to let the stores underneath the church to tenants who trafficked in ardent spirits, the persons who had occupied them for several years were notified thereof, when it was found that the stores could not be leased, with this condition, for so much, by several hundred dollars per annum, as they otherwise could have been. But the congregation adhering to their determination, a change of tenants took place.—Hard things were said at the time by many professors of religion at this ultra procedure, but the church had the gratification to receive into its communion, soon after, some individuals from the immediate neighborhood, who had recently renounced the business of selling "distilled damnation" by the cask and quart. Two of them are now elders of his church.

The new church having been completed, the congregation assembled there on the 16th day of October, 1831. It was crowded the first Sabbath. So many accessions were made to the church soon after a protracted meeting, which commenced immediately after the church was opened for public worship, that it was deemed a duty to commence a second free church without delay. Accordingly, on the 14th of February, 1832, three of the elders, together with thirty-six other members, were organized into a church, under the title of the SECOND FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of *New York.* They met in Broadway Hall, about a mile from the Dey-street church, until the following May. Rev. E. P. Barrows preached as stated supply during this period, and his labors were blessed in the conversion of many souls.

Rev. Charles G. Finney having been invited to the city, by individuals belonging to the First and Second Free Churches, and the spacious Chatham-street Theatre having been procured, and fitted up for a place of public worship, and for the religious anniversaries, it was deemed best to relinquish the plan for the present of a Third Free Church, and to invite the Second Free Church to occupy the old theatre, now styled the CHATHAM-STREET CHAPEL.—Accordingly, on the 6th May, 1832, they assembled at the place, and Mr. Finney preached from these words, "*Who is on the Lord's side?*" The expense of fitting up the theatre for a house of God, and converting the saloons into lecture and Sabbath school rooms, was nearly 7,000 dollars; and about half of that sum was contributed by members of other churches, on condition that the chapel might be occupied by the public at the religious anniversaries. On the 28th September, Mr. Finney was installed pastor, by a commission appointed by the third Presbytery (a branch of the first Presbytery.) Sermon by Mr. Parker, from these words: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

It is supposed that the chapel will contain at least 2,500 persons. The attendance has generally been large, and frequently the house is filled. For three weeks in succession it has been known to be crowded every evening, during a protracted meeting, Mr. Finney preaching every evening.

Several of the young members of the two Free Churches, seeing how remarkably God had prospered the efforts already made to convert sinners, and being desirous to be more useful than they could be in these churches, already so large, resolved to commence another Free Church. One of them, a young mechanic, who had been converted in the First Free Church, stated, that "he felt it to be his duty to do something for the cause of Christ; that it was seven months since he had professed religion, and he had done but little; and that he was willing to give of the Lord's money committed to him, one thousand dollars a year, for the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom in the city." A similar spirit actuated his associates, and they gave according "as the Lord had prospered them." After consultation and prayer, the colonists assembled for public worship at the Masonic Hall, on the 9th December, 1832. Rev. D. C. Lansing, who had been invited from Utica, New York, to take the pastoral charge, preached on the occasion. The church, consisting of thirty-five members, was organized at the same time by a commission appointed by the third Presbytery of New York. Dr. Lansing was installed on the 10th February, 1833, and two of the young men were ordained elders, July 14. A lot of ground, eligibly situated at the corner of Houston and Thomson-streets, in the eighth ward, having been procured, a spacious, but neat house of public worship was erected, at an expense of about 11,000 dollars. The congregation assembled in it December 29th, 1833, being precisely one year from the formation of the church; and the vicinity has been found to be a great field of usefulness.

On the 5th January, 1834, a colony from the Second Church, consisting of thirty-five persons, commenced a new congregation, called the FOURTH FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. They first met in a hall at the corner of Hester-street and the Bowery, under the ministry of Rev. Arthur Granger. On the 19th day of October, 1834 (Mr. Granger having taken a dismission,) the Rev. Isaac Newton Sprague was installed pastor. The congregation hired the old brewery in the fourth ward, at the corner of Madison and Catharine-streets, where public worship was commenced on the 9th day of November, 1834.

The congregation have recently purchased these lots for the purpose of erecting a church, on the plan of the First Free Church, and meantime a spacious hall has been hired at the corner of the Bowery and Division-street, that will contain from 800 to 1,000 persons, and the congregation will occupy it until their edifice shall be completed.

Preparations are making by members of the First and Third Free Churches, together with some individuals from the old churches, to form a FIFTH FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in a convenient and central situation. One of the churches heretofore organized on the old system, has recently received a small colony from the Third Free Church, and will be organized as the Sixth Free Church in the city.

The First Free Church has admitted 753 members; 301 males and 452 females; 493 of whom united on profession of faith, and 260 on certificates from other churches. The adult baptisms have been 303, and 27 young men are preparing for the ministry. Rev. Joel Parker's pastoral relation to this church terminated on the 27th day of October, 1833, by the unanimous consent of the church, in obedience to the Saviour's injunction, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" and he embarked for New Orleans, to take charge of the Second

Presbyterian Church in that city, on the 1st November, 1833. Rev. Jacob Helffeinstein has been preaching subsequently as stated supply.

The Second Free Church has admitted 426 members; 145 males and 281 females; of whom 302 were added on profession, and 104 on certificate. The adult baptisms have been 106. Nine young men belonging to this church are studying for the ministry. Two members of this church, one male and one female, are engaged in the foreign missionary service.

The Third Free Church has admitted 344 members; 115 males and 229 females; of whom 203 were added on profession, and 141 on certificate. Twelve are studying for the ministry, and two are in the foreign missionary service.

The Fourth Free Church has admitted 64 members; 22 males and 42 females; of whom 26 were added on profession, and 38 on certificate. Three are studying for the ministry, and one is preparing for the missionary service.

It is believed that more than half the persons who are hopefully converted in these congregations, unite with other churches, owing to various circumstances. A large portion of those who have here made profession of religion, have not been previously baptized, which fact, while it shows that they have been brought up in families destitute of piety, evinces the importance of free churches, where the poor and neglected may have greater opportunity to hear the gospel preached. This fact shows also the happy results attending the personal efforts made by the members of these churches, in inviting and encouraging the impenitent to attend church and Bible classes. New circles of religious influence are thus formed, and the gospel, in living epistles, is carried to hundreds of families, which otherwise might have continued to live as heathens in a Christian land. The "aggressive movements" of these churches among the population of this city, have thus been attended with most happy effects. Sinners have been plucked as fire-brands out of the burning, and made to rejoice in God their Saviour.

Sabbath schools and Bible classes have been, from the beginning, objects of prime concern with the Free Churches. The districts near them have frequently been explored, and invitations given to the poor, and those who neglected the house of God, to attend church, and send their children to the Sabbath school. The teachers in these schools have uniformly been professors of religion, for it is thought improper to entrust the souls of the young to the guidance of teachers, who themselves have not been taught by the Spirit of God. It is said, I know, that impenitent teachers have sometimes been converted while acting as Sabbath school teachers. True; but it is not known how many scholars have been made infidels by receiving religious instruction from "blind leaders of the blind." A single fact shows what intelligent children think of this matter. A little girl, not ten years old, said to her teacher, "I am afraid you will never lead me to heaven."—"Why not?" asked the teacher. "Because," said the child, "you do not appear to know the way yourself." While some were instructing, others were visiting, and persuading parents and youth to avail themselves of the means of grace provided for them. The people of color have not been overlooked, nor have they been thrust away into a few seats in the galleries, but especial efforts have been made to instruct them, and provide good seats for them, so that they might feel that Christians imitate their heavenly Father, in some degree at least, in not being respecters of persons. A large proportion of the accessions to the churches have been from the Sabbath schools and Bible classes. A few children have made a public profession of religion, some of them being seven or eight years old. In all cases, individuals applying for admission to the church, attend a meeting of the session, and are examined faithfully with respect to the hope they entertain of having submitted to Christ. In some of the free churches, it is the practice to *propound* (or, as the term is with you, *propose*) such persons as give evidence of piety, one month previous to their admission to the church. With all this care, a few cases of discipline have occurred, but in a majority of them, the subjects of discipline have been those received by letter from other churches in the same communion, or of other denominations.

A statement with regard to a single male Bible class, in one of the churches, will give you an idea of the method adopted in all these churches, to give biblical instruction to youth of both sexes in separate classes. Two or three young men, who were loitering about near the church, were invited to come in and take seats apart, to see if they would like biblical instruction. After the morning service they agreed to become scholars. Each was desired to bring a new scholar in the afternoon They did so, and others were invited to take seats with them. The adoption of a rule, that no professor of religion should be admitted without bringing a non-professor to the class, was the means of many impenitent persons being brought under instruction. The class met an hour and a half before the morning and evening services on the Lord's day, in the body of the church. A suitable library was established, and the teacher lent the scholars such books as in his judgment were adapted to their circumstances, giving the impenitent Baxter's Call, &c. &c., and biographies of devoted missionaries, &c., to the young converts. One of the scholars acted as librarian. The scholars were encouraged to purchase Polyglott Bibles of the librarian, and to pay for them by small instalments, if unable to pay for them at once. The Gospel of Matthew was taken up in portions of about half a chapter for a lesson, according to the subjects. The teachers in the other departments of the Sabbath school, members of the church generally, and especially the young converts, were actively engaged in persuading inactive professors, and the impenitent, wherever they met them, to unite with this class. Within twelve months, twenty-five of the young men in the class became teachers in the Sabbath schools, three began studying with a view to the ministry, twenty-seven were hopefully converted, and thirty-seven in all united with the church. The principal objects with the teacher, were the immediate conversion of sinners, and inculcating upon professors of religion their duty to be co-workers with God in converting the world; and the Lord greatly blessed the agency employed.

A Bible class for females, taught by another elder of the church, occupied the lecture-room, and in two years eighty-five were hopefully converted in this class. The number in this class varied from fifty to eighty. It was a great advantage to have them in a separate room, free from noise, so that their minds need not be diverted, but kept solemnly fixed upon the instructions. The impenitent were brought into the class mainly by the Christians that belonged to it. They were always urged to do this, and to pray for their conversion, especially during the hours of instruction. The great aim of the teacher was the conversion of the scholar the first time she attended, and his main hope was during the first three Sabbaths they came. After a scholar had joined the class, the teacher took down her residence, visited her as soon as practicable, and held personal conversation with her about the salvation of her soul. In view of what God has effected by this agency, there appears to have been most success with the scholars who did not live with professors of religion. This arose probably from two causes; 1. Their not being gospel-hardened; and, 2. From their not having some lukewarm professor near them, over whom to stumble.

It is the usual practice in these churches, on Sabbath evenings, to invite those who are resolved on immediate submission to God, or are willing to be conversed or prayed with respecting their souls' salvation, to come forward and take seats in front of the pulpit, or to meet the minister and elders in the lecture-room, immediately after the dismission of the congregation. And the church, on such occasions, are invited to stay and pray for the influences of the Holy Spirit, and to offer the prayer of faith for the immediate conversion of sinners. The results have been cheering, and many sinners have, on these solemn occasions, been "led quite to Christ."

The ministers of these Free Churches have moderate salaries, the church edifices are plainly built, and all the expenses attending public worship are on an economical scale. No one is admitted to the churches, on profession or by letter, who will not pledge himself or herself to abstain wholly from the manufacture, sale, or use of ardent spirit. The use of tobacco, also, can be said scarcely to exist in these churches. It is inculcated on the members to practise temperance in eating, and plainness in dress and furniture. When it is considered that the cost of the tobacco used in this country is estimated to be more than the expense of supporting the ministers of every denomination, and that a world is perishing for want of the gospel, it surely behooves Christians not to indulge in any habit or luxury, at the expense of the souls of their fellow-men.

The minister of the First Free Church gave public notice to the people of his former charge, that he would not unite in marriage any member of his church with an unbeliever; and the sinfulness of such unhallowed marriages is inculcated by all the ministers of these churches. They believe they were expressly forbidden under the Old Testament dispensation, and also in the New Testament. They cannot, then, but put the question to their people, with solemnity, "Shouldst thou love them that hate the Lord?"

Collections are taken at every service; and on communion Sabbaths, (the first in every month) the church members deposite in the boxes the sums they severally agree to pay statedly, for the support of public worship. The deficiency is made up annually by a subscription among those members of the church who possess the means of contributing. Besides these, collections are frequently made for special objects of Christian benevolence. The congregations are chiefly composed of people in moderate circumstances, and of strangers. Although some persons of property belong to these churches, and others of this description, after being hopefully converted in them, have united with other churches, still the principal efforts are made to bring in the neglected, the poor, the emigrant, and those who, in the arrangements in the old churches, have been almost entirely overlooked.

Do not understand me as asserting that *all* the members of these churches are active, prayerful, and consistent. It is not so. There are not a few, it is to be feared, who sit idly by while a world is perishing; who, after having solemnly pledged themselves to live for Christ, do little or nothing to build up his kingdom, and regenerate the world. Great must be the condemnation of such professors!

It is easy to see that, could suitable ministers be procured, it would be no difficult thing for the members of the Free Churches to organize many new churches every year. As it is, *one* new church has been organized every year since the system was commenced in this city. More than enough are added to them from the world annually to compose a large church. In fact, could the right kind of ministers be procured, each of the Free Churches could easily colonize and build up a new church every year, and these again adopt the same system. We think a church cannot act efficiently when it is composed of more than 200 or 300 members, although we are too unwilling to urge off our brethren that they may commence other enterprises for the Lord Jesus. It is a great mistake to suppose it requires wealth or large numbers to maintain public worship, for in a city like this, a few young Christians, who can raise 1,000 or 1,500 dollars to begin with, hire a hall, and procure a preacher, can support public worship without difficulty, and make it instrumental of great good. God, in his holy providence, will, if they are prayerful, self-denying, and efficient, give them converts in the course of the year, whose contributions, added to their own, and the public collections, will enable them to maintain, respectably, preaching and the accompanying means of grace. And such churches might be built up in every city, and in many villages. Why should they not be extended throughout Christendom? And it may well engage the prayerful consideration of Christians, if such churches are not more in accordance with the spirit of the gospel than those that have been organized by the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations usually. We see what wonderful success our Methodist brethren have had by alluring to their houses of worship the middling classes of society; "firing low," as their great leader, Wesley, enjoined it upon them. That eminent man well understood the philosophy of the subject, and knew that moral influence ascends in society, and especially in a republic. How greatly is this principle overlooked by many who essay to enlighten the world?—Let us not be ashamed to copy from the Methodists, or from any denomination, measures and modes of preaching that are blessed by the Holy Spirit; especially ministers and others would do well not to refuse to copy the example of Jesus Christ, who certainly well understood in what way to influence, most effectually, human society.

An extraordinary impulse is given to young Christians, when responsibilities like those described are assumed in the fear of the Lord; and they then feel that it is both a duty and a pleasure to bestow the money intrusted to them in building up the Redeemer's kingdom. Clerks in stores have subscribed 100 dollars per annum, and young merchants double or treble that amount; while others, without large means, have cheerfully given from 500 to 1,000 dollars a year for the support of public worship; and this, too, while they did not neglect more public calls to give money for the conversion of the world. The members of these churches have been pressed to relinquish their ownership of the property committed to them by the great Head of the church, and to hold it as stewards, to be laid out (the whole of it) in building up his kingdom, and converting the world. And some of them, it is confidently believed, aim to act upon this obvious principle of the gospel.

Free churches, on similar principles, have been organized in many other places since the commencement of the system in this city, and generally attended, as there is reason to believe, with the smiles of Divine Providence. Why should it be otherwise? Free seats attract the poor, and those who are unable or unwilling to purchase or hire pews; sitting promiscuously in the house of God abates the pride of the rich; and it is well that men should feel humble before each other, at least in the sanctuary of the Almighty. And the system of labor adopted is calculated to bring into personal activity every member of the church.

I have said that a new church might be organized in this city every year, out of each of the Free churches, *provided suitable ministers could be obtained.* Great difficulty and delay arise on this account; for it requires preachers of peculiar talents to be successful in Free churches. They must be "scribes well instructed"—Christians of much religious experience—of a revival spirit—sound theologians—ready extemporaneous speakers—not afraid of "new measures," nor disposed to substitute expediency for duty; and in all respects thorough-going Christian reformers. Such ministers will not have sleepy congregations, nor will the members of their churches be at ease in Zion, or so conform to the world that it is difficult to distinguish them from those who have no hope in Christ. We bless God that measures are in rapid progress to educate young ministers, who will have the courage to preach the whole gospel, and take a strong hold of the blessed work of converting the world to God. May the Lord Jesus Christ hasten the day when our young men, on being converted, will, in the spirit of the youthful Paul, desire above all things to be heralds of salvation; and when Christian merchants, mechanics, farmers, and others, will "buy, and sell, and get gain," not to consume it upon their lusts, but to fill the treasury of the Lord!

I have thus, dear sir, given you the history of the Free Churches in this city to the present time, and have ventured to offer such suggestions as seemed pertinent to the subject. Should you or others see fit to introduce the system into London, it cannot, I think, but be attended with such happy success, as to evince that it is a system in favor with God and man. In conclusion, allow me to remark, that there are two peculiarities in the history of our churches that specially need reformation: 1. Expending so much of the Lord's money in enriching and embellishing houses of public worship; and, 2. Neglecting the great body of the community, adults and children. These things can be and should be remedied. When I have seen in some of our churches a communion service of massive plate, splendid chandeliers, and costly architecture and furniture, I have been reminded of the anecdote of Oliver Cromwell on visiting York Minster. In one of the apartments the Protector noticed twelve niches, in which were the statues of the twelve apostles in solid silver. "What have you there?" inquired Cromwell. On being told, he exclaimed, "Take them down, coin them, and let them go about doing good." Is it not true, that the mere interest of the capital at present invested in superfluous architecture and furniture in churches, is greater than the whole annual contribution of the Protestant churches in Christendom for the spread of the gospel? It may not be practicable to take down and coin all these useless investments, and send the proceeds about doing good, but the present generation will be guilty before God, if they do not take heed not to run into such excess of folly, in lavishing upon embellishment funds that should be expended in multiplying churches, and winning souls to Christ.

With high respect, I remain, dear sir,
Yours, in the bonds of the Gospel,
LEWIS TAPPAN.

STATISTICAL RETURNS TAKEN BY THE DEPUTATION IN THE COURSE OF THEIR JOURNEYS.

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
NEW-YORK.......	......			
Presbyterians and Scotch Church...	......	32	......	10,354
Reformed Dutch......	......	14	......	3,800
Episcopalians	......	23	......	3,928
Baptists.............	......	20	......	4,839
Episcopal Methodists..	......	11	......	5,172
Other Methodists.....	......	9	......	2,500
Friends..............	......	6		
German Lutherans...	......	2	......	500
Moravians...........	......	1	......	100
E. Congregationalists..	......	1	......	150
Catholics	......	5	40,000	
Unitarians...........	......	2	8,000	
Universalists.........	......	3		
Jews	......	3		
PHILADELPHIA..	200,000			
Presbyterians	......	24		
Episcopalians	......	11		
Episcopal Methodists..	......	10		
Reformed Dutch......	......	2		
Reform'd Presbyterians	......	2		
Quakers.............	......	10		
Lutherans...........	......	4		
German Reformed....	......	2		
Universalists.........	......	2		
Unitarians...........	......	1		
Christian Baptists.....	......	1		
Jews' Synagogues.....	......	2		
Moravians...........	......	1		
Roman Catholics.....	......	6		
Miscellaneous.........	......	11		
BALTIMORE......	100,000			
Catholics............	......	6		
Methodists..........	......	8		
Presbyterians	......	5		
Baptists.............	......	4		
Unitarians...........	......	1		
Episcopalians	......	4		
Reformed Church....	......	1		
Assoc. Reformed	......	3		
Quakers.............	......	....	500	
BOSTON	......			
Congregationalists	......	9		
Baptists.	......			
Unitarians...........	......	13		
Episcopalians	......			
WASHINGTON...	20,000			
Presbyterians	......	4	1,500	625
Episcopalians	......	2	12,000	500
Methodists	......	7	3,000	1,900
Baptists.............	......	4	300	150
Catholics.	......	2	2,000	1,600
Unitarians	......	1	250	50
Quakers.............	......	1	50	
Germans.............	......	1	200	
GEORGETOWN...	7,500			
Differ't Denominations	......	6	2,800	
ALEXANDRIA....	7,000			
Presbyterians	......	2	700	370
Episcopalians.........	......	2	700	300
Methodists	......	2	1,200	600
Baptists.............	......	1	400	120
Catholics............	......	1	800	
Quakers	......	1	400	
Col. Methodists.......	......	1	200	
NEWBURGH......	3,300			
Differ't Denominations	......	....	3,000	
MORRISTOWN...	3,500			
Differ't Denominations	......		2,500	700
NEWARK.........	13,000			
Presbyterians	......	5	4,000	1,300
Africans.............	......	1	1,500	150
Episcopalians	......	1	700	
Baptists.	......	2	400	260
Methodists...........	......	4	1,700	700
Catholics	......	1	1,200	
German Reformed....	......	1	150	
Dutch Reformed......	......	1	300	
Scotch Presbyterians..	......		100	
Universalists.........				
Unitarians..........				
Christians				
BUFFALO.........	13,000			
Presbyterians	......	1	1,000	350
Free ditto...........	......	1	400	220
Baptists	......	1	400	150
Episcopalians	......	1	600	200
Methodists..........	......	1		200
Reformed Methodists.	......	1	200	
Germans	......	1	800	80
Catholics	......	1	300	
Universalists.........	......	1	40	
Unitarians	......	1		
Lutherans	......	1		
DUNKIRK.........	600			
Presbyterians	......	1	100	75
Methodists..........	......	1		
SANDUSKY.......	700			
Episcopal Methodists..	......	....	100	
Presbyterians	......	1	100	30
COLUMBUS.......	3,000			
Presbyterians	......	1		
Methodists	......	1		
Episcopalians	......	1		
Catholics	......	1		
Shakers	......	1		
CINCINNATI	30,000			
Presbyterians	......	6	2,300	
Methodists..........	......	4	3,500	
Baptists.	......	2	800	
Episcopalians	......	2	600	
Unitarians	......	1	400	
Catholics	......	1	4,000	
German Lutheran	......	2	500	
Swedes..............	......	1	150	
Campbellite Baptists ..	......	1	200	
Jews' Synagogue......	......	1	100	
MARIETTA.......	2,000			
Presbyterians	......	1		
Baptists	......	1		
Episcopalians	......	1		
Methodists..........	......	2	1,200	500
ZANESVILLE.....	......			
Presbyterians	......	1	3200	
Baptists	......	1		
Episcopalians	......	1		
Catholics	......	1		
Methodists	......	2		
LEXINGTON......	6,000			
Presbyterian	......	2	1,200	300
Baptists.	......	2		

STATISTICAL RETURNS TAKEN BY THE DEPUTATION IN THE COURSE OF THEIR JOURNEYS.—CONTINUED.

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
LEXINGTON, *continued.*	......			
Methodists	......	1	1,000	400
Reformed Methodists	......	1	100	
African Church	......	1	1,000	
Episcopalians	......	1	500	100
STAUNTON	2,000			
Presbyterians	......	1	500	225
Methodists	......	1	600	300
Episcopalians	......	....	200	
CHARLOTTESVILLE	1,000			
Presbyterians	......	1	350	100
Baptists	......	1	250	
Methodists	......	1		
Episcopalians	......	1		
PETERSBURGH	7,000			
Presbyterians	......	1	600	300
Methodists	......	1	600	300
Baptists	......	1	400	100
Episcopalians	......	1	250	60
Colored	......	3	1,000	800
RICHMOND	15,000			
Presbyterians	......	2	800	500
Episcopalians	......	1	600	
Baptists (many color'd)	......	3	......	2,000
Methodists	......	2	1,000	800
Mission Chap. Presb.	......	1	200	
Catholics	......	1	350	
Quakers and Jews	......	....	100	
Unitarians	......	1	150	
FREDERICSBURG.	4,000			
Presbyterians	......	1	400	220
Episcopalians	......	1	400	200
Baptists	......	1	500	300
Methodists	......	1	300	100
Campbellites	......	1	110	
ALBANY	32,000			
Presbyterians	......	4	3,800	1,650
Dutch Reformed	......	2	1,200	500
Methodists	......	3	2,100	500
Baptists	......	1	800	350
Covenanters	......	1	200	
Reform'd Presbyterians	......	1	300	
Episcopalians	......	2	800	200
Catholics	......	1	2,500	
Reformed Lutherans	......	1	300	
Universalists	......	1	500	
African Church	......	1	200	
Primitive Methodists	......	....	100	
Quakers	......	....	50	
TROY	15,000			
Presbyterians	......	5	3,000	1,500
Episcopalians	......	2	1,200	300
Methodists	......	....	1,600	900
Baptists	......	....	1,000	400
Catholics	......	....	2,000	
Unitarians	......	....	200	
	......	2	350	100
	......		200	
UTICA	12,000			
Presbyterians	......	3	2,300	1,000
Methodists	......	2	1,000	
Baptists	......	1		
Dutch Reformed	......	....	300	50
Episcopalians	......	....	1,000	few.
Catholics	......	1	2,000	
Welsh	......	3	1,000	
UTICA, *continued*				
Universalists	......	1	300	
Baptists	......	....	400	200
NORTHAMPTON.	4,800			
Congregat. Orthodox	......	2	2,000	
Unitarians	......	1	140	
Episcopalians	......	1	100	
WEST HAMPTON				
Congregationalists	......	1	500	200
Separatists	......	1	150	
WHITESBOROUGH	1,200			
Presbyterians	......	1		
Baptists	......	1		
Methodists	......	1		
SCHENECTADY	7,000			
Presbyterians	......	1	600	250
Dutch Reformed	......	1	600	250
Methodists	......	1	400	200
Baptists	......	1	300	200
Episcopalians	......	1	300	50
Reform'd Presbyterians	......	....	100	70
Catholics	......	....	300	
CONCORD	4,000			
Congregationalists	......	1	700	470
Methodists	......	1	400	250
Baptists	......	1	400	300
Unitarians	......	....	400	100
LOWELL	13,000			
Congregationalists	......	3	2,500	1,000
Baptists	......	2	1,800	700
Methodists	......	....	800	300
Episcopalians	......	....	500	
Unitarians	......	....	700	100
Universalists	......	....	500	
Catholics	......	....	1,000	
Free-will Baptists	......	....	300	68
Christians	......	....	150	
NEW-HAVEN	10,000			
Congregationalists	......	8	5,000	1,400
Episcopalians	......	2	4,500	500
Baptists	......	1		
Methodists	......	1		
Roman Catholics	......	1	150	
Universalists	......	1		
HARTFORD				
Congregationalists	......	4	2,950	1,300
Baptists	......	2	800	200
Episcopalians	......	1	800	150
Methodists	......	1	450	225
Roman Catholics	......	1	250	
Africans	......	1	200	60
Universalists	......	1	600	
DERBY	2,500			
Presbyterians	......	1	1,300	295
10 District Schools, in which the Minister preaches.	......			
SACO	4,000			
Congregationalists	......	1	1,000	200
Baptists	......	1	200	40
Episcopalians	......	1	200	45
Methodists	......	1	300	100
Unitarians	......	1	200	
Free-will Baptists	......	1	100	
ERIE	1,500			
Presbyterians	......	1	500	289

STATISTICAL RETURNS TAKEN BY THE DEPUTATION IN THE COURSE OF THEIR JOURNEYS.—CONCLUDED.

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
ERIE, *continued.*				
Baptists	......	1	150	50
Presbyterian Seceders	......	1	300	
GENEVA	3,500			
Presbyterians	......	1	750	
Assoc. Reformed	......	1	1500	
Dutch Reformed	......	1		
Baptists	......	1		
Methodists	......	1		
Episcopalians	......	1		
Universalists	......	1		
ELMIRA	3,000			
Presbyterians	......	1	550	200
Episcopalians	......	1	60	....
Baptists	......	1	150	60
Methodists	......	1	250	160
ORWELL	1,500			
Presbyterians	......	1	350	75
Methodists	......	1	300	80
Baptists	......	1	80	50
WILKESBARRE	2,200			
Presbyterians	......	1	600	135
Methodists	......	1	350	
Episcopalians	......	1	126	
DANVILLE	1,500			
Presbyterians	......	1	600	220
Methodists	......	1	200	100
Episcopalians	......	1	30	3
LEWISTOWN	4,000			
Presbyterians	......	2		440
Episcopalians	......	1		
Baptists		1		
Methodists	......	1		
Universalists	......	1		
EBENSBURGH	1,000			
Congregationalists	......	1	400	200
Baptists	......	1	150	60
PITTSBURGH	25,000			
Differ't Denominations	......	30	13,140	7,095
CHAMBERSBURGH	3,500			
Presbyterians	......	1	600	
German Lutherans	......	2	800	
Methodists	......	1		
Roman Catholics	......	1		
Secession	......	1		
Baptists	......	1		
LANCASTER	10,000			
Differ't Denominations	......	11		

SMALLER DENOMINATIONS, WHICH CANNOT BE DIVIDED AMONG THE DIFFERENT STATES, THE PROPORTIONS NOT BEING KNOWN.

	Population.	Ministers.	Churches.	Communicants.
Unitarians	....	150	170	....
Evangelical Lutheran Church	....	216	800	89,487
German Reformed Church	....	180	600	30,000
Dutch Reformed Church	....	167	197	21,115
Associate Presbyterians	....	79	169	12,886
Free-will Baptists	....	410	661	30,440
Six Principle Baptists	....	9	25	1,672
Free Communion Baptists	....	......	......	....
Seventh-day Baptists	....	42	32	4,258
New-Jerusalem Church	....	......	......	....
Cumberland Presbyterians	....	70	110	15,000
Associate and other Methodists	....	400	......	50,000
Friends	220,000	......	450	....
Universalists	....	350	550	....
Shakers	....	......	......	....
Roman Catholics	550,000	......	......	....
Jews	15,000	......	......	....
		2,073	3,764	259,858
Deduct Miscellaneous Denominations, added to Pennsylvania and New-York.		548	1,111	59,307
		1.525	2,653	200,551

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS FOR THE WHOLE TWENTY-FOUR STATES.

	STATES.	Population in 1830.	PRESBYTERIANS.			CONGREGATIONALISTS.			METHODISTS.			BAPTISTS.			EPISCOPALIANS.			MISCELLANEOUS.			TOTAL.		
			Mins.	*Chs.*	*Coms.*	*M's.*	*Chs.*	*Coms.*	*Mins.*	*Chs.*	*Coms.*	*M's.*	*Chs.*	*Coms.*	*M's.*	*Chs.*	*Cts.*	*Mins.*	*Chs.*	*Comts.*	*Mins.*	*Chs.*	*Comts.*
1	Maine . . .	399,462	—	—	—	114	172	13,019	376	376	45,915	162	222	15,000	7	—	—	184	190	—	283	394	28,019
2	N. Hampshire	269,533	—	—	—	117	152	18,347				78	90	6,505	9	—	—				204	242	24,852
3	Vermont . .	280,679	—	—	—	177	206	22,291				81	125	10,525	14	—	—				272	331	32,816
4	Massachusetts	610,014	—	—	—	257	283	46,064				220	189	20,200	35	—	—				512	472	66,264
5	Rhode Island	97,212	—	—	—	10	10	1,300				17	20	3,271	14	—	—				41	30	4,571
6	Connecticut .	297,711	—	—	—	230	226	29,579				97	92	10,039	63	—	—				391	318	39,618
7	New York. .	1,913,508	668	676	75,487	30	30	—	142	142	30,477	545	605	60,006	180	—	—	208	231	16,500	*376 1,773	376 1,684	45,915 182,470
8	New Jersey .	320,779	129	132	17,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	60	4,000	22	—	—	—	—	—	211	193	21,000
9	Pennsylvania	1,347,672	337	475	50,988	—	—	—	252	252	74,106	133	151	11,404	71	—	—	340	880	42,807	1,133	1,829	179,305
10	Ohio . . .	937,679	256	368	25,000	—	—	—	155	155	51,460	166	280	10,000	24	—	—	—	—	—	601	803	86,460
11	Indiana . .	341,582	49	91	3,791	—	—	—	60	60	20,035	201	299	11,000	8	—	—	—	—	—	318	450	34,826
12	Illinois . . .	157,575	31	41	1,263	—	—	—	46	46	30,000	123	154	4,500		—	—	—	—	—	200	241	8,763
13	Delaware . .	76,739	8	15	1,869	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	9	420	5	—	—	—	—	—	18	29	2,289
14	Maryland . .	446,913	51	27	3,600	—	—	—	139	139	49,000	23	34	—	51	—	—	—	—	—	264	200	53,920
15	Virginia . .	1,211,272	80	94	9,000	—	—	—	115	115	41,000	261	435	54,000	55	—	—	—	—	—	511	644	104,000
16	N. Carolina .	738,470	75	129	9,800	—	—	—	—	—	—	213	339	19,000	19	—	—	—	—	—	307	468	28,800
17	S. Carolina .	581,458	106	144	8,300	—	—	—	74	74	47,000	201	273	28,000	37	—	—	—	—	—	365	429	79,150
18	Georgia . .	516,567				—	—	—	81	81	33,000	233	486	37,000	4	—	—	—	—	—	371	649	74,150
19	Alabama . .	308,000	30	39	1,816	—	—	—	49	49	11,090	145	250	11,000	3	—	—	—	—	—	227	338	23,816
20	Mississippi .	136,000	23	34	1,011	—	—	—	50	50	10,000	39	85	3,000	3	—	—	—	—	—	115	169	14,011
21	Lousiana . .	215,300	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	16	700	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	16	700
22	Tennessee .	684,000	109	144	10,000	—	—	—	106	106	30,000	243	413	20,000	8	—	—	—	—	—	466	663	60,000
23	Kentucky . .	688,000	70	92	7,160	—	—	—	89	89	26,000	258	484	33,000	9	—	—	—	—	—	426	665	66,160
24	Missouri . .	140,000	16	32	1,476	—	—	—	47	47	7,000	93	146	5,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	156	225	13,476
																					9,554	11,858	1,305,351
		Miscellaneous Denominations																			1,525	2,653	200,551
																					11,079	14,511	1,505,902

* The Methodist Denomination do not divide their numbers in New England among the different States statistically, so that they are put in one number at the close of New York.

A
DISCOURSE
OF
NATURAL THEOLOGY,

SHOWING

THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE AND THE ADVANTAGES
OF THE STUDY.

BY

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F. R. S.,

AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

NEW-YORK:
THOMAS GEORGE, JR., 162 NASSAU STREET.

1835.

DEDICATION.

TO JOHN CHARLES EARL SPENCER.

The composition of this Discourse was undertaken in consequence of an observation which I had often made, that scientific men were apt to regard the study of Natural Religion as little connected with philosophical pursuits. Many of the persons to whom I allude, were men of religious habits of thinking; others were free from any disposition towards skepticism, rather because they had not much discussed the subject, than because they had formed fixed opinions upon it after inquiry. But the bulk of them relied little upon Natural Theology, which they seemed to regard as a speculation built rather on fancy than on argument; or, at any rate, as a kind of knowledge quite different from either physical or moral science. It therefore appeared to me desirable to define, more precisely than had yet been done, the place and the claims of Natural Theology among the various branches of human knowledge.

About the same time, our Society,* as you may recollect, was strongly urged to publish an edition of Dr. Paley's popular work, with copious and scientific illustrations. We both favored this plan; but some of our colleagues justly apprehended that the adoption of it might open the door to the introduction of religious controversy among us, against our fundamental principles; and the scheme was abandoned. I regarded it, however, as expedient to carry this plan into execution by individual exertion; and our worthy and accomplished colleague, Sir C. Bell—whose admirable treatise on Animal Mechanics pointed him out as the fellow-laborer I should most desire—fortunately agreed to share the work of the illustrations. In these we have made a very considerable progress; and I now inscribe this publication, but particularly the Preliminary Discourse, to you. It was, with the exception of the Third Section of Part I., and the greater portion of the Notes, written at the end of 1830, in 1831, and the latter part of 1833, and a portion was added in the autumn of 1834. In those days I held the Great Seal of this kingdom; and it was impossible to finish the work while many cares of another kind pressed upon me. But the first leisure that could be obtained was devoted to this object, and to a careful revision of what had been written in a season less auspicious for such speculations.

I inscribe the fruits of those studies to you, not merely as a token of ancient friendship—for that you do not require; nor because I always have found you, whether in possession or in resistance of power, a fellow-laborer to maintain our common principles, alike firm, faithful, disinterested—for your known public character wants no testimony from me; nor yet because a work on such a subject needs the patronage of a great name—for it would be affectation in me to pretend any such motive; but because you have devoted much of your time to such inquiries—are beyond most men sensible of their importance—concur generally in the opinions which I profess to maintain—and had even formed the design of giving to the world your thoughts upon the subject, as I hope and trust you now will be moved to do all the more for the present address. In this view, your authority will prove of great value to the cause of truth, however superfluous the patronage of even your name might be to recommend the most important of all studies.

Had our lamented friend Romilly lived, you are aware that not even these considerations would have made me address any one but him, with whom I had oftentimes speculated upon this ground. Both of us have been visited with the most severe afflictions, of a far nearer and more lasting kind than even his removal, and we are now left with few things to care for; yet, ever since the time I followed him to the grave, I question if either of us has read, without meditating upon the irreparable loss we and all men then sustained, the words of the ancient philosopher best imbued with religious opinions—"Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros de quibus ante dixi, sed etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate præstantior; cujus a me corpus crematum est, animus vero non me deserens sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum; quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quod æquo animo ferrem; sed me ipse consolabar, existimans, non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore."*

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* For the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

* De Senect.

A DISCOURSE
OF
NATURAL THEOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION.

ARRANGEMENT OF SUBJECTS AND EXPLANATION OF TERMS.

THE words *Theology* and *Religion* are often used as synonymous. Thus, *Natural Theology* and *Natural Religion* are by many confounded together. But the more accurate use of the words is that which makes *Theology* the science, and *Religion* its subject; and in this manner are they distinguished when we speak of a "professor of theology," and a "sense of religion."

There is, however, as regards *Natural Theology*, a more limited use of the word, which confines it to the knowledge and attributes of the Deity, and regards the speculation concerning his will, and our own hopes from and duties towards him, as another branch of the science, termed *Natural Religion*, in contradistinction to the former. Dr. Paley hardly touches on this latter branch in his book, there being only about one-sixtieth part devoted to it, and that incidentally in treating of the attributes. Indeed, though in the dedication he uses the word *Religion* as synonymous with *Theology*, the title and the arrangement of his discourse show that he generally employed the term *Natural Theology* in its restricted sense. Bishop Butler, on the other hand, seems to have used *Natural Religion* in a sense equally restricted, but certainly little warranted by custom; for that portion of his work which treats of Natural Religion is confined to a future state and the moral government of God, as if he either held Natural Religion and Natural Theology to be two branches of one subject, or Natural Religion to be a branch of Natural Theology. The older writers, Clarke, Bentley, Derham, seem to have sometimes used the words indifferently, but never to have regarded Natural Religion in the restricted acceptation. The ancients generally used *Religion* in a qualified sense, either as connected with an obligation, or as synonymous with superstition.

This Discourse is not a treatise of Natural Theology: it has not for its design an exposition of the doctrines whereof Natural Theology consists. But its object is, first, to explain the nature of the evidence upon which it rests—to show that it is a science, the truths of which are discovered by induction, like the truths of Natural and Moral Philosophy—that it is a branch of science partaking of the nature of each of those great divisions of human knowledge, and not merely closely allied to them both. Secondly, the object of the Discourse is to explain the advantages attending this study. The work, therefore, is a *Logical one*.

We have commented upon the use of the terms *Theology* and *Religion*. As it is highly desirable to keep scientific language precise, and always to use the same terms in the same sense, we shall now further observe upon the word "*moral*" in relation to science or faculties. It is sometimes used to denote the whole of our mental faculties, and in opposition to natural and physical, as when we speak of "*moral science*," "*moral truths;*" "*moral philosophy*." But it is also used in contradistinction to "*intellectual*" or "*mental*," and in connection with or in reference to obligation; and then it relates to rights and duties, and is synonymous with *ethical*. It seems advisable to use it always in this sense, and to employ the words *spiritual* and *mental* in opposition to *natural* and *material;* and *psychological*, as applied to the science of mind, in opposition to *physical*. Again, a distinction is sometimes made between the *intellectual* and *moral* powers or faculties—the former being directly those of the understanding, the latter those of the will, or, as they are often called, the "*active powers*,"—that is, the passions and feelings. It seems better to use the word *active* for this purpose as opposed to *intellectual*. Thus, we shall have these general terms, *spiritual* or *mental*, as applied to the immaterial part of the creation, and *psychological*, as applied to the science which treats of it. We shall next have a subdivision of the mental faculties into *intellectual* and *active;* both form the subjects of *psychological* science. *Moral* science, in its restricted sense, and properly so called, will then denote that branch which treats of duties, and of what is implied in those duties, their correlative rights; it will, in short, be *ethical* science.

Thus, the science of mind—say *Metaphysical* science—may be said to consist of two great branches, the one of which treats of existences, the other of duties. The one accordingly has been termed, with great accuracy, *Ontology*, speaking of that which *is;* the other, *Deontology*, speaking of that which *ought to be*. The former, however, comprehends properly all physical, as well as mental science.—The division which appears upon the whole most convenient is this: That *metaphysical* science, as contradistinguished from *physical*, is either *psychological*, which treats of the faculties both intellectual and active, but treats of existences only; or *moral*, which treats of rights and duties, and is distinguishable from psychological, though plainly connected with it nearly as corollaries are with the propositions from whence they flow. Then physical truths, in one respect, come under the same head with the first branch of metaphysical truths. Physical as well as psychological science treats of existences, while moral science alone treats of duties.

According to a like arrangement, Natural Theology consists of two great branches, one resembling *Ontology*, the other analogous to *Deontology*. The former comprehends the discovery of the existence and attributes of a Creator, by investigating the evidences of design in the works of the creation, material as well as spiritual. The latter relates to the discovery of his will and probable intentions with regard to his creatures, their conduct, and their duty. The former resembles the physical and psychological sciences, and treats of the evidences of design, wisdom, and goodness exhibited both in the natural and spiritual worlds. The latter resembles rather the department of moral science, as distinguished from both physical and psychological. We may thus consider the science of Natural Theology as consisting, like all inductive science, of three compartments, Natural, Mental, and Moral; or, taking the Greek terms, Physical, Psychological, and Ethical.

This classification is convenient, and its grounds are very fit to be premised—at the same time that we must admit the question to be one only of classification and technology. Having so stated the divisions of the subject and the meaning of the terms used in relation to those divisions, I shall assume this arrangement and adhere to this phraseology, as convenient, though far from representing it to be the best. In such discussions it is far more important to employ one uniform and previously explained language or arrangement, than to be very curious in adopting the best. No classification, indeed, can, from the nature of things, be rigorously exact. All the branches of science, even of natural philosophy, much more of metaphysical, run into each other, and are separated by gradations rather than by lines of demarcation. Nor could any scientific language we possess help breaking down under us in an attempt to maintain a perfectly logical arrangement.[*]

ANALYSIS OF THE WORK.

The order of this Discourse is thus set out:

The First Part treats of the nature of the subject, and the kind of evidence upon which Natural Theology rests.

The Second Part treats of the advantages derived from the study of the science.

The former part is divided into seven sections.—The *first* is introductory, and treats of the kind of evidence by which the truths of Physical and Psychological science are investigated, and shows that there is as great an appearance of diversity between the manner in which we arrive at the knowledge of different truths in those inductive sciences, as there is between the nature of any such inductive investigation, and the proofs of the ontological branches of Natural Theology. But that diversity is proved to be only apparent; and hence it is inferred, that the supposed difference of the proofs of Natural Theology may also be only apparent.

The *second* section continues the application of this argument to the Physical branch of Natural Theology, and shows further proofs that the first branch of Natural Theology is as much an inductive science, as Physics or Natural Philosophy.—The first section compares the ontological branches of Natural Theology with all inductive science, physical as well as psychological. The second compares the physical branch of Natural Theology with physical science only.

The *third* section compares the psychological branch of Natural Theology with psychological science, and shows that both rest alike upon induction.

The *fourth* section shows that the *argumentum a priori* is unsound in a great degree—that it is insufficient for the purpose to which it is applied—that it serves only to a limited extent—and that to this extent it is in reality not distinguishable from induction, or the *argumentum a posteriori.*

The *fifth* section treats of the second or Moral, the *deontological* branch of Natural Theology, and shows that it rests upon the same kind of evidence with moral science, and is, strictly speaking, as much a branch of inductive knowledge.

The *sixth* section examines the doctrines of Lord Bacon respecting Final Causes, and shows that he was not adverse to the speculation when kept within due bounds.

The *seventh* section examines the true nature of inductive analysis and synthesis, and shows some important errors prevailing on this subject.

In treating of the proofs of design displayed by the mental constitution of living creatures, and in treating of the Soul's Immortality, it becomes necessary to enter more at large into the subject, and therefore, the *third* and the *fifth* sections are not, like the others, mere logical discourses in which the doctrines of Natural Theology are assumed rather than explained. The subjects of those two sections have not been sufficiently handled in professed treatises upon Natural Theology, which have been almost wholly confined to the first branch of the science—the proofs of the Deity's existence and attributes—and to the physical portion of that branch. This defect I have endeavored to supply.

The Second Part, which treats of the advantages of the study, consists of the sections.

The *first* shows that the precise kind of pleasure derived from the investigation of scientific truths is derived from this study.

The *second* treats of the pleasures which are peculiar to this study.

The *third* treats of the connection of Natural with Revealed Religion.

PART THE FIRST.

NATURE OF THE SCIENCE, AND OF ITS EVIDENCES.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY VIEW OF THE METHOD OF INVESTIGATION PURSUED IN THE PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

The faculties, as well as the feelings of the human mind, its intellectual, as well as its active powers, are employed without any intermission, although with varying degrees of exertion, in one of two ways; either in regard to some object immediately connected with the supply of our wants, or in regard to subjects of mere contemplation. The first class of exertions relates to all the objects of necessity, of comfort, or of physical enjoyment: in the pursuit of these, the powers of the understanding, or the passions, or both together, are with nearly the whole of mankind employed during the greater portion of their existence, and with the bulk of mankind, during almost the whole of their existence. The other class of mental exertions, which engrosses but a very few men for the greater part of their lives, and occupies the majority only occasionally and at considerable intervals, comprehends within its scope all the subjects of meditation and reflection, of merely speculative reasoning and discussion: it is composed of all the efforts which our understanding can make, and all the desires which we can feel upon subjects of mere science or taste, matters which begin and end in intellectual or moral gratification.

It is unquestionably true that these two grand branches of exertion have an intimate connection with each other. The pursuits of science lend constant assistance to those of active life; and the practical exercise of the mental powers constantly furthers the progress of science merely speculative. But the two provinces are nevertheless perfectly distinguishable, and ought not to be confounded.—The corollary from a scientific discovery may be the improvement of a very ordinary machine or a common working tool; yet the establishment of the speculative truth may have been the primary object of the philosopher who discovered it; and to learn that truth is the immediate purpose of him who studies the philosopher's system. So, the better regulation of the affections or the more entire control of the passions, may be the result of an acquaintance of our mental constitution; but the object of him who studies the laws of mind is merely to become acquainted with the spiritual part of our nature. In like manner, it is very possible that the knowledge of a scientific truth may force itself upon one whose faculties or feelings are primarily engaged in some active exertion. Some physical law, or some psychological truth, may be discovered by one only intent upon supplying a physical want, or obtaining a mental enjoyment. But here, as in the former case, the scientific or speculative object is incidental to the main pursuit; the matter of contemplation is the corollary, the matter of action the proposition.

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[*] Note I.

The merely contemplative pursuits, which thus form one of the great branches of mental exertion, seem again to be divisible into two classes, by a line that, to a careless observer, appears sufficiently defined. The objects of our inquiry and meditation appear to be either those in the physical and spiritual worlds, with which we are conversant through our senses, or by means of our internal consciousness; or those things with which we are made acquainted only by reasoning—by the evidence of things unseen and unfelt. We either discuss the properties and relations of actually perceived and conceived beings, physical and mental—that is, the objects of sense and of consciousness; or we carry our inquiries beyond those things which we see and feel; we investigate the origin of them and of ourselves; we rise from the contemplation of nature and of the spirit within us, to the first cause of all, both of body and of mind. To the one class of speculation belong the inquiries how matter and mind are framed, and how they act; to the other class belong the inquiries whence they proceed, and whither they tend. In a word, the structure and relations of the universe form the subject of the one branch of philosophy, and may be termed *Human Science;* the origin and destiny of the universe form the subject of its other branch, and is termed *Divine Science*, or *Theology*.

It is not to be denied that this classification may be convenient; indeed, it rests upon some real foundation, for the speculations which compose these two branches have certain common differences and common resemblances. Yet it is equally certain, that nothing but an imperfect knowledge of the subject, or a superficial attention to it, can permit us to think that there is any well-defined boundary which separates the two kinds of philosophy; that the methods of investigation are different in each; and that the kind of evidence varies by which the truths of the one and of the other class are demonstrated. The error is far more extensive in its consequences than a mere inaccuracy of classification, for it materially impairs the force of the proofs upon which Natural Theology rests. The proposition which we would place in its stead is, that this science is strictly a branch of inductive philosophy, formed and supported by the same kind of reasoning upon which the Physical and Psychological sciences are founded. This important point will be established by a fuller explanation; and we shall best set about this task by showing, in the first place, that the same apparent diversity of evidence exists in the different subjects or departments of the branch which we have termed Human science. It seems to exist there on a superficial examination: if a closer scrutiny puts that appearance to flight, the inference is legitimate, that there may be no better ground for admitting an essential difference between the foundations of Human science and Divine.

The careless inquirer into physical truth would certainly think he had seized on a sound principle of classification, if he should divide the objects with which philosophy, Natural and Mental, is conversant, into two classes—those objects of which we know the existence by our senses or our consciousness; that is, external objects which we see, touch, taste, and smell, internal ideas which we conceive or remember, or emotions which we feel—and those objects of which we only know the existence by a process of reasoning, founded upon something originally presented by the senses or by consciousness. This superficial reasoner would range under the first of these heads the members of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; the heavenly bodies; the mind—for we are supposing him to be so far capable of reflection, as to know that the proof of the mind's separate existence is, at the least, as short, plain, and direct as that of the body, or of external objects. Under the second head he would range generally whatever objects of examination are not directly perceived by the senses, or felt by consciousness.

But a moment's reflection will show both how very short a way this classification would carry our inaccurate logician, and how entirely his principle fails to support him even during that little part of the journey. Thus, the examination of certain visible objects and appearances enables us to ascertain the laws of light and of vision. Our senses teach us that colors differ, and that their mixture forms other hues; that their absence is black, their combination in certain proportions, white. We are in the same way enabled to understand that the organ of vision performs its functions by a natural apparatus resembling, though far surpassing, certain instruments of our own constructing, and that therefore it works on the same principles. But that light, which can be perceived directly by none of our senses, exists, as a separate body, we only infer by a process of reasoning from things which our senses do perceive. So we are acquainted with the effects of heat; we know that it extends the dimensions of whatever matter it penetrates; we feel its effects upon our own nerves when subjected to its operation; and we see its effects in augmenting, liquefying, and decomposing other bodies; but its existence as a separate substance we do not know, except by reasoning and by analogy. Again, to which of the two classes must we refer the air? Its existence is not made known by the sight, the smell, the taste; but is it by the touch? Assuredly a stream of it, blown upon the nerves of touch, produces a certain effect; but to infer from thence the existence of a rare, light, invisible, and impalpable fluid, is clearly an operation of reasoning, as much as that which enables us to infer the existence of light or heat from their perceptible effects. But furthermore, we are accustomed to speak of seeing motion; and the reasoner whom we are supposing would certainly class the phenomena of mechanics, and possibly of dynamics generally, including astronomy, under his first head, of things known immediately by the senses. Yet assuredly nothing can be more certain than that the knowledge of motion is a deduction of reasoning, not a perception of sense; it is derived from the comparison of two positions; the idea of a change of place is the result of that comparison attained by a short process of reasoning; and the estimate of velocity is the result of another process of reasoning and of recollection. Thus, then, there is at once excluded from the first class almost the whole range of natural philosophy. But are we quite sure that any thing remains which, when severely examined will stand the test? Let us attend a little more closely to the things which we have passed over hastily, as if admitting that they belonged to the first class.

It is said that we do not see light, and we certainly can know its existence directly by no other sense but that of sight, but that we see objects variously illuminated, and therefore that the existence of light is an inference of reason, and the diversity of color an object of sense. But the very idea of diversity implies reasoning, for it is the result of a comparison, and when we affirm that white light is composed of the seven primary colors in certain proportions, we state a proposition which is the result of much reasoning—reasoning, it is true, founded upon sensations or impressions upon the senses; but not less founded upon such sensations is the reasoning which makes us believe in the existence of a body called light. The same may be said of heat, and the phenomena of heated bodies. The existence of heat is an inference from certain phenomena, that is, certain effects produced on our external senses by certain bodies or certain changes which those senses undergo in the neighborhood of those bodies; but it is not more an inference of reason than the proposition that heat extends or liquefies bodies; for that is merely a conclusion drawn from comparing our sensations occasioned by the external objects placed in varying circumstances.

But can we say that there is no process of reasoning even in the simplest case which we have supposed our reasoner to put; the existence of the three kingdoms, of nature, of the heavenly bodies, of the mind? It is certain that there is in every one of these cases a process of reasoning. A certain sensation is excited in the mind through the sense of vision; it is an inference of reason that this must have been excited by something, or must have had a cause. That the cause must have been external, may possibly be allowed to be another inference which reason could make unaided by the evidence of any other sense. But to discover that the cause was at any the least distance from the organ of vision, clearly required a new process of reasoning, considerable experience, and the indications of other senses; for the young man whom Mr. Cheselden couched for a cataract, at first believed that every thing he saw touched his eye. Experience and reasoning, therefore, are required to teach us the existence of external objects; and all that relates to their relations of size, color, motion, habits, in a word, the whole philosophy of them, must of course be the result of still longer and more complicated processes of reasoning. So of the existence of the mind: although undoubtedly the process of reasoning is here the shortest of all, and the least liable to deception, yet so connected are all its phenomena with those of the body, that it requires a process of abstraction alien from the ordinary habits of most men, to be persuaded that we have a more undeniable evidence of its separate existence than we even have of the separate existence of the body.

It thus clearly appears that we have been justified in calling the classifier whose case we have been supposing, a careless inquirer, a superficial reasoner, an imperfect logician; that there is no real foundation for the distinction which we have supposed him to take between the different objects of scientific investigation; that the evidence upon which our assent to both classes of truths reposes is of the same kind, namely, the inferences drawn by reasoning from sensations or ideas, originally presented by the external senses or by our inward consciousness.

If, then, the distinction which at first appeared solid, is found to be without any warrant in the different kinds of Humane Science, has it any better grounds when we apply it to draw the line between that branch of philosophy itself, and the other which has been termed Divine, or Theology? In other words, is there any real, any specific difference between the method of investigation, the nature of the evidence, in the two departments of speculation? Although this Preliminary Discourse, and indeed the work itself which it introduces, and all the illustrations of it, are calculated throughout to furnish the answer to the question, we shall yet add a few particulars in this place, in order to show how precisely the same fallacy which we have been exposing, in regard to the classification of objects in ordinary scientific research, gives rise to the more general classification or separation of all science into two distinct branches, Human and Divine, and how erroneous it is to suppose that these two branches rest upon different foundations.

SECTION II.

COMPARISON OF THE PHYSICAL BRANCH OF NATURAL THEOLOGY WITH PHYSICS.

The two inquiries—that into the nature and constitution of the universe, and that into the evidence of design which it displays; in a word, physics and psychology, philosophy, whether natural or mental, and the fundamental branch of Natural Theology, are not only closely allied one to the other, but are to a very considerable extent identical. The two paths of investigation for a great part of the way completely coincide. The same induction of facts which leads us to a knowledge of the structure of the eye, and its functions in the animal economy, leads us to the knowledge of its adaptation to the properties of light. It is a truth of physics, in the strictest sense of the word, that vision is performed by the eye refracting light, and making it converge to a focus upon the retina; and that the peculiar combination of its lenses, and the different materials they are composed of, correct the indistinctness which would otherwise arise from the different refrangibility of light; in other words, make the eye an achromatic instrument. But if this is not also a truth in Natural Theology, it is a position from which, by the shortest possible process of reasoning, we arrive at theological truth; namely, that the instrument so successfully performing a given service by means of this curious structure, must have been formed with a knowledge of the properties of light. The position from which so easy a step brings us to this doctrine of Natural Theology was gained by strict induction. Upon the same evidence which all natural science rests on, reposes the knowledge that the eye is an optical instrument: this is a truth common to both physics and theology. Before the days of Sir Isaac Newton, men knew that they saw by means of the eye, and that the eye was constructed upon optical principles; but the reason of its peculiar conformation they knew not, because they were ignorant of the different refrangibility of light. When his discoveries taught this truth, it was found to have been acted upon, and consequently known by the Being who created the eye. Still our knowledge was imperfect; and it was reserved for Mr. Dollond to discover another law of nature—the different dispersive powers of different substances, which enabled him to compound an object-glass that more effectually corrected the various refrangibility of the rays. It was now observed that this truth also must have been known to the maker of the eye; for upon its basis is that instrument, far more perfect than the achromatic glass of Dollond, framed.—These things are truths in both physics and theology; they are truths taught us by the self-same process of investigation, and resting upon the self-same kind of evidence.

When we extend our inquiries, and observe the varieties of this perfect instrument, we mark the adaptation of changes to the diversity of circum stances; and the truths thus learnt are in like manner common to Physical and Theological science; that is, to Natural History, or Comparative Anatomy, and Natural Theology.

That beautiful instrument, so artistly contrived that the most ingenious workman could not imagine an improvement of it, becomes still more interesting and more wonderful, when we find that its conformation is varied with the different necessities of each animal. If the animal prowls by night, we see the opening of the pupil, and the power of concentration in the eye increased. If an amphibious animal has occasionally to dive into the water, with the change of the medium through which the rays pass, there is an accommodation in the condition of the humors, and the eye partakes of the eye both of the quadruped and the fish.

So, having contemplated the apparatus for protection in the human eye, we find that in the lower animals, who want both the accessory means of cleaning the eye and the ingenuity to accomplish it by other modes than the eyelids, an additional eyelid, a new apparatus, is provided for this purpose.

Again, in fishes, whose eye is washed by the element in which they move, all the exterior apparatus is unnecessary, and is dismissed; but in the crab, and especially in that species which lies in mud, the very peculiar and horny prominent eye, which every body must have observed, would be quite obscured were it not for a particular provision. There is a little brush of hair above the eye, against which the eye is occasionally raised to wipe off what may adhere to it. The form of the eye, the particular mode in which it is moved, and, we may say, the coarseness of the instrument compared with the parts of the same organ in the higher class of animals, make the mechanism of eyelids and of lachrymal glands unsuitable. The mechanism used for this purpose is discovered by observation and reasoning; that it is contrived for this purpose is equally a discovery of observation and reasoning. Both propositions are strictly propositions of physical science.

The same remarks apply to every part of the animal body. The use to which each member is subservient, and the manner in which it is enabled so to perform its functions as to serve that appointed use, is learnt by an induction of the strictest kind. But it is impossible to deny, that what induction thus teaches forms the great bulk of all Natural Theology. The question which the theologian always puts upon each discovery of a purpose manifestly accomplished, is this: "Suppose I had this operation to perform by mechanical means, and were acquainted with the laws regulating the action of matter, should I attempt it in any other way than I here see practised?" If the answer is in the negative, the consequence is irresistible that some power, capable of acting with design, and possessing the supposed knowledge, employed the means which we see used. But this negative answer is the result of reasoning founded upon induction, and rests upon the same evidence whereon the doctrines of all physical science are discovered and believed. And the inference to which that negative answer so inevitably leads is a truth in Natural Theology; for it is only another way of asserting that design and knowledge are evinced in the works and functions of nature. It may further illustrate the argument to take one or two other examples. When a bird's egg is examined, it is found to consist of three parts; the chick, the yelk in which the chick is placed, and the white in which the yelk swims. The yelk is lighter than the white; and it is attached to it at two points, joined by a line or rather plane, *below* the centre of gravity of the yelk. From this arrangement, it must follow that the chick is always uppermost, roll the egg how you will; consequently, the chick is always kept nearest to the breast or belly of the mother while she is sitting. Suppose, then, that any one acquainted with the laws of motion had to contrive things so as to secure this position for the little speck or sac in question, in order to its receiving the necessary heat from the hen—could he proceed otherwise than by placing it in the lighter liquid, and suspending that liquid in the heavier, so that its centre of gravity should be above the line or plane of suspension? Assuredly not; for in no other way could this purpose be accomplished. This position is attained by a strict induction; it is supported by the same kind of evidence on which all physical truths rest. But it leads, by a single step, to another truth in Natural Theology; that the egg must have been formed by some hand skilful in mechanism, and acting under the knowledge of dynamics. The forms of the bones and joints, and the tendons or cords which play over them, afford a variety of instances of the most perfect mechanical adjustment. Sometimes the power is sacrificed for rapidity of motion, and sometimes rapidity is sacrificed for power. Our knee-pan, or patella, throws off the tendon which is attached to it from the centre of motion, and therefore adds to the power of the muscles of the thigh, which enable us to rise or to leap. We have a mechanism of precisely the same kind in the lesser joints, where the bones, answering the purposes of the patella, are formed of a diminutive size.* In the toes of the ostrich, the material is different, but the mechanism is the same. An elastic cushion is placed between the tendon and the joint, which, whilst it throws off the tendon from the centre of motion, and therefore adds to the power of the flexor muscle, gives elasticity to the bottom of the foot. And we recognise the intention of this when we remember that this bird does not fly, but runs with great swiftness, and that the whole weight rests upon the foot, which has but little relative breadth; these elastic cushions serving, in some degree, the same office as the elastic frog of the horse's hoof, or the cushion in the bottom of the camel's foot.

The web-foot of the water-fowl is an inimitable paddle; and all the ingenuity of the present day exerted to improve our steam-boats makes nothing to approach it. The flexor tendon of the toes of the duck is so directed over the heads of the bones of the thigh and leg, that it is made tight when the creature bends its leg, and is relaxed when the leg is stretched out. When the bird draws its foot up, the toes are drawn together, in consequence of the bent position of the bones of the leg pressing on the tendon. When, on the contrary, it pushes the leg out straight, in making the stroke, the tendons are relieved from the pressure of the heel-bone, and the toes are permitted to be fully extended, and at the same time expanded, so that the web between them meets the resistance of a large volume of water.

In another class of birds, those which roost upon the branch of a tree, the same mechanism answers another purpose. The great length of the toes of these birds enables them to grasp the branch; yet were they supported by voluntary effort alone, and were there no other provision made, their grasp would relax in sleep. But, on the contrary, we know that they roost on one foot, and maintain a firm attitude. Borelli has taken pains to explain how this is. The muscle which bends the toes lies on the fore part of the thigh, and runs over the joint which corresponds with our knee-joint: from the fore part its tendon passes to the back part of the leg, and over the joint equivalent to our heel-bone: it then splits, and extends in the bottom of the foot to the toes. The consequence of this singular course of the tendon is, that when the mere weight of the bird causes these two joints to bend under it, the tendon is stretched, or would be stretched, were it not that its divided extremities, inserted into the last bones of the toes, draw these toes so that they contract, and grasp the branch on which the bird roosts, without any effort whatever on its part.

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* Hence called *Sesamoid* from *Sesamum*, a kind of grain.

These are facts learnt by induction; the inductive science of dynamics shows us that such mechanism is calculated to answer the end which, in point of fact, is attained. To conclude from thence that the mechanist contrived the means with the intention of producing this end, and with the knowledge of the science, is also strictly an inference of induction.

Examine now, in land animals, the structure of the larynx, the upper part of which is so contrived as to keep the windpipe closely shut by the valve thrown over its orifice, while the food is passing into the stomach, as it were, over a drawbridge, and, but for that valve, would fall into the lungs. No one can hesitate in ascribing this curious mechanism to the intention that the same opening of the throat and mouth should serve for conveying food to the stomach and air to the lungs, without any interference of the two operations. But that structure would not be sufficient for animals which live in the water, and must therefore, while they breathe at the surface, carry down their food to devour it below. In them accordingly, as in the whale and the porpoise, we find the valve is not flat, but prominent and somewhat conical, rising towards the back of the nose, and the continuation of the nostril by means of a ring (or *sphyncter*) muscle embraces the top of the windpipe so as to complete the communication between the lungs and the blow-hole, while it cuts off all communication between those lungs and the mouth.

Again, if we examine the structure of a porpoise's head, we find its cavities capable of great distention, and such that he can fill them at pleasure with air or with water, according as he would mount, float, or sink. By closing the blow-hole, he shuts out the water; by letting in the water, he can sink; by blowing from the lungs against the cavities, he can force out the water, and fill the hollows with air, in order to rise. No one can doubt that such facts afford direct evidence of an apt contrivance directed towards a specific object, and adopted by some power thoroughly acquainted with the laws of hydrostatics, as well as perfectly skilful in workmanship.

To draw an example from a very different source, let us observe the structure of the Planetary System. There is one particular arrangement which produces a certain effect—namely, the stability of the system,—produces it in a manner peculiarly adapted for perpetual duration, and produces it through the agency of an influence quite universal, pervading all space, and equally regulating the motions of the smallest particles of matter and of its most prodigious masses. This arrangement consists in making the planets move in orbits more or less elliptical, but none differing materially from circles, with the sun near the centre, revolving almost in one plane of motion, and moving in the same direction —those whose eccentricity is the most considerable having the smallest masses, and the larger ones deviating hardly at all from the circular path. The influence of gravitation, which is inseparably connected with all matter as far as we know, extends over the whole of this system; so that all those bodies which move round the sun—twenty-three planets including their satellites, and six or seven comets—are continually acting upon each by two kinds of force,—the original projection which sends them forward, and is accompanied with a similar and probably a coeval rotatory motion in some of them round their axis, and the attraction of each towards every other body, which attraction produces three several effects—consolidating the mass of each, and, in conjunction with the rotatory motion, moulding their forms—retaining each planet in its orbit round the sun, and each satellite in its orbit round the planet—altering or disturbing what would be the motion of each round the sun, if there were no other bodies in the system to attract and disturb. Now it is demonstrated by the strictest process of mathematical reasoning, that the result of the whole of these mutual actions, proceeding from the universal influence of gravitation, must necessarily, in consequence of the peculiar arrangement which has been described of the orbits and masses, and in consequence of the law by which gravitation acts, produce a constant alteration in the orbit of each body, which alteration goes on for thousands of years, very slowly making that orbit bulge, as it were, until it reaches a certain shape, when the alteration begins to take the opposite direction, and for an equal number of years goes on constantly, as it were, flattening the orbit, till it reaches a certain shape, when it stops, and then the bulging again begins; and that this alternate change of bulging and flattening must go on for ever by the same law, without ever exceeding on either side a certain point. All changes in the system are thus periodical, and its perpetual stability is completely secured. It is manifest that such an arrangement, so conducive to such a purpose, and so certainly accomplishing that purpose, could only have been made with the express design of attaining such an end—that some power exists capable of thus producing such wonderful order, so marvellous and wholly admirable a harmony, out of such numberless disturbances—and that this power was actuated by the intention of producing this effect.* The reasoning upon this subject, I have observed, is purely mathematical; but the facts respecting the system on which all the reasoning rests are known to us by induction alone: consequently, the grand truth respecting the secular disturbance, or the periodicity of the changes in the system—that discovery which makes the glory of Lagrange and Laplace, and constitutes the triumph of the Integral Calculus, whereof it is the fruit, and of the most patient course of astronomical observation whereon the analysis is grounded—may most justly be classed as a truth both of the Mixed Mathematics and of Natural Theology—for the theologian only adds a single short link to the chain of the physical astronomer's demonstration in order to reach the great Artificer from the phenomena of his system.

But let us examine further this matter. The position which we reach by a strict process of induction, is common to Natural Philosophy and Natural Theology—namely, that a given organ performs a given function, or a given arrangement possesses a certain stability, by its adaptation to mechanical laws. We have said that the process of reasoning is short and easy, by which we arrive at the doctrine more peculiar to Natural Theology—namely, that some power acquainted with and acting upon the knowledge of those laws, fashioned the organ with the intention of having the function performed, or constructed the system so that it might endure. Is not this last process as much one of strict induction as the other? It is plainly only a generalization of many particular facts; a reasoning from things known to things unknown; an inference of a new or unknown relation from other relations formerly observed and known. If, to take Dr. Paley's example, we pass over a common and strike the foot against a stone, we do not stop to ask who placed it there; but if we find that our foot has struck on a watch, we at once conclude that some mechanic made it, and that some one dropt it on the ground. Why do we draw this inference? Because all our former experience had told us that such machinery is the result of human skill and labor, and that it nowhere grows wild about, or is found in the earth. When we see that a certain effect, namely, distinct vision, is performed by an achromatic instrument, the eye, why do we infer that some one must have made it? Because we nowhere and at no time have had any experience of any one thing fashioning itself, and indeed cannot form to ourselves any distinct idea of what such a process as self-creation means; and further, because when we ourselves would produce a similar result, we have recourse to like means. Again, when we perceive the adaptation of natural objects and operations to a perceived end, and from thence infer design in the maker of these objects and superintender of these operations, why do we draw this conclusion? Because we know by experience that if we ourselves desired to accomplish a similar purpose, we should do so by the like adaptation; we know by experience that this is design in us, and that our proceedings are the result of such design; we know that if some of our works were seen by others, who neither were aware of our having made them, nor of the intention with which we made them, they would be right should they, from seeing and examining them, both infer that we had made them, and conjecture why we had made them. The same reasoning, by the help of experience, from what we know to what we cannot know, is manifestly the foundation of the inference, that the members of the body were fashioned for certain uses by a maker acquainted with their operations, and willing that those uses should be served.

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* Earum autem perenes cursus atque perpetui cum admirabili incredibilique constantia, declarant in his vim et mentem esse divinam, ut hæc ipsa qui non sentiat deorum vim habere, is nihil omnino sensurus esse videatur. *Cicero De Nat. Deo.* II. 21.

Let us consider a branch of science which, if not wholly of modern introduction, has received of late years such vast additions that it may really be said to have its rise in our own times—I allude to the sublime speculations in Osteology prosecuted by Cuvier, Buckland, and others, in its connection with Zoological and Geological researches.

A comparative anatomist, of profound learning and marvellous sagacity, has presented to him what to common eyes would seem a piece of half-decayed bone, found in a wild, in a forest, or in a cave. By accurately examining its shape, particularly the form of its extremity or extremities (if both ends happen to be entire,) by close inspection of the texture of its surface, and by admeasurement of its proportions, he can with certainty discover the general form of the animal to which it belonged, its size as well as its shape, the economy of its viscera, and its general habits. Sometimes the investigation in such cases proceeds upon chains of reasoning where all the links are seen and understood; where the connection of the parts found, with other parts and with habitudes, is perceived, and the reason understood—as that the animal had a trunk, because the neck was short compared with its height; or that it ruminated, because its teeth were imperfect for complete mastication. But, frequently, the inquiry is as certain in its results, although some links of the chain are concealed from our view, and the conclusion wears a more empirical aspect—as, gathering that the animal ruminated, from observing the print of a cloven hoof, or that he had horns, from his wanting certain teeth, or that he wanted the collar-bone, from his having cloven hoofs. Limited experience having already shown such connections as facts, more extended experience will assuredly one day enable us to comprehend the reason of the connection.

The discoveries already made in this branch of science are truly wonderful, and they proceed upon the strictest rules of induction. It is shown that animals formerly existed on the globe, being unknown varieties of *species* still known; but it also appears that *species* existed, and even *genera*, wholly unknown for the last five thousand years. These peopled the earth, as it was, not before the general deluge, but before some convulsion long prior to that event had overwhelmed the countries then dry, and raised others from the bottom of the sea. In these curious inquiries, we are conversant not merely with the world before the flood, but with a world which, before the flood, was covered with water, and which, in far earlier ages, had been the habitation of birds, and beasts, and reptiles. We are carried, as it were, several worlds back, and we reach a period when all was water, and slime, and mud, and the waste, without either man or plants, gave resting place to enormous beasts like lions and elephants and river-horses, while the water was tenanted by lizards, the size of a whale, sixty or seventy feet long, and by others with huge eyes having shields of solid bone to protect them, and glaring from a neck ten feet in length, and the air was darkened by flying reptiles covered with scales, opening the jaws of the crocodile, and expanding wings, armed at the tips with the claws of the leopard.

No less strange, and yet no less proceeding from induction, are the discoveries made respecting the former state of the earth; the manner in which those animals, whether of known or unknown tribes, occupied it; and the period when, or, at least, the way in which they ceased to exist. Professor Buckland has demonstrated the identity with the hyena's of the animal's habits that cracked the bones which fill some of the caves, in order to come at the marrow; but he has also satisfactorily shown that it inhabited the neighborhood, and must have been suddenly exterminated by drowning. His researches have been conducted by experiments with living animals, as well as by observation upon the fossil remains.*

That this branch of scientific inquiry is singularly attractive all will allow. Nor will any one dispute that its cultivation demands great knowledge and skill. But this is not our chief purpose in referring to it. There can be as little doubt that the investigation, in the strictest sense of the term, forms a branch of physical science, and that this

The extraordinary sagacity of Cuvier is, perhaps, in no instance more shown, nor the singular nature of the science better illustrated, than in the correction which it enabled him to give the speculation of President Jefferson upon the *Megalonyx*—an animal which the President, from the size of a bone discovered, supposed to have existed, four times the size of an ox, and with the form and habits of the lion. Cuvier has irrefragably shown, by an acute and learned induction, that the animal was a sloth, living entirely upon vegetable food, but of enormous size, like a rhinoceros, and whose paws could tear up huge trees.

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* The researches both of Cuvier and Buckland, far from impugning the testimony to the great fact of a deluge borne by the Mosaic writings, rather fortify it; and bring additional proofs of the fallacy which, for some time, had led philosophers to ascribe a very high antiquity to the world we now live in.

branch sprang legitimately from the grand root of the whole—induction; in a word, that the process of reasoning employed to investigate—the kind of evidence used to demonstrate its truths, is the modern analysis or induction taught by Bacon and practised by Newton. Now wherein, with reference to its nature and foundations, does it vary from the inquiries and illustrations of Natural Theology? When from examining a few bones, or it may be a single fragment of a bone, we infer that, in the wilds where we found it, there lived and ranged, some thousands of years ago, an animal wholly different from any we ever saw, and from any of which any account, any tradition, written or oral, has reached us, nay, from any that ever was seen by any person, of whose existence we ever heard, we assuredly are led to this remote conclusion, by a strict and rigorous process of reasoning; but, as certainly, we come through that process to the knowledge and belief of things unseen, both of us and of all men—things respecting which we have not, and cannot have, a single particle of evidence, either by sense or by testimony. Yet we harbor no doubt of the fact; we go farther, and not only implicitly believe the existence of this creature, for which we are forced to invent a name, but clothe it with attributes, till, reasoning step by step, we come at so accurate a notion of its form and habits, that we can represent the one, and describe the other, with unerring accuracy; picturing to ourselves how it looked, what it fed on, and how it continued its kind.

Now, the question is this: What perceivable difference is there between the kind of investigations we have just been considering, and those of Natural Theology—except, indeed, that the latter are far more sublime in themselves, and incomparably more interesting to us? Where is the logical precision of the arrangement, which would draw a broad line of demarcation between the two speculations, giving to the one the name and the rank of a science, and refusing it to the other, and affirming that the one rested upon induction, but not the other? We have, it is true, no experience directly of that Great Being's existence in whom we believe as our Creator; nor have we the testimony of any man relating such experience of his own. But so, neither we, nor any witnesses in any age, have ever seen those works of that Being, the lost animals that once peopled the earth; and yet the lights of inductive science have conducted us to a full knowledge of their nature, as well as a perfect belief in their existence. Without any evidence from our senses, or from the testimony of eye-witnesses, we believe in the existence and qualities of those animals, because we infer by the induction of facts that they once lived, and were endowed with a certain nature. This is called a doctrine of inductive philosophy. Is it less a doctrine of the same philosophy, that the eye could not have been made without a knowledge of optics, and as it could not make itself, and as no human artist, though possessed of the knowledge, has the skill and power to fashion it by his handiwork, that there must exist some being of knowledge, skill, and power, superior to our own, and sufficient to create it?

SECTION III.

COMPARISON OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BRANCH OF NATURAL THEOLOGY WITH PSYCHOLOGY.

Hitherto, our argument has rested upon a comparison of the truths of Natural Theology with those of Physical Science. But the evidences of design presented by the universe are not merely those which the material world affords; the intellectual system is equally fruitful in proofs of an intelligent cause, although these have occupied little of the philosopher's attention, and may, indeed, be said never to have found a place among the speculations of the Natural Theologian. Nothing is more remarkable than the care with which all the writers upon this subject, at least among the moderns, have confined themselves to the proofs afforded by the visible and sensible works of nature, while the evidence furnished by the mind and its operations has been wholly neglected.* The celebrated book of Ray on the Wonders of the Creation seems to assume that the human soul has no separate existence—that it forms no part of the created system. Derham has written upon Astro-theology and Physico-theology as if the heavens *alone* proclaimed the glory of God, and the earth *only* showed forth his handiwork; for his only mention of intellectual nature is in the single chapter of the Physico-theology on the soul, in which he is content with two observations: one, on the variety of man's inclinations, and another, on his inventive powers—giving nothing which precisely proves design. Dr. Paley, whose work is chiefly taken from the writings of Derham, deriving from them its whole plan and much of its substance, but clothing the harsher statement of his original in an attractive and popular style,† had so little of scientific habits, so moderate a power of generalizing, that he never once mentions the mind, or any of the intellectual phenomena, nor ever appears to consider them as forming a portion of the works or operations of nature. Thus, all these authors view the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, the structure of animals, the organization of plants, and the various operations of the material world which we see carried on around us, as indicating the existence of design, and leading to a knowledge of the Creator. But they pass over in silence, unaccountably enough, by far the most singular work of divine wisdom and power—the mind itself. Is there any reason whatever to draw this line; to narrow within these circles the field of Natural Theology; to draw from the constitution and habits of matter alone the proof that one Intelligent Cause formed and supports the universe? Ought we not rather to consider the phenomena of the mind as more peculiarly adapted to help this inquiry, and as bearing a nearer relation to the Great Intelligence which created and which maintains the system?

There cannot be a doubt that this extraordinary omission had its origin in the doubts which men are prone to entertain of the mind's existence independent of matter. The eminent persons above named‡ were not materialists, that is to say, if you had asked them the question, they would have answered in the negative; they would have gone farther, and asserted their belief in the separate existence of the soul independent of the body. But they never felt this as strongly as they were persuaded of the natural world's existence. Their habits of thinking led them to consider matter as the only certain existence—as that which composed the universe—as alone forming the subject of our contemplations—as furnishing the only materials for our inquiries, whether respecting structure or habits and operations. They had no firm, definite, abiding, precise idea of any other existence respecting which they could reason and speculate. They saw and they felt external objects; they could examine the lenses of the eye, the valves of the veins and arteries, the ligaments and the sockets of the joints, the bones and the drum of the ear; but though they now and then made mention of the mind, and, when forced to the point, would acknowledge a belief in it, they never were fully and intimately persuaded of its separate existence. They thought of it and of matter very differently; they gave *its* structure, and *its* habits, and *its* operations, no place in their inquiries; their contemplations never rested upon it with any steadiness, and, indeed, scarcely ever even glanced upon it at all. That this is a very great omission, proceeding, if not upon mere carelessness, upon a grievous fallacy, there can be no doubt whatever.

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* Note II.

† This observation in nowise diminishes the peculiar merit of the style, and also of the homely, but close and logical, manner in which the argument is put; nor does it deny the praise of bringing down the facts of former writers, and adapting them to the improved state of physical science—a merit the more remarkable, that Paley wrote his Natural Theology at the close of his life.

‡ Some have thought, unjustly, that the language of Paley rather savors of materialism; but it may be doubted whether he was fully impressed with the evidence of mental existence. His limited and unexercised powers of abstract discussion, and the natural predilection for what he handled so well—a practical argument level to all comprehensions—appear not to have given him any taste for metaphysical speculations.

The evidence for the existence of mind is to the full as complete as that upon which we believe in the existence of matter. Indeed, it is more certain and more irrefragable. The consciousness of existence, the perpetual sense that we are thinking, and that we are performing the operation quite independently of all material objects, proves to us the existence of a being different from our bodies, with a degree of evidence higher than any we can have for the existence of those bodies themselves, or of any other part of the material world. It is certain—proved, indeed, to demonstration—that many of the perceptions of matter which we derive through the senses are deceitful, and seem to indicate that which has no reality at all. Some inferences which we draw respecting it are confounded with direct sensation or perception, for example, the idea of motion; other ideas, as those of hardness and solidity, are equally the result of reasoning, and often mislead. Thus, we never doubt, on the testimony of our senses, that the parts of matter touch—that different bodies come in contact with one another, and with our organs of sense; and yet nothing is more certain than that there still is some small distance between the bodies which we think we perceive to touch. Indeed, it is barely possible that all the sensations and perceptions which we have of the material world may be only ideas in our own minds; it is barely possible, therefore, that matter should have no existence. But that mind—that the sentient principle—that the thing or the being we call "*I*" and "*we*," and which thinks, feels, reasons—should have no existence, is a contradiction in terms. Of the two existences, then, that of mind as independent of matter is more certain than that of matter apart from mind. In a subsequent branch of this discourse,[*] we shall have occasion to treat again of this question, when the constitution of the soul with reference to its future existence becomes the subject of discussion. At present we have only to keep steadily in view the undoubted fact, that mind is quite as much an integral part of the universe as matter.

It follows that the constitution and functions of the mind are as much the subjects of inductive reasoning and investigation, as the structure and actions of matter. The mind equally with matter is the proper subject of observation, by means of consciousness, which enables us to arrest and examine our own thoughts: it is even the subject of experiment, by the power which we have, through the efforts of abstraction and attention, of turning those thoughts into courses not natural to them, not spontaneous, and watching the results.[*] Now the phenomena of mind, at the knowledge of which we arrive by this inductive process, the only legitimate intellectual philosophy, afford as decisive proofs of design as do the phenomena of matter, and they furnish those proofs by the strict method of induction. In other words, we study the nature and operations of the mind, and gather from them evidences of design, by one and the same species of reasoning, the induction of facts. A few illustrations of these positions may be useful, because this branch of the science has, as we have seen, been unaccountably neglected by philosophers and theologians.

First. The structure of the mind, in every way in which we can regard it, affords evidences of the most skilful contrivance. All that adapts it so admirably to the operations which it performs, all its faculties, are plainly means working to an end.—Among the most remarkable of these is the power of *reasoning*, or first comparing ideas and drawing conclusions from the comparison, and then comparing together those conclusions or judgments. In this process, the great instrument is *attention*, as indeed it is the most important of all the mental faculties. It is the power by which the mind fixes itself upon a subject, and its operations are facilitated by many contrivances of nature, without which the effort would be painful, if not impossible—voluntary attention being the most difficult of all acts of the understanding.

Observe, then, in the *second* place, the helps which are provided for the exertion of this faculty. *Curiosity*, or the thirst of knowledge, is one of the chief of these. This desire renders any new idea the source of attraction, and makes the mind almost involuntarily, and with gratification rather than pain, bend and apply itself to whatever has the quality of novelty to rouse it. But *association* gives additional facilities of the same kind, and makes us attend with satisfaction to ideas which formerly were present and familiar, and the revival of which gives pleasure oftentimes as sensible as that of novelty, though of an opposite kind. Then, again, *habit*, in this, as in all other operations of our faculties, has the most powerful influence, and enables us to undergo intellectual labor with ease and comfort.

Thirdly. Consider the phenomena of *memory*.—This important faculty, without which no intellectual progress whatever could be made, is singularly adapted to its uses. The tenacity of our recollection is in proportion to the attention which has been exercised upon the several objects of contemplation at the time they were submitted to the mind.—Hence it follows, that by exerting a more vigorous attention, by detaining ideas for some time under our view, as it were, while they pass through the mind or before it, we cause them to make a deeper impression upon the memory, and are thus enabled to recollect those things the longest which we most desire to keep in mind. Hence, too, whatever facilitates attention, whatever excites it, as we sometimes say, helps the memory; so that we recollect those things the longest which were most striking at the time. But those things are, generally speaking, most striking, and most excite the attention, which are in themselves most important. In proportion, therefore, as any thing is most useful, or for any reason most desirable to be remembered, it is most easily stored up in our memory.

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[*] Sec. V. and Note IV.

[*] An instance will occur in the *Fifth* Section of this Part, in which experiments upon the course of our thoughts in sleep are described.

We may observe, however, in the *fourth* place, that readiness of memory is almost as useful as tenacity—quickness of bringing out as power of retention. *Habit* enables us to tax our recollection with surprising facility and certainty; as any one must be aware who has remarked the extraordinary feats performed by boys trained to learn things by heart, and especially to recollect numbers in calculating. From the same force of habit we derive the important power of forming artificial or conventional associations between ideas—of tacking, as it were, one to the other, in order to have them more under our control; and hence the relation between arbitrary signs and the things signified, and the whole use of language, whether ordinary or algebraical: hence, too, the formation of what is called artificial memory, and of all the other helps to recollection. But a help is provided for quickness of memory, independent of any habit or training, in what may be termed the natural association of ideas, whereby one thing suggests another from various relations of likeness, contrast, contiguity, and so forth. The same association of ideas is of constant use in the exercise of the inventive faculty, which mainly depends upon it, and which is the great instrument not only in works of imagination, but in conducting all processes of original investigation by pure reasoning.

Fifthly. The effect of *habit* upon our whole intellectual system deserves to be further considered, though we have already adverted to it. It is a law of our nature that any exertion becomes more easy the more frequently it is repeated. This might have been otherwise; it might have been just the contrary, so that each successive operation should have been more difficult; and it is needless to dwell upon the slowness of our progress, as well as the painfulness of all our exertions, say, rather, the impossibility of our making any advances in learning, which must have been the result of such an intellectual conformation. But the influence of habit upon the exercise of all our faculties is valuable beyond expression. It is indeed the great means of our improvement both intellectual and moral, and it furnishes us with the chief, almost the only, power we possess of making the different faculties of the mind obedient to the will. Whoever has observed the extraordinary feats performed by calculators, orators, rhymers, musicians, nay, by artists of all descriptions, can want no further proof of the power that man derives from the contrivances by which habits are formed in all mental exertions. The performances of the Italian *Improvvisatori*, or makers of poetry off-handed upon any presented subject, and in almost any kind of stanza, are generally cited as the most surprising efforts in this kind. But the power of *extempore speaking* is not less singular, though more frequently displayed, at least in this country. A practised orator will declaim in measured and in various periods—will weave his discourse into one texture—form parenthesis within parenthesis—excite the passions, or move to laughter—take a turn in his discourse from an accidental interruption, making it the topic of his rhetoric for five minutes to come, and pursuing in like manner the new illustrations to which it gives rise—mould his diction with a view to attain or to shun an epigrammatic point, or an alliteration, or a discord; and all this with so much assured reliance on his own powers, and with such perfect ease to himself, that he shall even plan the next sentence while he is pronouncing off-hand the one he is engaged with, adapting each to the other, and shall look forward to the topic which is to follow and fit in the close of the one he is handling to be its introducer; nor shall any auditor be able to discover the least difference between all this and the portion of his speech which he has got by heart, or tell the transition from the one to the other.

Sixth. The feelings and the passions with which we are moved or agitated are devised for purposes apparent enough, and to effect which their adaptation is undeniable. That of love tends to the continuance of the species; the *affections*, to the rearing of the young; and the former are fitted to the difference of sex, as the latter are to that of age. Generally there are feelings of *sympathy* excited by distress and by weakness, and these beget attachment towards their objects, and a disposition to relieve them or to support. Both individuals and societies at large gain by the effects thence arising of union and connection, and mutual help. So *hope*, of which the seeds are indigenous in all bosoms, and which springs up like certain plants in the soil as often as it is allowed to repose, encourages all our labors, and sustains us in every vicissitude of fortune, as well as under all the toils of our being. *Fear*, again, is the teacher of caution, prudence, circumspection, and preserves us from danger. Even *anger*, generally so painful, is not without its use; for it stimulates to defence, and it oftentimes assuages the pain given to our more tender feelings by the harshness of ingratitude, or injustice, or treachery of those upon whom our claims were the strongest, and whose cruelty or whose baseness would enter like steel into the soul, were no reaction excited to deaden and to protect it. *Contempt*, or even *pity*, is calculated to exercise the same healing influence.* Then, to go no further, *curiosity* is implanted in all minds to a greater or a less degree; it is proportioned to the novelty of objects, and consequently to our ignorance, and its immediate effects are to fix our attention, to stimulate our apprehensive powers, by deepening the impressions of all ideas on our minds, to give the memory a hold over them; to make all intellectual exertion easy, and convert into a pleasure the toil that would otherwise be a pain. Can any thing be more perfectly contrived as an instrument of instruction, and an instrument precisely adapted to the want of knowledge, by being more powerful in proportion to the ignorance in which we are? Hence it is the great means by which, above all in early infancy, we are taught every thing most necessary for our physical as well as moral existence. In riper years it smooths the way for further acquirements to most men; to some, in whom it is strongest, it opens the paths of science; but in all, without any exception, it prevails at the beginning of life so powerfully as to make them learn the faculties of their own bodies, and the general properties of those around them—an amount of knowledge which, for its extent and its practical usefulness, very far exceeds, though the most ignorant possess it, whatever additions the greatest philosophers are enabled to build upon it in the longest course of the most successful investigations.

Nor is it the curiosity natural to us all that alone tends to the acquirement of knowledge; the *desire of communicating* it is a strong propensity of our nature, and conduces to the same important end. There is a positive pleasure as well in teaching others what they knew not before, as in learning what we did not know ourselves; and it is undeniable that all this might have been differently arranged without a material alteration of our intellectual and moral constitution in other respects. The propensity might have been, like the perverted desires of the miser, to retain what we know without communication, as it might have been made painful instead of pleasurable to acquire new ideas, by novelty being rendered repulsive, and not agreeable. The stagnation of our faculties, the suspension of mental exertion, the obscuration of the intellectual world, would have followed as certainly as universal darkness would veil the universe on the extinction of the sun.

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* "Atque illi (Crantor et Panætius) quidem etiam utiliter a natura dicebant permotiones istas animis nostris datas, metum cavendi causa; misericordiam ægritudinemque clementiæ; ipsam iracundiam fortitudinis quasi cotem esse dicebant."—*Acad. Quæst.* iv. 44.

Thus far we have been considering the uses to which the mental faculties and feelings are subservient, and their admirable adaptation to these ends. But view the intellectual world as a whole, and surely it is impossible to contemplate without amazement the extraordinary spectacle which the mind of man displays, and the immense progress which it has been able to make in consequence of its structure, its capacity, and its propensities, such as we have just been describing them. If the brightness of the heavenly bodies, the prodigious velocity of their motions, their vast distances and mighty bulk, fill the imagination with awe, there is the same wonder excited by the brilliancy of the intellectual powers—the inconceivable swiftness of thought—the boundless range which our fancy can take—the vast objects which our reason can embrace. That we should have been able to resolve the elements into their more simple constituents—to analyze the subtile light which fills all space—to penetrate from that remote particle in the universe, of which we occupy a speck, into regions infinitely remote—ascertain the weight of bodies at the surface of the most distant worlds—investigate the laws that govern their motions, or mould their forms—and calculate to a second of time the periods of their re-appearance during the revolution of centuries,—all this is in the last degree amazing, and affords much more food for admiration than any of the phenomena of the material creation. Then what shall we say of that incredible power of generalization which has enabled some even to anticipate by ages the discovery of truths the farthest removed above ordinary apprehension, and the most savoring of improbability and fiction—not merely of a Clairaut conjecturing the existence of a seventh planet, and the position of its orbit, but of a Newton learnedly and sagaciously inferring, from the refraction of light, the inflammable quality of the diamond, the composition of apparently the simplest of the elements, and the opposite nature of the two ingredients, unknown for a century after, of which it is composed?[*] Yet there is something more marvellous still in the processes of thought, by which such prodigies have been performed, and in the force of the mind itself, when it acts wholly without external aid, borrowing nothing whatever from matter, and relying on its own powers alone. The most abstruse investigations of the mathematician are conducted without any regard to sensible objects; and the helps he derives in his reasonings from material things at all, are absolutely insignificant, compared with the portion of his work which is altogther of an abstract kind—the aid of figures and letters being only to facilitate and abridge his labor, and not at all essential to his progress. Nay, strictly speaking, there are no truths in the whole range of the pure mathematics which might not, by possibility, have been discovered and systematized by one deprived of sight and touch, or immured in a dark chamber, without the use of a single material object. The instrument of Newton's most sublime speculations, the *calculus* which he invented, and the astonishing systems reared by its means, which have given immortality to the names of Euler, Lagrange, Laplace, all are the creatures of pure abstract thought, and all might, by possibility, have existed in their present magnificence and splendor, without owing to material agency any help whatever, except such as might be necessary for their recording and communication. These are, surely, the greatest of all the wonders of nature, when justly considered, although they speak to the understanding and not to the sense. Shall we, then, deny that the eye could be made without skill in optics, and yet admit that the mind could be fashioned and endowed without the most exquisite of all skill, or could proceed from any but an intellect of infinite power?

At first sight, it may be deemed that there is an essential difference between the evidence from mental and from physical phenomena. It may be thought that mind is of a nature more removed beyond our power than matter—that over the masses of matter man can himself exercise some control—that, to a certain degree, he has a plastic power—that into some forms he can mould them, and can combine into a certain machinery—that he can begin and can continue motion, and can produce a mechanism by which it may be begun, and maintained, and regulated—while mind, it may be supposed, is wholly beyond his reach; over it he has no grasp; its existence alone is known to him, and the laws by which it is regulated; and thus, it may be said, the great First Cause, which alone can call both matter and mind into existence, has alone the power of modulating intellectual nature. But, when the subject is well considered, this difference between the two branches of science disappears with all the rest. It is admitted, of course, that we can no more create matter than we can mind; and we can influence mind in a way altogether analogous to our power of modulating matter. By means of the properties of matter we can form instruments, machines, and figures. So, by availing ourselves of the properties of mind, we can affect the intellectual faculties—exercising them, training them, improving them, producing, as it were, new forms of the understanding. Nor is there a greater difference between the mass of rude iron from which we make steel, and the thousands of watch-springs into which that steel is cut, or the chronometer which we form of this and other masses equally inert—than there is between the untutored indocile faculties of a rustic, who has grown up to manhood without education, and the skill of the artist who invented that chronometer, and of the mathematician who uses it to trace the motions of the heavenly bodies.

Although writers on Natural Theology have altogether neglected, at least in modern times, that branch of the subject at large with which we have now been occupied, there is one portion of it which has always attracted their attention—the *Instincts* of animals. These are unquestionably mental faculties, which we discover by observation and consciousness, but which are themselves wholly unconnected with any exercise of reason. They exhibit, however, the most striking proofs of design, for they all tend immediately to the preservation or to the comfort of the animals endowed with them. The lower animals are provided with a far greater variety of instincts, and of a more singular kind than man, because they have only the most circumscribed range and feeblest powers of reason, while to reason man is in almost every thing indebted. Yet it would be as erroneous to deny that we are endowed with any instincts, because so much is accomplished by reason, as it would be rash to conclude that other animals are wholly destitute of reasoning, because they owe so much to instinct.—Granting that infants learn almost all those animal functions which are of a voluntary nature, by an early exercise of reason, it is plain that instinct alone guides them in others which are necessary to continue their life, as well as to begin their instruction; for example, they suck, and even swallow by instinct, and by instinct they grasp what is presented to their hands. So, allowing that the brutes exercise but very rarely, and in a limited extent, the reasoning powers, it seems impossible to distinguish from the operations of reason those instances of sagacity which some dogs exhibit in obeying the directions of their master, and indeed generally the docility shown by them and other animals; not to mention the ingenuity of birds in breaking hard substances by letting them drop from a height, and in bringing the water of a deep pitcher nearer their beaks by throwing in pebbles. These are different from the operations of instinct, because they are acts which vary with circumstances novel and unexpectedly varying; they imply therefore the adaptation of means to an end, and the power of varying those means when obstacles arise: we can have no evidence of design, that is of reason, in other men, which is not similar to the proof of reason in animals afforded by such facts as these.

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[*] Further induction may add to the list of these wonderful conjectures, the thin ether, of which he even calculated the density and the effects upon planetary motion. Certainly the acceleration of Encke's comet does seem to render this by no means improbable.

But the operations of pure instinct, by far the greater portion of the exertions of brutes, have never been supposed by any one to result from reasoning, and certainly they do afford the most striking proofs of an intelligent cause, as well as of a unity of design in the world. The work of bees is among the most remarkable of all facts in both these respects. The form is in every country the same—the proportions accurately alike—the size the very same to the fraction of a line, go where you will; and the form is proved to be that which the most refined analysis has enabled mathematicians to discover as of all others the best adapted for the purposes of saving room, and work, and materials. This discovery was only made about a century ago; nay, the instrument that enabled us to find it out—the *fluxional calculus*—was unknown half a century before that application of its powers. And yet the bee had been for thousands of years, in all countries, unerringly working according to this fixed rule, choosing the same exact angle of 120 degrees for the inclination of the sides of its little room, which every one had for ages known to be the best possible angle, but also choosing the same exact angles of 110 and 70 degrees, for the parallelograms of the roof, which no one had ever discovered till the 18th century, when Maclaurin solved that most curious problem of *maxima* and *minima*, the means of investigating which had not existed till the century before, when Newton invented the *calculus* whereby such problems can now be easily worked. It is impossible to conceive any thing more striking as a proof of refined skill than the creation of such instincts, and it is a skill altogether applied to the formation of intellectual existence.

Now, all the inferences drawn from the examination which we have just gone through of psychological phenomena, are drawn according to the strict rules of inductive science. The facts relating to the velocity of mental operations—to the exercise of attention—to its connection with memory—to the helps derived from curiosity and from habit—to the association of ideas—to the desires, feelings, and passions—and to the adjoining provinces of reason and instinct—are all discovered by consciousness or by observation; and we even can make experiments upon the subject by varying the circumstances in which the mental powers are exercised by ourselves and others, and marking the results. The facts thus collected and compared together we are enabled to generalize, and thus to show that certain effects are produced by an agency calculated to produce them. Aware that if we desired to produce them, and had the power to employ this agency, we should resort to it for accomplishing our purpose, we infer both that some being exists capable of creating this agency, and that he employs it for this end. The process of reasoning is not like, but identical with, that by which we infer the existence of design in others (than ourselves) with whom we have daily intercourse. The kind of evidence is not like, but identical with, that by which we conduct all the investigations of intellectual and of natural science.

Such is the process of reasoning by which we infer the existence of design in the natural and moral world. To this abstract argument an addition of great importance remains to be made. The whole reasoning proceeds necessarily upon the assumption that there exists a being or thing separate from, and independent of, matter, and conscious of its own existence, which we call *mind*. For the argument is—"Had I to accomplish this purpose, I should have used some such means;" or, "Had I used these means, I should have thought I was accomplishing some such purpose." Perceiving the adaptation of the means to the end, the inference is, that some being has acted as we should ourselves act, and with the same views. But when we so speak, and so reason, we are all the while referring to an intelligent principle or existence; we are referring to our mind, and not to our bodily frame. The agency which we infer from this reasoning is, therefore, a spiritual and immaterial agency—the working of something like our own mind—an intelligence like our own, though incomparably more powerful and more skilful. The being of whom we thus acquire a knowledge, and whose operations as well as existence we thus deduce from a process of inductive reasoning, must be a spirit, and wholly immaterial. But his being such is only inferred because we set out with assuming the separate existence of our own mind, independently of matter. Without that we never could conclude that superior *intelligence* existed or acted. The belief that mind exists is essential to the whole argument by which we infer that the Deity exists. This belief we have shown to be perfectly well grounded, and further occasions of confirming the truth of it will occur under another head of discourse.* But at any rate it is the foundation of Natural Theology in all its branches; and upon the scheme of materialism no rational, indeed no intelligible, account can be given of a first cause, or of the creation or government of the universe.†

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* Sect. V., and Note IV.

† It is worthy of observation, that not the least allusion is made in Dr. Paley's work to the argument here stated, although it is the foundation of the whole of Natural Theology. Not only does this author leave entirely untouched the argument *a priori* (as it is called,) and also all the inductive arguments derived from the phenomena of mind, but he does not even advert to the argument upon which the inference of design must of necessity rest—that design which is the whole subject of his book. Nothing can more evince his distaste or incapacity for metaphysical researches. He assumes the very position which alone skeptics dispute. In combating him they would assert that he begged the whole question; for certainly they do not deny, at least in modern times, the *fact* of adaptation. As to the fundamental doctrine of causation, not the least allusion is ever made to it in any of his writings, even in his Moral Philosophy. This doctrine is discussed in Note III.

The preceding observations have been directed to the inquiries respecting the design exhibited in the universe. But the other parts of the first great branch of natural theology come strictly within the scope of the same reasoning. Thus, all the proofs of the Deity's *personality*, that is, his individuality, his unity; all the evidence which we have of his works, showing throughout not only that they proceeded from design, but that the design is of one distinctive kind—that they come from the hand not only of an intelligent being, but of a being whose intellect is specifically peculiar, and always of the same character; all these proofs are in the most rigorous sense inductive.

SECTION IV.

OF THE ARGUMENT A PRIORI.

Hitherto we have confined our attention to the evidence of Natural Religion afforded by the phenomena of the universe—what is commonly termed the argument *a posteriori*. But some ingenious men, conceiving that the existence and attributes of a Deity are discoverable by reasoning merely, and without reference to facts, have devised what they term the argument *a priori*, of which it is necessary now to speak.

The *first* thing that strikes us on this subject is the consequence which must inevitably follow from admitting the possibility of discerning the existence of the Deity and his attributes *a priori*, or wholly independent of facts. It would follow that this is a necessary, not a contingent truth, and that it is not only as impossible for the Deity not to exist, as for the whole to be greater than the sum of its parts, but that it is equally impossible for his attributes to be other than the argument is supposed to prove they are. Thus, the reasoners in question show by the argument *a priori*, that he is a being of perfect wisdom and perfect benevolence. Dr. Clarke is as clear of this as he is clear that his existence is proved by the same argument. Now, first, it is impossible that any such truths can be necessary; for their contraries are not things wholly inconceivable, inasmuch as there is nothing at all inconceivable in the Maker of the universe existing as a being of limited power and of mixed goodness, nay, of malevolence. We never, before all experience, could pronounce it mathematically impossible that such a being should exist, and should have created the universe. But next, the facts, when we came to examine them, *might* disprove the conclusions drawn *a priori*. The universe *might* by possibility be so constructed that every contrivance might fail to produce the desired effect—the eye might be chromatic and give indistinct images—the joints might be so unhinged as to impede motion—every smell, as Paley has it, might be a stink, and every touch a sting. Indeed, we know that, perfect as the frame of things actually is, a few apparent exceptions to the general beauty of the system have made many disbelieve the perfect power and perfect goodness of the Deity, and invent Manichean theories to account for the existence of evil. Nothing can more clearly show the absurdity of those arguments by which it is attempted to demonstrate the truths of this science as mathematical or necessary, and cognizable *a priori*.

But, *secondly*, let us see whether the argument in question be really one *a priori*, or only a very imperfect process of induction—an induction from a limited number of facts.

Dr. Clarke is the chief patron of this kind of demonstration, as he terms it; and though his book contains it more at large, the statement of his fundamental argument is, perhaps, to be found most distinctly given in the letters subjoined to that celebrated work. The fundamental propositions in the discourse itself are, That something must have existed from all eternity, and that this something must have been a being independent and self-existent. In the letters he condenses, perhaps explains, certainly illustrates, these positions, (see Answers to Letters 3, 4, and 5,) by arguing that the existence of space and time (or, as he terms it, duration) proves the existence of something whereof these are qualities, for they are not themselves substances; he cites the celebrated *Scholium Generale* of the *Principia;* and he concludes that the Deity must be the infinite being of whom they are qualities.

But to argue from the existence of space and time to the existence of any thing else, is assuming that those two things have a real being independent of our conceptions of them: for the existence of certain ideas in our minds cannot be the foundation on which to build a conclusion that any thing external to our minds exists. To infer that space and time are qualities of an infinite and eternal being is surely assuming the very thing to be proved, if a proposition can be said to have a distinct meaning at all which predicates space and time as qualities of any thing. What, for example, is time but the succession of ideas, and the consciousness and the recollection which we have of that succession? To call it a quality is absurd, as well might we call motion a quality, or our ideas of absent things and persons a quality.

Again, if space is to be deemed a quality, and if infinite space be the quality of an infinite being, finite space must also be a quality, and must, by parity of reason, be the quality of a finite being. Of what being? Here is a cube of one foot within an exhausted receiver, or a cylinder of half an inch diameter and three inches high in the Torricellian vacuum. What is the being of whom that square and that cylindrical space are to be deemed as qualities? Is distance, that is, the supposed movement of a point in a straight line *ad infinitum*, a quality? It must be so, if infinite space is. Then of what is it a quality? If infinite space is the quality of an infinite being, infinite distance must be the quality of an infinite being also. But can it be said to be the quality of the same infinite being? Observe that the mind can form just as correct an idea of infinite distance as of infinite space, or, rather, it can form a somewhat more distinct idea. But the being to be inferred from this infinite distance cannot be exactly the same in kind with that to be inferred from space infinite in all directions. Again, if infinite distance shows an infinite being of whom it is the quality, finite distance must be the quality of a finite being. What being? Of what kind of being is the distance between two trees or two points a quality? There can be no doubt that this argument rests either upon the use of words without meaning, or it is a disguised form of the old doctrine of the *anima mundi*, or of the hypothesis that the whole universe is a mere emanation of the Deity.

But it deserves to be remarked that this argument, which professes to be *a priori*, and wholly independent of all experience, is, strictly speaking, inductive, and nothing more. We can have no idea whatever of space apart from experience. The experience of space filled with matter enables us, by means of abstraction, to conceive space without the matter; and a farther abstraction and generalization enable us to conceive infinite space by imagining the limits indefinitely removed of a particular portion of space. But the foundation of the whole reasoning is the experience of certain finite portions of space first observed in connection with matter. Therefore our ideas of space are the result of our experience as to external objects. Even if we could fancy figure (which is possible) without having seen or touched any objects external to ourselves, still it would be the experience of our own ideas that had given us this idea. So of time; it is the succession of our ideas, and we have the notion of it from consciousness and memory. From hence we form an idea of indefinite time or eternal duration. But the basis of the whole is the observation which we have made upon the actual succession of our ideas; and this is inductive, though the process of reasoning be very short. It is as much a process of inductive reasoning as that by which we arrive at the knowledge of the mind's existence. There is, therefore, great inaccuracy in denominating the argument in question, were it ever so sound, an argument *a priori*, for it is a reasoning founded on experience, and it is to be classed with the arguments derived from the observation of external objects, the ground of our reasoning *a posteriori* as to matter, or, at the utmost, with the information given by consciousness, the whole ground of our reasoning *a posteriori* as to mind.

When, however, Dr. Clarke has once fixed the propositions to which we have been adverting, he deduces from them the whole qualities of the Deity—those which we learn from experience—and thinks he can derive them all from the simple propositions that lie at the foundation of his argument. It is truly astonishing to find so profound a thinker, and, generally speaking, so accurate a reasoner, actually supposing that he can deduce from the proposition, that a self-existent being must have existed from all time, this other proposition that, therefore, this being must be infinitely wise, (Prop. XI.) and that he "must of necessity be a being of infinite goodness, justice, and truth, and all other moral perfections, such as become the supreme *governor* and *judge* of the world." (Prop. XII.) With the general texture of this argument we have at present nothing to do, further than to show how little it can by possibility deserve the name either of an argument *a priori*, or be regarded as the demonstration of a necessary truth. For surely, prior to all experience, no one could ever know that there were such things as either judges or governors; and without the previous idea of a finite or worldly ruler and judge, we could never gain any idea of an eternal and infinitely just ruler or judge; and equally certain it is that this demonstration, if it proves the existence of an infinite and eternal ruler or judge to be a necessary and not a contingent truth (which is Dr. Clarke's whole argument,) would just as strictly prove the existence of finite rulers and judges to be a necessary and not a contingent truth; or, in other words, it would follow, that the existence of governors and judges in the world is a necessary truth, like the equality of the three angles in a triangle to two right angles, and that it would be a contradiction in terms, and so an impossibility, to conceive the world existing without governors and judges.

I believe it may safely be said, that very few men have ever formed a distinct apprehension of the nature of Dr. Clarke's celebrated argument, and that hardly any person has ever been at all satisfied with it. The opinion of Dr. Reid is well known upon this subject, and it has received the full acquiescence of no less an authority than that of Mr. Stewart.

"These," says Dr. Reid, "are the speculations of men of superior genius; but whether they be as solid as they are sublime, or whether they be the wanderings of imagination in a region beyond the limits of human understanding, I am unable to determine."

To this Mr. Stewart adds—"After this candid acknowledgment from Dr. Reid, I need not be ashamed to confess my own doubts and difficulties on the same subject."[*]

That the argument *a priori* has been most explicitly handled by Dr. Clarke, and that its acceptation rests principally upon his high authority, cannot be denied. Nevertheless, other great men preceded him in this field; and besides Sir Isaac Newton, whose *Scholium Generale* is thought to have suggested it the same reasoning is to be found in the writings of others of Dr. Clarke's predecessors.

The tenth chapter of Mr. Locke's fourth book does not materially differ, in its fundamental position, from the "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes." The argument is all drawn from the truth, assumed as self-evident, "Nothing can no more produce any real being than it can be equal to two right angles." From this, and the knowledge we have of our own existence, it is shown to follow, that "from eternity there has been something:" and again, "that this eternal being must have been most powerful and most knowing," and "therefore God." The only difference between this argument and Dr. Clarke's is, that Mr. Locke states, as one of his propositions, our knowledge of our own existence. But this difference is only in appearance; for Dr. Clarke really has assumed what Mr. Locke has more logically made a distinct proposition. Dr. Clarke's first proposition, that something must have existed from all eternity, is demonstrated by showing the absurdity of the supposition that "the things which now are were produced out of nothing." He therefore assumes the existence of those things, while Mr. Locke more strictly assumes the existence of ourselves only, and indeed states it as a proposition. The other arguments of Mr. Locke are more ingenious than Dr. Clarke's, and the whole reasoning is more rigorous, although he does not give it the name of a demonstration, and scarcely can be said to treat it as proving the Deity's existence to be a necessary truth. Were it to be so considered, the objections formerly stated would apply to it. Indeed, if Dr. Clarke had stated the different steps of his reasoning as distinctly as Mr. Locke, he would have perceived it to be inconclusive beyond a very limited extent, and to that extent inductive.[†]

Dr. Cudworth, in the fifth chapter of his great work,[‡] has, in answering the Democritick arguments, so plainly anticipated Dr. Clarke, that it is hardly possible to conceive how the latter should have avoided referring to it.[§] "If space be indeed a nature distinct from body, and a thing really incorporeal, then will it undeniably follow, from this very principle of theirs (the Democritists.) that there must be incorporeal space; and (this space being supposed by them also to be infinite) an infinite incorporeal Deity. Because if space be not the extension of body, nor an affection thereof, then must it of necessity be, either an accident existing alone by itself, without a substance, which is impossible; or else the extension or affection of some other incorporeal substance that is infinite." He then supposes a reply (founded on the doctrines of Gassendi,) that space is of a middle nature and essence, and proceeds to observe upon it:—"Whatsoever is, or hath any kind of entity, doth either subsist by itself, or else is an attribute, affection, or mode of something that doth subsist by itself. For it is certain that there can be no mode, accident, or affection of nothing; and, consequently, that nothing cannot be extended nor mensurable. But if space be neither the extension of body, nor yet of substance incorporeal, then must it of necessity be the extension of nothing, and the affection of nothing, and nothing must be measurable by yards and poles. We conclude, therefore, that from this very hypothesis of the Democritick and Epicurean atheists, that space is a nature distinct from body, and positively infinite; it follows undeniably that there must be some incorporeal sustance whose affection its extension is; and because there can be nothing infinite but only the Deity, that it is the infinite extension of our incorporeal Deity." The statement of Dr. Clarke's argument, given in his correspondence, is manifestly, if not taken from this, at least coincident with it in every important respect. Dr. Cudworth, indeed, confines his reasoning to the consideration of space and immensity, and Dr. Clarke extends his to time and eternity also. But of the two portions of the argument this has been shown to be the most fallacious.

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[*] Philosophy of the Active Powers, i. 334.

[†] See particularly Mr. Locke's proofs of his first position. (Hum. Understanding, IV. x. sec. 2.)

[‡] Intellectual System, Book I., c. v., s. 3. par. 4. The profound learning of this unfinished work, and its satisfactory exposition of the ancient philosophers, are above all praise. Why are the manuscripts of the author still buried in the British Museum?

[§] Cudworth's book was published in 1678. The "Demonstration" was delivered in 1704–5 at the Boyle Lecture.

The arguments of the ancient theists were in great part drawn from metaphysical speculations, some of which resembled the argument *a priori*.* But they were pressed by the difficulty of conceiving the possibility of creation, whether of matter or spirit; and their inaccurate views of physical science made them consider this difficulty as peculiar to the creative act. They were thus driven to the hypothesis that matter and mind are eternal, and that the creative power of the Deity is only plastic. They supposed it easy to comprehend how the divine mind should be eternal and self-existing, and matter also eternal and self-existing. They found no difficulty in comprehending how that mind could, by a wish or a word, reduce chaos to order, and mould all the elements of things into the present form; but how every thing could be made out of nothing they could not understand. When rightly considered, however, there is no more difficulty in comprehending the one than the other operation—the existence of the plastic, than of the creative power; or rather, the one is as incomprehensible as the other. How the Supreme Being made matter out of the void is not easily comprehended. This must be admitted; but is it more easy to conceive how the same Being, by his mere will, moved and fashioned the primordial atoms of an eternally existing chaos into the beauty of the natural world, or the regularity of the solar system? In truth, these difficulties meet us at every step of the argument of Natural Theology, when we would penetrate beyond those things, those facts which our faculties can easily comprehend; but they meet us just as frequently, and are just as hard to surmount, in our steps over the field of Natural Philosophy. How matter acts on matter—how motion is begun, or, when begun, ceases—how impact takes place—what are the conditions and limitations of contact—whether or not matter consists of ultimate particles, endowed with opposite powers of attraction and repulsion, and how these act—how one planet acts upon another at the distance of a hundred million of miles—or how one piece of iron attracts and repels another at a distance less than any visible space—all these, and a thousand others of the like sort, are questions just as easily put, and as hard to answer, as how the universe could be made out of nothing, or how, out of chaos, order could be made to spring.

In concluding these observations upon the argument *a priori*, I may remark, that although it carries us but a very little way, and would be unsafe to build upon alone, it is yet of eminent use in two particulars. First, it illustrates, if it does not indeed prove, the possibility of an Infinite Being existing beyond and independent of us, and of all visible things; and, secondly, the fact of those ideas of immensity and eternity, forcing themselves, as Mr. Stewart expresses it, upon our belief, seems to furnish an additional argument for the existence of an Immense and Eternal Being. At least we must admit that excellent person's remark to be well-founded, that after we have, by the argument *a posteriori*, (I should rather say the *other parts* of the argument *a posteriori*,) satisfied ourselves of the existence of an intelligent cause, we naturally connect with this cause those impressions which we have derived from the contemplation of infinite space and endless duration, and hence we clothe with the attributes of immensity and eternity the awful Being whose existence has been proved by a more rigorous process of investigation.*

SECTION V.

MORAL OR ETHICAL BRANCH OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

If we now direct our attention to the other great branch of Natural Theology, that which we have termed the moral or ethical portion, which treats of the probable designs of the Deity with respect to the future destiny of his creatures, we shall find that the same argument applies to the nature of its truths, which we have been illustrating in its application to the first or ontological branch of the science, or that relating to the existence and attributes of the Creator, whether proved by physical or by psychological reasoning. The second branch, like the first, rests upon the same foundation with all the other inductive sciences, the only difference being that the one belongs to the inductive science of Natural and Mental, and the other to the inductive science of Moral Philosophy.

The means which we have of investigating the probable designs of the Deity are derived from two sources—the nature of the human mind, and the attributes of the Creator.

To the consideration of these we now proceed; but in discussing them, and especially the first, there is this difference to be marked as distinguishing them from the former branch of Natural Theology. They are far less abundant in doctrine; they have been much less cultivated by scientific inquirers, and the truths ascertained in relation to them are fewer in number: in a word, our knowledge of the Creator's designs in the order of nature is much more limited than our acquaintance with his existence and attributes, But, on the other hand, the identity of the evidence with that on which the other inductive sciences rest is far more conspicuous in what may be termed the psychological part of the second branch of Natural Theology than in any portion of the first branch, it being much less apparent that the inferences drawn from facts in favor of the Deity's existence and attributes are of the same nature with the ordinary deductions of physical science—in other words, that this part of Natural Theology is a branch of Natural Philosophy—than it is that the deductions from the nature of the mind in favor of its separate and future existence are a branch of Metaphysical science.

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* Notes VI. and VII.

* Lord Spencer, who has deeply studied these adstruse subjects, communicated to me, before he was aware of my opinion, that he had arrived at nearly the same conclusion upon the merits of the argument *a priori*.

From this diversity it follows, that in treating this second branch of the subject, there will be more necessity for entering at large into the subject of the Deity's probable designs in regard to the soul, especially those to be inferred from its constitution, than we found for entering into the evidences of his existence and attributes, although there will not be so much labor required for proving that this is a branch of inductive science.

I. PSYCHOLOGICAL ARGUMENT, OR EVIDENCE OF THE DEITY'S DESIGNS DRAWN FROM THE NATURE OF THE MIND.

The Immateriality of the Soul is the foundation of all the doctrines, relating to its Future State. If it consists of material parts, or if it consists of any modification of matter, or if it is inseparably connected with any combination of material elements, we have no reason whatever for believing that it can survive the existence of the physical part of our frame; on the contrary, its destruction seems to follow as a necessary consequence of the dissolution of the body. It is true that the body is not destroyed in the sense of being annihilated; but it is equally true that the particular conformation, the particular arrangement of material particles with which the soul is supposed to have been inseparably connected, or in which it is supposed to consist, is gone and destroyed even in the sense of annihilation; for that arrangement or conformation has no longer an existence, any more than a marble statue can be said to have an existence when it is burned into a mass of quicklime. Now, it is to the particular conformation and arrangement, and not to the matter itself, that the soul is considered as belonging by any theory of materialism, there being none of the theories of materialists so absurd as to make the total mass of the particles themselves, independent of their arrangement, the seat of the soul. Therefore, the destruction of that form and organization as effectually destroys the soul which consists in it, as the beauty or the intellectual expression of the statue is gone when the marble is reduced to lime-dust.

Happily, however, the doctrines of materialism rest upon no solid foundation, either of reason or experience. The vague and indistinct form of the propositions in which they are conveyed, affords one strong argument against their truth. It is not easy to annex a definite meaning to the proposition that mind is inseparably connected with a particular arrangement of the particles of matter; it is more difficult to say what they mean who call it a modification of matter; but to consider it as consisting in a combination or matter, as coming into existence the instant that the particles of matter assume a given arrangement, appears to be a wholly unintelligible collocation of words.

Let us, however, resort to experience, and inquire what results may be derived from that safe guide whom modern philosophers most willingly trust, though despised as too humble a helpmate by most of the ancient sages.

We may *first* of all observe that if a particular combination of matter gives birth to what we call mind, this is an operation altogether peculiar and unexampled. We have no other instance of it; we know of no case in which the combination of certain elements produces something quite different, not only from each of the simple ingredients, but also different from the whole compound. We can, by mixing an acid and an alkali, form a third body, having the qualities of neither, and possessing qualities of its own different from the properties of each; but here the third body consists of the other two in combination. There are not two things—two different existences—the neutral salt composed of the acid and the alkali, and another thing different from that neutral salt, and engendered for the first time by that salt coming into existence. So when, by chiselling, "the marble softened into life grows warm," we have the marble new-moulded, and endowed with the power of agreeably affecting our senses, our memory, and our fancy; but it is all the while the marble: there is the beautiful and expressive marble instead of the amorphous mass, and we have not, besides the marble, a new existence created by the form which has been given to that stone. But the materialists have to maintain that, by matter being arranged in a particular way, there is produced both the organized body and something different from it, and having not one of its properties—neither dimensions, nor weight, nor color, nor form. They have to maintain that the chemist who mixed the aqua fortis and potash produced both nitre and something quite different from all the three, and which began to exist the instant that the nitre crystalized; and that the sculptor who fashioned the Apollo, not only made the marble into a human figure, but called into being something different from the marble and the statue, and which exists at the same time with both and without one property of either. If, therefore, their theory is true, it must be admitted to rest upon nothing which experience has ever taught us; it supposes operations to be performed and relations to exist of which we see nothing that bears the least resemblance in any thing we know.

But *secondly*, the doctrine of the materialists, in every form which it assumes, is contradicted by the most plain and certain deductions of experience. The evidence which we have of the existence of the mind is complete in itself, and wholly independent of the qualities or existence of matter. It is not only as strong and conclusive as the evidence which makes us believe in the existence of matter, but more strong and more conclusive; the steps of the demonstration are fewer; the truth to which they conduct the reason is less remote from the axiom, the intuitive or self-evident position whence the demonstration springs. We believe that matter exists because it makes a certain impression upon our senses, that is, because it produces a certain change or a certain effect, and we argue, and argue justly, that this effect must have a cause, though the proof is, by no means, so clear that this cause is something external to ourselves. But we know the existence of mind by our consciousness of, or reflection on what passes within us, and our own existence as sentient and thinking beings implies the existence of the mind which has sense and thought. To know, therefore, that we are, and that we think, implies a knowledge of the soul's existence. But this knowledge is altogether independent of matter, and the subject of it bears no resemblance whatever to matter in any one of its qualities, or habits, or modes of action. Nay, we only know the existence of matter through the operations of the mind; and were we to doubt of the existence of either, it would be far more reasonable to doubt that matter exists than that mind exists. The existence and the operations of mind, supposing it to exist, will account for all the phenomena which matter is supposed to exhibit. But the existence and action of matter, vary it how we may, will never account for one of the phenomena of mind. We do not believe more firmly in the existence of the sensible objects around us when we are well and awake, than we do in the reality of those phantoms which the imagination conjures up in the hours of sleep, or the season of derangement. But no effect produced by material agency ever produced a spiritual existence, or engendered the belief of such an existence; indeed, the thing is almost a contradiction in terms. That all around us should only be the creatures of our fancy, no one can affirm to be impossible. But that our mind—that which remembers, compares, imagines; in a word, that which thinks—that of the existence of which we are perpetually conscious—that which cannot but exist, if we exist—that which can make its own operations the subject of its own thoughts; that this should have no existence is both impossible, and, indeed, a contradiction in terms. We have, therefore, evidence of the strictest kind, induction of facts the most precise and unerring, to justify the conclusion that the mind exists, and is different from and independent of matter altogether.*

Now this proposition not only destroys the doctrine of the materialists, but leads to the strongest inferences in favor of the mind surviving the body with which it is connected through life. All our experience shows us no one instance of annihilation. Matter is perpetually changing—never destroyed; the form and manner of its existence is endlessly and ceasingly varying—its existence never terminates. The body decays, and is said to perish; that is, it is resolved into its elements, and becomes the material of new combinations, animate and inanimate, but not a single particle of it is annihilated; nothing of us or around us ever ceases to exist. If the mind perishes, or ceases to exist at death, it is the only example of annihilation which we know.

But, it may be said, why should it not, like the body, be changed, or dissipated, or resolved into its elements? The answer is plain: it differs from the body in this, that it has no parts; it is absolutely one and simple; therefore, it is incapable of resolution or dissolution. These words, and the operations or events they refer to, have no application to a simple and immaterial existence.

Indeed, our idea of annihilation is wholly derived from matter, and what we are wont to call destruction means only change of form and resolution into parts, or combination into new forms. But for the example of the changes undergone by matter, we should not even have any notion of destruction or annihilation. When we come to consider the thing itself, we cannot conceive it to be possible; we can well imagine a parcel of gunpowder or any other combustible substance ceasing to exist as such by burning or exploding; but that its whole elements should not continue to exist in a different state, and in new combinations, appears inconceivable. We cannot follow the process so far; we can form no conception of any one particle that once is, ceasing wholly to be. How then can we form any conception of the mind which we now know to exist ceasing to be? It is an idea altogether above our comprehension. True, we no longer, after the body is dissolved, perceive the mind, because we never knew it by the senses; we only were aware of its existence in others by its effects upon matter, and had no experience of it unconnected with the body. But it by no means follows that it should not exist, merely because we have ceased to perceive its effects upon any portion of matter. It had connection with the matter which it used to act upon, and by which it used to be acted on; when its entire severance took place that matter underwent a great change, but a change arising from its being of a composite nature. The same separation cannot have affected the mind in the like manner, because its nature is simple and not composite. Our ceasing to perceive any effects produced by it on any portion of matter, the only means we can have of ascertaining its existence is, therefore, no proof that it does not still exist; and even if we admit that it no longer does produce any effect upon any portion of matter, still this will offer no proof that it has ceased to exist. Indeed, when we speak of its being annihilated, we may be said to use a word to which no precise meaning can be attached by our imaginations. At any rate, it is much more difficult to suppose that this annihilation has taken place, and to conceive in what way it is effected, than to suppose that the mind continues in some state of separate existence, disencumbered of the body, and to conceive in what manner this separate existence is maintained.

It may be further observed that the material world affords no example of creation, any more than of annihilation. Such as it was in point of quantity since its existence began, such it still is, not a single particle of matter having been either added to it or taken from it. Change—unceasing change—in all its parts, at every instant of time, it is for ever undergoing; but though the combinations or relations of these parts are unremittingly varying, there has not been a single one of them created or a single one destroyed. Of mind, this cannot be said: it is called into existence perpetually before our eyes. In one respect this may weaken the argument for the continued existence of the soul, because it may lead to the conclusion that, as we see mind created, so may it be destroyed; while matter, which suffers no addition, is liable to no loss. Yet the argument seems to gain in another direction more force than it loses in this; for nothing can more strongly illustrate the diversity between mind and matter, or more strikingly show that the one is independent of the other.

Again, the mind's independence of matter and capacity of existence without it, appears to be strongly illustrated by whatever shows the entire dissimilarity of its constitution. The inconceivable rapidity of its operations is, perhaps, the most striking feature of the diversity; and there is no doubt that this rapidity increases in proportion as the interference of the senses, that is, the influence of the body, is withdrawn. A multitude of facts, chiefly drawn from and connected with the Phenomena of Dreams, throw a strong light upon this subject, and seem to demonstrate the possible disconnection of mind and matter.

The bodily functions are in part suspended during sleep, that is, all those which depend upon volition. The senses, however, retain a portion of their acuteness; and those of touch* and hearing especially, may be affected without awakening the sleeper. The consequence of the cessation which takes place of all communication of ideas through the senses, is that the action of the mind, and, above all, of those powers connected with the imagination, becomes much more vigorous and uninterrupted. This is shown in two ways; first by the celerity with which any impression upon the senses, strong enough to be felt without awaking, is caught up and made the groundwork of a new train of ideas, the mind instantly accommodating itself to the suggestions of the impression, and making all its thoughts chime in with that; and, secondly, by the prodigiously long succession of images that pass through the mind, with perfect distinctness and liveliness, in an instant of time.

The facts upon this subject are numerous, and of undeniable certainty, because of daily occurrence. Every one knows the effect of a bottle of hot water applied during sleep to the soles of the feet: you instantly dream of walking over hot mould, or ashes, or a stream of lava, or having your feet burned by coming too near the fire. But the effect of falling asleep in a stream of cold air, as in an open carriage, varies this experiment in a very interesting, and indeed, instructive manner. You will, instantly that the wind begins to blow, dream of being upon some exposed point, and anxious for shelter, but unable to reach it; then you are on the deck of a ship, suffering from the gale; you run behind a sail for shelter, and the wind changes, so that it still blows upon you; you are driven to the cabin, but the ladder is removed, or the door locked. Presently you are on shore, in a house with all the windows open, and endeavor to shut them in vain; or, seeing a smith's forge, you are attracted by the fire, and suddenly a hundred bellows play upon it, and extinguish it in an instant, but fill the whole smithy with their blast, till you are as cold as on the road. If you from time to time awake, the moment you fall asleep again the same course of dreaming succeeds in the greatest variety of changes that can be rung on our thoughts.

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* See on the Hypothesis of Materialism—Note IV.

* The common classification of the senses which makes the touch comprehend the sense of heat and cold, is here adopted; though, certainly, there seems almost as little reason for ranging this under touch, as for ranging sight, smell, hearing, and taste under the same head.

But the rapidity of these changes, and of the succession of ideas, cannot be ascertained by this experiment: it is most satisfactorily proved by another. Let any one who is extremely overpowered with drowsiness, as after sitting up all night, and sleeping none the next day, lie down, and begin to dictate: he will find himself falling asleep after uttering a few words, and he will be awakened by the person who writes repeating the last word, to show he has written the whole; not above five or six seconds may elapse, and the sleeper will find it at first quite impossible to believe that he has not been asleep for hours, and will chide the amanuensis for having fallen asleep over his work—so great apparently will be the length of the dream which he has dreamed, extending through half a life-time. This experiment is easily tried: again and again the sleeper will find his endless dream renewed; and he will always be able to tell in how short a time he must have performed it. For suppose eight or ten seconds required to write the four or five words dictated, sleep could hardly begin in less than four or five seconds after the effort of pronouncing the sentence; so that, at the utmost, not more than four or five seconds can have been spent in sleep. But indeed, the greater probability is, that not above a single second can have been so passed; for a writer will easily finish two words in a second; and suppose he has to write four, and half the time is consumed in falling asleep, one second only is the duration of the dream, which yet seems to last for years, so numerous are the images that compose it.

Another experiment is still more striking, and affords a more remarkable proof both of the velocity of thought, and of the quickness with which its course is moulded to suit any external impression made on the senses. But this experiment is not so easily tried. A puncture made will immediately produce a long dream, which seems to terminate in some such accident as that the sleeper has been wandering through a wood, and received a severe wound from a spear, or the tooth of a wild animal, which at the same instant awakens him. A gun fired in one instance, during the alarm of invasion, made a military man at once dream the enemy had landed, so that he ran to his post, and repairing to the scene of action, was present when the first discharge took place, which also the same moment awakened him.*

Now, these facts show the infinite rapidity of thought; for the puncture and the discharge of the gun took place in an instant, and their impression on the senses was as instantaneous; and yet, during that instant, the mind went through a long operation of fancy suggested by the first part of the impression, and terminated, as the sleep itself was, by the continuation—the last portion of the same impression. Mark what was done in an instant—in a mere point of time. The sensation of the pain or noise beginning is conveyed to the mind, and sets it a thinking of many things connected with such sensations. But that sensation is lost or forgotten for a portion of the short instant during which the impression lasts; for the conclusion of the same impression gives rise to a new set of ideas. The walk in the wood, and the hurrying to the post, are suggested by the sensation beginning. Then follow many things unconnected with that sensation, except that they grew out of it; and, lastly, comes the wound and the broadside, suggested by the continuance of the sensation, while, all the time, this continuance has been producing an effect on the mind wholly different from the train of ideas the dream consists of, nay, destructive of that train; namely, the effect of rousing it from the state of sleep, and restoring its dominion over the body. Nay, there may be said to be a third operation of the mind going on at the same time with these two—a looking forward to the *denouement* of the plot,—for the fancy is all along so contriving as to fit that, by terminating in some event, some result, consistent with the impression made on the senses, and which has given rise to the whole train of ideas.

There seems every reason to conclude from these facts, that we only dream during the instant of transition into and out of sleep. That instant is quite enough to account for the whole of what appears a night's dream. It is quite certain we remember no more than ought, according to these experiments, to fill an instant of time; and there can be no reason why we should only recollect this one portion if we had dreamt much more. The fact that we never dream so much as when our rest is frequently broken, proves the same proposition almost to demonstration. An uneasy and restless night passed in bed, is always a night studded full with dreams. So, too, a night passed on the road in travelling, by such as sleep well in a carriage, is a night of constant dreams. Every jolt that awakens or half-awakens us, seems to be the cause of a dream. If it be said that we always or generally dream when asleep, but only recollect a portion of our dream, then the question arises, why we recollect a dream each time we fall asleep, or are awakened, and no more? If we can recall twenty dreams in a night of interrupted sleep, how is it that we can only recall one or two when our sleep is continued? The length of time occupied by the dream we recollect is the only reason that can be given for our forgetting the rest; but this reason fails if, each time we are roused, we remember separate dreams.

Nothing can be conceived better calculated than these facts to demonstrate the extreme agility of the mental powers, their total diversity from any material substances or actions; nothing better adapted to satisfy us that the nature of the mind is consistent with its existence apart from the body.

The changes which the mind undergoes in its activity, its capacity, its mode of operation, are matter of constant observation, indeed of every man's experience. Its essence is the same; its fundamental nature is unalterable; it never loses the distinguishing peculiarities which separate it from matter; never acquires any of the properties of the latter: but it undergoes important changes, both in the progress of time, and by means of exercise and culture. The development of the bodily powers appears to affect it, and so does their decay; but we rather ought to say that, in ordinary cases, its improvement is contemporaneous with the growth of the body, and its decline generally is contemporaneous with that of the body, after an advanced period of life. For it is an undoubted fact, and almost universally true, that the mind, before extreme old age, becomes more sound, and is capable of greater things, during nearly thirty years of diminished bodily powers; that, in most cases, it suffers no abatement of strength during ten years more of bodily decline; that in many cases, a few years more of bodily decrepitude produce no effect upon the mind; and that, in some instances, its faculties remain bright to the last, surviving the almost total extinction of the corporeal endowments. It is certain that the strength of the body, its agility, its patience of fatigue, indeed all its qualities, decline from thirty at the latest; and yet the mind is improving rapidly from thirty to fifty; suffers little or no decline before sixty; and therefore is better when the body is enfeebled, at the age of fifty-eight or fifty-nine, than it was in the acme of the corporeal faculties thirty years before. It is equally certain, that while the body is rapidly decaying, between sixty or sixty-three and seventy, the mind suffers hardly any loss of strength in the generality of men: that men continue to seventy-five or seventy-six in the possession of all their mental powers, while few can boast then of more than the remains of physical strength; and instances are not wanting of persons who, between eighty and ninety, or even older, when the body can hardly be said to live, possess every faculty of the mind unimpaired. We are authorized to conclude, from these facts, that unless some unusual and violent accident interferes, such as a serious illness or a fatal contusion, the ordinary course of life presents the mind and the body running courses widely different, and in great part of the time in opposite directions; and this affords strong proof, both that the mind is independent of the body, and that its destruction in the period of its entire vigor is contrary to the analogy of nature.

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* The ingenious Eastern tale, in the Spectator, of the magician who made the prince plunge his head into a pail of water, is founded on facts like those to which we have been referring.

The strongest of all the arguments both for the separate existence of mind, and for its surviving the body, remains, and it is drawn from the strictest induction of facts. The body is constantly undergoing change in all its parts. Probably no person at the age of twenty has one single particle in any part of his body which he had at ten; and still less does any portion of the body he was born with continue to exist in or with him. All that he before had has now entered into new combinations, forming parts of other men, or of animals, or of vegetables or mineral substances, exactly as the body he now has will afterwards be resolved into new combinations after his death. Yet the mind continues one and the same, "without change or shadow of turning." None of its parts can be resolved; for it is one and single, and it remains unchanged by the changes of the body. The argument would be quite as strong though the change undergone by the body were admitted not to be so complete, and though some small portion of its harder parts were supposed to continue with us through life.

But observe how strong the inferences arising from these facts are, both to prove that the existence of the mind is entirely independent of the existence of the body, and to show the probability of its surviving! If the mind continues the same while all or nearly all the body is changed, it follows that the existence of the mind depends not in the least degree upon the existence of the body; for it has already survived a total change of, or, in the common use of the words, an entire destruction of that body. But again, if the strongest argument to show that the mind perishes with the body, nay, the only argument be, as it indubitably is, derived from the phenomena of death, the fact to which we have been referring affords an answer to this. For the argument is, that we know of no instance in which the mind has ever been known to exist after the death of the body. Now here is exactly the instance desiderated, it being manifest that the same process which takes place on the body more suddenly at death, is taking place more gradually, but as effectually in the result, during the whole of life, and that death itself does not more completely resolve the body into its elements and form it into new combinations than living fifteen or twenty years does destroy, by like resolution and combination, the self-same body. And yet after those years have elapsed, and the former body has been dissipated and formed into new combinations, the mind remains the same as before, exercising the same memory and consciousness, and so preserving the same personal identity as if the body had suffered no change at all. In short, it is not more correct to say that all of us who are now living have bodies formed of what were once the bodies of those who went before us, than to say that some of us who are now living at the age of fifty have bodies which in part belonged to others now living at that and other ages. The phenomena are precisely the same, and the operations are performed in like manner, though with different degrees of expedition. Now all would believe in the separate existence of the soul if they had experience of its existing apart from the body. But the facts referred to proves that it does exist apart from one body with which it once was united, and though it is in union with another, yet as it is not adherent to the same, it is shown to have an existence separate from, and independent of that body. So all would believe in the soul surviving the body, if after the body's death its existence were made manifest. But the facts referred to prove that after the body's death, that is, after the chronic dissolution which the body undergoes during life, the mind continues to exist as before. Here, then, we have that proof so much desiderated—the existence of the soul after the dissolution of the bodily frame with which it was connected. The two cases cannot, in any soundness of reasoning, be distinguished: and this argument, therefore, one of pure induction, derived partly from physical science, through the evidence of our senses, partly from psychological science, by the testimony of our consciousness, appears to prove the possible Immortality of the Soul almost as rigorously as "if one were to rise from the dead."

Now we have gone through the first division of this second branch of the subject, and have considered the proofs of the separate and future existence of the soul afforded by the nature of mind. It is quite clear that all of them are derived from a strict induction of facts, and that the doctrines rest upon precisely the same kind of evidence with that upon which the doctrines respecting the constitution and habits of the mind are founded. In truth, the subjects are not to be distinguished as regards the species of demonstration applicable to them—the process by which the investigation of them is to be conducted. That mind has an existence perceivable and demonstrable as well as matter, and that it is wholly different from matter in its qualities, is a truth proved by induction of facts. That mind can exist independent of matter and survive the dissolution of the body, is a truth proved exactly in the same manner, by induction of facts. The phenomena of dreams which lead to important conclusions touching the nature of the mind, lead, and by the self-same kind of reasoning, to important conclusions of a similar description, touching the mind's existence independent of the body. The facts, partly physical, partly psychological, which show the mind to be unaffected by the decay and by even the total though gradual change of the body during life, likewise show that it can exist after the more sudden change of a similar kind, which we term the dissolution of the body by death. There is no means of separating the two classes of truths, those of Psychology and those of Natural Theology; they are parts of one and the same science; they are ascertained by one and the same process of investigation; they repose upon one and the same kind of evidence; nor can any person, without giving way to a most groundless and unphilosophical prejudice, profess his belief in the former doctrines, and reject the latter. The only difference between the two is that the Theological propositions are of much greater importance to human happiness than the Metaphysical.

II. MORAL ARGUMENT, OR EVIDENCE OF THE DEITY'S DESIGNS DRAWN FROM HIS ATTRIBUTES IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONDITION OF THE SPECIES.

The probable designs of Divine Providence with respect to the future lot of man are to be gathered in part from the nature of the mind itself, the work of the Deity, and in part from the attributes of the Deity, ascertained by an examination of his whole works. It thus happens that a portion of this head of the argument has been anticipated in treating the other head, the nature of the mind. Whatever qualities of the soul show it to differ from matter, both make it improbable that it should perish with the body, and make it improbable that the Deity should destine it to such a catastrophe; and whatever facts show that it can survive a total change of the body during life, show, likewise, the probability that the same being who endowed it with that capacity will suffer it, in like manner, to continue in being after the more sudden change which the body undergoes at death.

The argument built upon the supposed designs of the Creator, requires to be handled in an humble and submissive spirit; but, if so undertaken, there is nothing in it which can be charged with presumption, or deemed inconsistent with perfect though rational devotion. In truth, all the investigations of Natural Theology are equally liable to such a charge; for to trace the evidences of design in the works of nature, and inquire how far benevolence presides over their formation and maintenance—in other words, to deduce from what we see, the existence of the Deity, and speculate upon His wisdom and goodness in the creation and government of the universe—is just as daring a thing, and exactly of the same kind of audacity, as to speculate upon His probable intentions with respect to the future destiny of man.

The contemplation of the Deity's goodness, as deducible from the great preponderance of instances in which benevolent design is exhibited, when accompanied with a consideration of the feelings and wishes of the human mind, gives rise to the first argument which is usually adduced in favor of the Immortality of the Soul. There is nothing more universal or more constant than the strong desire of immortality which possesses the mind, and compared with which its other wishes and solicitudes are but faint and occasional. That a benevolent being should have implanted this propensity without the intention of gratifying it, and to serve no very apparent purpose, unless it be the proving that it is without an object, appears difficult to believe: for certainly the instinctive fear of death would have served all the purposes of self-preservation without any desire of immortality being connected with it, although there can be no doubt that this desire, or at least the anxiety about our future destiny, is intimately related to our dread of dissolution. But the inference acquires additional strength from the consideration that the faculties of the mind ripen and improve almost to the time of the body's extinction, and that the destruction of the soul at the moment of its being fitter than ever for worthy things seems quite inconceivable.

The tender affections so strongly and so universally operating in our nature afford another argument of a like kind. No doubt the purpose to which they are subservient in this life is much more distinctly perceivable; yet still it is inconsistent with the provisions of a benevolent Power to suppose that we should be made susceptible of such vehement feelings, and be suffered to indulge in them, so as to make our happiness chiefly consist in their gratification, and that then we should suddenly be made to undergo the bitter pangs of separation, while, by our surviving, those pains are lengthened out without any useful effect resulting from our sufferings. That such separations should be eternal appears irreconcilable with the strength of the affections wounded, and with the goodness so generally perceived in the order of the universe. The supposition of a re-union hereafter overcomes the difficulty, and reconciles the apparent inconsistency.

The unequal distribution of rewards and punishments in this world, that is, the misery in which virtue often exists, and the prosperity not seldom attendant upon vice, can in no way be so well accounted for, consistently with the scheme of a benevolent Providence, as by the supposition of a Future State.

But perhaps there is nothing more strongly indicative of such a design in the Creator than the universal prevalence of religion amongst men. There can hardly be found a tribe so dark and barbarous as to be without some kind of worship, and some belief in a future state of existence. Now all religions are so far of God that he permits them; he made and preserves the faculties which have invented the false ones, as well as those which comprehend and treasure up the true faith. Religious belief, religious observance, the looking forward to a future existence, and pointing to a condition in which the deeds done on earth shall be visited with just recompense, are all facts of universal occurrence in the history and intellectual habits of the species. Are they all a mere fiction? Do they indeed signify nothing? Is that a mere groundless fancy, which in all places, in all ages, occupies and has occupied the thoughts, and mingled itself with the actions of all mankind, whether barbarous or refined?*

But if it be said that the belief of such a state is subservient to an important use, the restraining the passions and elevating the feelings, it is obvious to reply that so great a mechanism to produce this effect very imperfectly and precariously, appears little consistent with the ordinary efficacy and simplicity of the works of Providence, and that the disposition to shun vice and debasement could have been more easily and more certainly implanted by making them disgusting. True, there would then have been little merit in the restraint; but of what value is the production of such merit, if the mind which attains it and becomes adorned by it has no sooner approached perfection than it ceases to exist at all? The supposition of a Future State at once reconciles all inconsistencies here as before, and enables us to comprehend why virtue is taught by the hopes of another life, as well as why those hopes, and the grounds they rest on, form so large a portion of human contemplation.

That the existence of the soul in a new state after the entire dissolution of the body—nay, that the existence of the body itself in a new state, after passing through death, is nothing contrary to the analogies which nature presents, has been oftentimes observed, and is a topic much dwelt upon, especially by the ancient philosophers. The extraordinary transformations which insects undergo have struck men's imaginations so powerfully in contemplating this subject, that the soul itself was deemed of old to be aptly designated under the emblematical form of a butterfly, which having emerged from the chrysalis state, flutters in the air, instead of continuing to crawl on the earth, as it did before the worm it once was ceased to exist. The instance of the fœtus of animals, and especially of the human embryo, has occupied the attention of modern inquirers into this interesting subject. Marking the entire difference in one state of existence before and after birth, and the diversity of every one animal function at these two periods, philosophers have inferred, that, as, on passing from the one to the other state of existence so mighty a change is wrought, without any destruction either of the soul or body, a like transition may take place at death, and the event which appears to close our being may only open the portals of a new, and higher, and more lasting condition. As far as such considerations suggest analogies, they furnish a matter of pleasing contemplation, perhaps lend even some illustration to the argument. Nevertheless, they must be regarded as exceedingly feeble helps in this latter respect, if indeed their aid be not of a doubtful, and even dangerous kind. They are all drawn from material objects—all rest upon the properties and the fortunes of corporeal existences. Now the stronghold of those who maintain the Immortality of the Soul, and, indeed, all the doctrines of Natural Theology, is the entire difference between mind and matter, and the proofs we have constantly around us, and within us, of existences as real as the bodies which affect our outward senses, but resembling those perishable things in no one quality, no one habit of action, no one mode of being.

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* Note VIII. and IX.

Upon the particulars of a future state—the kind of existence reserved for the soul—the species of its occupations and enjoyments—Natural Theology is, of course, profoundly silent, but not more silent than Revelation. We are left wholly to conjecture, and in a field on which our hopelessness of attaining any certain result is quite equal to our interest in the success of the search. Indeed, all our ideas of happiness in this world are such as rather to disqualify us for the investigation or what may more fitly be termed the imagination. Those ideas are, for the most part, either directly connected with the senses, or derived from our condition of weakness here which occasions the formation of connections for mutual comfort and support, and gives to the feebler party the feeling of allegiance, to the stronger the pleasure of protection. Yet may we conceive that, hereafter, such of our affections as have been the most cherished in life shall survive and form again the delight of meeting those from whom death has severed us—that the soul may enjoy the purest delights in the exercise of its powers, above all for the investigation of truth—that it may expatiate in the full discovery of whatever has hitherto been most sparingly revealed, or most carefully hidden from its view—that it may be gratified with the sight of the useful harvest reaped by the world from the good seed which it helped to sow. We can only conjecture or fancy. But these, and such as these, are pleasures in which the gross indulgences of sense have no part, and which are even removed above the less refined of our moral gratifications: they may, therefore, be supposed consistent with a pure and faultless state of spiritual being.

Perhaps the greatest of all the difficulties which we feel in forming such conjectures, regards the endless duration of an immortal existence. All our ideas in this world are so adapted to a limited continuance of life—not only so moulded upon the scheme of a being incapable of lasting beyond a few years, but so inseparably connected with a constant change even here—a perpetual termination of one stage of existence and beginning of another—that we cannot easily, if at all, fancy an eternal, or even a long-continued, endurance of the same faculties, the same pursuits, and the same enjoyments. All here is in perpetual movement—ceaseless change. There is nothing in us or about us that abides an hour—nay, an instant. Resting-place there is none for the foot—no haven is provided where the mind may be still. How then shall a creature, thus wholly ignorant of repose—unacquainted with any continuation at all in any portion of his existence—so far abstract his thoughts from his whole experience as to conceive a long, much more a perpetual, duration of the same powers, pursuits, feelings, pleasures? Here it is that we are the most lost in our endeavors to reach the seats of the blessed with our imperfect organs of perception, and our inveterate and only habits of thinking.*

It remains to observe, that all the speculations upon which we have touched under this second subdivision of the subject, the moral argument, are similar to the doctrines of inductive science—at least to such of those doctrines as are less perfectly ascertained; but the investigation is conducted upon the same principles. The most satisfactory proofs of the soul's immortality are those of the first, or psychological class, derived from studying the nature of mind; those of the second class which we have last been surveying, derived from the condition of man in connection with the attributes of the Deity, are less distinct and cogent; nor would they be sufficient of themselves; but they add important confirmation to the others; and both are as truly parts of legitimate inductive science as any branch—we may rather say, any *other* branch—of moral philosophy.

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* The part of Dean Swift's satire which relates to the *Stulbrugs* may possibly occur to some readers as bearing upon this topic. That the stanch admirers of that singularly gifted person should have been flung into ecstasies on the perusal of this extraordinary part of his writings, needs not surprise us. Their raptures were full easily excited; but I am quite clear they have given a wrong gloss to it, and heaped upon its merits a very undeserved praise. They think that the picture of the Stulbrugs was intended to wean us from a love of life, and that it has well accomplished its purpose. I am very certain that the Dean never had any such thing in view, because his sagacity was far too great not to perceive that he only could make out this position by a most undisguised begging of the question. How could any man of the most ordinary reflection expect to wean his fellow-creatures from love of life by describing a sort of persons who at a given age lost their faculties, and became doting, drivelling idiots? Did any man breathing ever pretend that he wished to live, not only for centuries, but even for three-score years and ten, bereaved of his understanding, and treated by the law and by his fellow men as in hopeless, incurable dotage? The passage in question is much more likely to have proceeded from Swift's exaggerated misanthropy, and to have been designed as an antidote to human pride, by showing that our duration is necessarily limited—if, indeed, it is not rather to be regarded as the work of mere whim and caprice.

SECTION VI.

LORD BACON'S DOCTRINE OF FINAL CAUSES.*

It now appears, that when we said that Natural Theology can no more be distinguished from the physical, psychological, and ethical sciences, in respect of the evidence it rests upon and the manner in which its investigations are to be conducted, than the different departments of those sciences can be distinguished from each other in the like respect, we were only making an assertion borne out by a close and rigorous examination of the subject. How, then, comes it to pass, it may be asked, that the father of Inductive Philosophy has banished the speculation of Final Causes from his system, as if it were no branch of inductive science? A more attentive consideration of the question will show, *first*, that the sentence which he pronounced has been not a little misunderstood by persons who looked only at particular aphorisms, without duly regarding the context and the occasion; and, *secondly*, that Lord Bacon may very probably have conceived a prejudice against the subject altogether, from the abuses, or indeed perversions, to which a misplaced affection for it had given rise in some of the ancient schools of philosophy.

That Lord Bacon speaks disparagingly of the inquiry concerning final causes, both when he handles it didactically, and when he mentions it incidentally, is admitted. He enumerates it among the errors that spring from the restlessness of mind (*impotentia mentis*,) which forms the fourth class of the idols of the species (*idola tribus*,) or causes of false philosophy connected with the peculiarities of the human constitution.† In other parts of the same work he descants upon the mischiefs which have arisen in the schools from mixing the doctrines of natural religion with those of natural philosophy;‡ and he more than once treats of the inquiry concerning final causes as a barren speculation, comparing it to a nun or a vestal consecrated to heaven.§ But a nearer examination of this great authority will show that it is not adverse to our doctrine.

1. First of all it is to be remarked, that Lord Bacon does not disapprove of the speculation concerning final causes absolutely, and does not undervalue the doctrines of Natural Religion, so long as that speculation and those doctrines are kept in their proper place. His whole writings bear testimony to the truth of this proposition. In the *Parasceve* to natural and experimental history, which closes the *Novum Organum*, he calls the history of the phenomena of nature a volume of the work of God, and as it were another Bible—"volumen operum Dei, et tanquam altera scriptura."‖ In the first book of the *De Dignitate*, he says there are two books of religion to be consulted—the Scriptures, to tell the will of God, and the book of creation, to show his power.¶ Accordingly he maintains elsewhere,** that a miracle was never yet performed to convert atheists, because these might always arrive at the knowledge of a Deity by the light of nature. Nor ought we to pass over the remarkable passage of the *Cogitata et Visa*, in which he propounds the use of Natural Philosophy as the cure for superstition and the support of true religion. "Naturalem Philosophiam, post verbum Dei, certissimam superstitionis medicinam, eandem probaptissimam, fidei alimentum esse. Itaque merito religioni tanquam fidatissimam et acceptissimam ancillam attribui, cum altera volentatem Dei, altera potestatem manifestet."* If the earlier part of the passage left any doubt of the kind of service which religion was to derive from inductive science, the last words clearly show that it could only be by the doctrine of final causes.

2. But further, he distinctly classes natural religion among the branches of legitimate science; and it is of great and decisive importance to our present inquiry that we should mark the particular place which he assigns to it. He first divides science into two great branches, Theology and Philosophy—comprehending under the former description only the doctrines of revelation, and under the latter all human science. Now after expressly excluding Natural Religion† from the first class, he treats it as a part of the second. The second, or philosophy, is divided into three parts, according as its object is the Deity, Nature, or Man. The first of these subdivisions constitutes Natural Religion, which he says may be termed Divine knowledge, if you regard its object, but Natural knowledge, if you consider its nature and evidence, ("ratione informationis scientia naturalis censeri potest."‡) That he places it in a different subdivision from Natural Philosophy proves nothing; for he classes anatomy, medicine, and intellectual philosophy also in a different subdivision; they come under the head of Human Philosophy, or the science of man, as contradistinguished from Natural Theology and Natural Philosophy, or the science of God and of external objects. Many objections may undoubtedly be made to this classification, of which it is perhaps enough to say, that it leads to separating optics as well as anatomy and medicine§ from natural philosophy. But, at all events, it shows both that Lord Bacon deemed Natural Theology a fit object of philosophical inquiry, and that he regarded the inductive method as furnishing the means by which the inquiry was to be conducted.

3. The general censure upon the doctrine of final causes to which we have in the outset adverted, as conveyed by certain incidental remarks, is manifestly directed against the abuse of such speculations, and more especially in the ancient schools of philosophy. Lord Bacon justly objects to the confounding of final with efficient or physical causes; he marks the loose and figurative language to which this confusion has given rise; he asks if it is philosophical to describe the eye as Aristotle, Galen, and others do, with the eyelids and eyelashes as a wall and a hedge to protect it; or the bones as so many beams and pillars to support the body;‖ and he is naturally apprehensive of the danger which may result from men introducing fancies of their own into science, and above all, from their setting out with such fancies, and then making the facts bend to humor them. This is indeed the great abuse of the doctrine of final causes; and the more to be dreaded in its consequences, because of the religious feelings which are apt to mix themselves with such speculations, and to consecrate error.¶

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* Note

† Nov. Org. lib. i. Aph. 48.

‡ Ib. Aph. 96; and De Dig. et Aug. lib. i.

§ "Sterilis et tanquam virgo deo sacra non parit." c. 5. De Dig. lib. iii.

‖ Parasceve, c. 9. ¶ Lib. i. ** Ib. lib. iii. c. 13.

* Francisci Baconi, Cogitata et Visa.

† De Dig. lib. iii. c. 1.

‡ De Dig. lib. iii. c. 2.

§ Ib. lib. iv. c. 3. He treats of the desiderata in optics, under the head of the human mind—the senses.

‖ De Dig. lib. iii. c. 4.

¶ This idea is expressed by Bacon, with his wonted felicity, in the 75th Aphorism. "Pessima enim res est errorum apotheosis; et pro peste intellectus habenda est, si vanis accedat veneratio." (Nov. Org. lib. i.) He gives an instance of this folly in

4. The objections of Lord Bacon are the more clearly shown to be levelled against the abuse only, that we find him speaking in nearly similar terms of logic and the mathematics as having impeded the progress of natural science. In the passage already referred to, and which occurs twice in his books, where the Platonists are accused of mixing Natural Religion with Philosophy, the latter Platonists (or Eclectics) are in the same works charged with corrupting it by the mathematics, and the Peripateties by logic.* Not certainly that the greatest logician of modern times could undervalue either his own art or the skill of the analyst, but because Aristotle through dialectic, and Proclus through geometrical pedantry, neglected that humbler but more useful province of watching and interpreting nature, and used the instruments furnished by logic, and the mathematics, not to assist them in classifying facts, in or reasoning from them, but to construct phantastic theories, to which they made the facts bend.

When rightly examined, then, the authority of Lord Bacon appears not to oppose the doctrine which we are seeking to illustrate. Yet it is possible that a strong impression of the evils occasioned by the abuse of these speculations may have given him a less favorable opinion of them than they deserved. It appears that he had even conceived some prejudice against logic and the mathematics from a similar cause; and he manifests it, not only in the passages already referred to, but in that portion of his treatise *De Dig. et Aug.*, in which he treats of mathematical as an appendix to physical science, expressing much hesitation whether to rank it as a science, and delivering himself with some asperity against both logicians and mathematicians.† High as is the authority of this great man—and upon the subject of the present inquiry the highest of all—yet, if it clearly appears that the argument from Final Causes comes within the scope of inductive science, we are bound to admit it within the circle of legitimate human knowledge, even if we found the father of that science had otherwise judged. It is clear that, had he now lived, he would himself have rejected some speculations as wholly beyond the reach of the human faculties, which he unhesitatingly ranges among the objects of sound philosophy.‡ It is equally undeniable that he would have treated others with greater respect than he has shown them.* Above all, it is certain that he would never have suffered that the veneration due to his own name should enshrine an idol† to obstruct the progress of truth, and alienate her votaries from the true worship which he himself had founded.

That Lord Bacon has not himself indulged in any speculations akin to those of Natural Theology is, beyond all dispute, true. There is hardly any writer upon moral or natural science, in whose works fewer references can be found to the power or wisdom of a superintending Providence. It would be difficult to find in any other author, ancient or modern, as much of very miscellaneous matter upon almost all physical subjects as he has brought together in the *Sylva Sylvarum*, without one allusion to Final Causes. But it must also be admitted, that it would not be easy to find in any other writer of the least name upon physical subjects so little of value, and so much that is wholly unworthy of respect. That work is, indeed, a striking instance of the inequalities of the human faculties. Among the one thousand observations of which it consists, hardly one—of the two hundred and eighteen pages certainly not one—can be found in which there is not some instance of credulity, superstition, groundless hypothesis, manifest error of some kind or other; and nothing at any time given to the world ever exhibited a more entire disregard of all his own rules of philosophizing: for a superficial examination of facts, a hasty induction, and a proneness to fanciful theory, form the distinguishing characters of the whole book. Assuredly it is a proof that the doctrine of Final Causes is not the only parent of a "phantastic philosophy," though the other base undergrowth of "heretical religion"‡ may not be found in the recesses of the Sylva.

Descartes, whose original genius for the abstract sciences fixed an era in the history of pure mathematics, as remarkable as Bacon's genius did in that of logic, like him failed egregiously as a cultivator of natural philosophy; and he excluded Final Causes altogether from his system as a preposterous speculation—an irreverent attempt to penetrate mysteries hidden from human eyes by the imperfection of our nature. But it is to be observed, that all the successful cultivators of physical science have, as if under the influence of an irresistible impulsion, indulged in the sublime contemplations of Natural Religion. Nor have they fallen into this track from feeling and sentiment; they have pursued it as one of the paths which inductive philosophy opens to the student of nature. To say nothing of Mr. Boyle, one of the earliest cultivators of experimental philosophy, whose works are throughout imbued with this spirit, and who has left a treatise expressly on the subject of Final Causes, let us listen to the

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the perverted use made of some portions the Bible history—"Hinc vanitat nonnulli ex modernis summa levitate ita indulserunt, ut in primo capitulo Geneseos et in libro Job et aliis scripturis sacris, Philosophiam Naturalem fundare conati sint; *inter viva quærentes mortua*."

* Nov. Org. lib. i. Aph. 96; De Dig. lib. i.

† De Dig. lib. iii. c. 6.—Delicias et fastum mathematicorum, qui hanc scientiam physicæ fieri imperare cupiunt. Nescic enim quo fato fiat ut mathematica et logica quæ ancillarum loca erga physicam se gerere debebant, nihilominus, certitudinem, præ se jactantes, dominationem exercere petunt."

‡ He distinctly considers the "doctrine of angels and spirits" as an "appendix to Natural Theology," and holds that their nature may be investigated by science, including that of unclean spirits or demons, which he says hold in this inquiry the same place as poisons do in physics, or vices in ethics.—(De Dig. lib. iii. c. 2.) Natural magic, the doctrine of fascination, the discovery of futurity from dreams and ecstasies, especially in bad health from death-bed glimpses—in a word, divination—he holds to be branches of science deserving of cultivation; though he warns against sorcery, or the practice of witchcraft.—(Ib. lib. iv. c. 3, and lib. ii. c. 2.)

* He complains of treatises of Natural History being "swelled with figures of animals and plants, and other superfluous matter, instead of being enriched with solid observations."—De Dig. lib. ii. c. 3.

† Idolum theatri.

‡ This striking and epigrammatic antithesis occurs more than once in his writings. Thus, in the Nov. Org. lib. i. aph. 65—"Ex divinorum et humanorum malesana admixtione, non solum educitur philosophia phantastica, sed etiam Religio hæretica;" and again, in De Dig. and Aug. lib. iii. c. 2, speaking of the abuse of speculations touching natural religion, he remarks on the "incommoda et pericula quæ ex eo (abusu) tum religioni, tum philosophiæ impendent, utpote qui religionem hæreticam procudit et philosophiam phantasticam et superstitiosam."

words of Sir Isaac Newton himself. The greatest work of man, the Principia, closes with a swift transition from its most difficult investigation, the determination and correction of a comet's trajectory upon the parabolic hypothesis,* to that celebrated scholium, upon which Dr. Clarke's argument *a priori* for the existence of a Deity is built. But whatever may be deemed the soundness of that argument, or the intrinsic value of the eloquent and sublime passages which lay its foundation, its illustrious author at the same time points our attention to the demonstration from induction, and in the most distinct and positive terms sanctions the doctrine, that this is a legitimate branch of natural knowledge. "Hunc (Deum) cognoscimus per proprietates ejus et attributa et per sapientissimas et optimas rerum structuras et causas finales, et admiramur ob prospectiones."—"Deus sine dominio, providentia, et causis finalibus, nihil aliud est quam fatum et natura."—"Et hæc de Deo de quo utique ex phænomenis disserere ad philosophiam naturalem pertinet."—(*Scholium Generale.*)

And if he could not rest from his immortal labors in setting forth the system of the Universe, without raising his mind to the contemplation of Him who "weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance," so neither could he pursue the more minute operations of the most subtile material agent, without again rising towards Him who said "Let there be light." The most exquisite investigation ever conducted by man of the laws of nature by the means of experiment abounds in its latter portion, with explicit references to the doctrines of Natural Theology, and with admissions that the business of physical science is "to deduce causes from effects till we come to the very First Cause," and "that every true step made in inductive philosophy is to be highly valued, because it brings us nearer to the First Cause."†

SECTION VII.

OF SCIENTIFIC ARRANGEMENT, AND THE METHODS OF ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS.

Having shown that Natural Theology is a branch of inductive science—partly physical, partly intellectual and moral—it is of comparatively little importance to inquire whether or not it can be kept apart from the other branches of those sciences. In one view of this question we may say, that there is no more ground for the separation than there would be for making a distinct science of all the propositions in Natural Philosophy which immediately relate to the human body—whereby we should have portions of dynamics, pneumatics, optics, chemistry, electricity, and all human anatomy and pathology as contradistinguished from comparative, reduced under one and the same head—a classification, indeed, resembling Lord Bacon's. But in another, and, as it seems, the more just view, there is a sufficient number of resemblances and differences, and the importance of the subject is sufficient, to justify the making a separate head of Natural Theology. The question is entirely one of convenience; nothing of essential moment turns upon the classification; and there is obviously an advantage in having the truths collected in one body, though they are culled from the various parts of Physical and Metaphysical science to which they naturally belong.—All that is needful is, constantly to keep in mind the identity of the evidence on which these truths rest, with that which is the groundwork of those other parts of philosophy.

Although, however, convenience and the paramount importance of the subject seem to require such a separation, it is manifest that much of theology must still be found intermingled with physics and psychology, and there only; for the truths of Natural Theology being sufficiently demonstrated by a certain induction of facts—a certain number of experiments and observations—no farther proof is required; and to assemble all the evidence, if it were possible, would be only encumbering the subject with superfluous proofs, while the collection would still remain incomplete, as every day is adding to the instances discovered of design appearing in the phenomena of the natural and moral world. It has been said, indeed, that a single well-established proof of design is enough, and that no additional strength is gained to the argument by multiplying the instances. We shall afterwards show with what limitations this proposition is to be received; but for our present purpose it is sufficient, that, at all events, a certain definite number of instances are of force enough to work out the demonstration; and yet in every branch of physics and psychology new instances are presented at each step we make. These instances are of great importance; they are to be carefully noted and treasured up; they form most valuable parts of those scientific inquiries, conveying, in its purest form and in its highest degree, the gratification of contemplating abstract truths, in which consists the whole of the pleasure derived from science, properly so called—that is, from science as such, and as independent of its application to uses or enjoyments of a corporeal kind.

An apprehension has frequently been entertained by learned and pious men—men of a truly philosophical spirit—lest the natural desire of tracing design in the works of nature should carry inquirers too far, and lead them to give scope to their imagination rather than contain their speculations within the bounds of strict reasoning. They have dreaded the introduction of what Lord Bacon calls a "phantastic philosophy," and have also felt alarm at the injuries which religion may receive from being exposed to ridicule, in the event of the speculations proving groundless upon a closer examination. But it does not appear reasonable that philosophers should be deterred by such considerations from anxiously investigating the subject of Final Causes, and giving it the place which belongs to it in all their inquiries; provided they do not suffer fancy to intermix with and disturb their speculations. If they do, they commit the greatest error of which reasoners can be guilty—an error against which it is the very object of inductive philosophy to guard; but it is no more an error in this, than in the other investigations of science. He who imagines design where there is none; he who either assumes facts in order to build upon them an inference favorable to Natural Religion, or from admitted facts draws such an inference fancifully, and not logically, comes within the description of a false philosopher: he prefers the hypothetical to the inductive method; he cannot say with his master, "*hypotheses non fingo;*"* he renounces the modern, and recurs to the exploded modes of philosophizing. But he is not the more a false philosopher, and does not the more sin against the light of improved science, for committing the offence in the pursuit of theological truth. He would have been liable to the same charge if he had resorted to his fancy instead of observation and experiment while in search of any other scientific truth, or had hypothetically assumed a principle of classifying admitted phenomena, instead of rigorously deducing it from examining their circumstances of resemblance and of diversity.

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* Principia, lib. iii. Prop. xli. and xlii.

† Optics, Book iii. Query 28.—"How came the bodies of animals to be contrived with so much art, and for what ends were the several parts? Was the eye contrived without skill in optics, and the ear without knowledge of sound?" (See, too, Query 31.)

* Principia, lib. iii. Sch. Gen.

That any serious discredit can be brought upon the science of Natural Theology itself, from the failures to which such hypothetical reasonings may lead, seems not very easy to conceive. Vain and superficial minds may take any subject for their ridicule, and may laugh at the mechanician and the chemist as well as the theologian, when they chance to go astray in their searches after truth. Yet no one ever thought of being discouraged from experimental inquiries, because even the strictest prosecution of the inductive method cannot always guard against error. It is of the essence of all investigations of merely contingent truth, that they are exposed to casualties which do not beset the paths of the geometrician and the analyst. A conclusion from one induction of facts may be well warranted until a larger induction obliges us to abandon it, and adopt another. Yet no one deems chemistry discredited because a body considered in one state of our knowledge to be a compound acid has since appeared rather to be a simple substance, bearing to the acids no resemblance in its composition; nor would the optical discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton be discredited, much less the science he cultivated be degraded, if the undulatory hypothesis should, on a fuller inquiry, become established by strict proof. Yet such errors, or rather such imperfect and partial views, were the result of a strict obedience to the inductive rules of philosophizing. How much less ground for cavil against either of those rules, or the sciences to which they are applicable, would be afforded by the observations of those who had mistaken their way through a neglect of inductive principle, and by following blindly false guides!

While, then, on the one hand, we allow Natural Theology to form a distinct head or branch, the other sciences must of necessity continue to class its truths among their own; and thus every science may be stated to consist of *three* divisions—1. The truths which it teaches relative to the constitution and action of matter or of mind;—2. The truths which it teaches relative to theology; and 3. The application of both classes of truths to practical uses, physical or moral. Thus, the science of pneumatics teaches, under the *first* head, the doctrine of the pressure of the atmosphere, and its connection with respiration, and with the suspension of weights by the formation of a vacuum. Under the *second* head, it shows the adaptation of the lungs of certain animals to breathe the air, and the feet of others to support their bodies, in consequence of both being framed in accordance with the former doctrine—that is, with the law of pressure—and thus demonstrates a wise and beneficent design. Under the *third* head, it teaches the construction of barometers, steam-engines, &c., while the contemplation of the Divine wisdom and goodness inculcates piety, patience, and hope.

But it may be said, that in this classification of the objects of science, we omit one ordinarily reckoned essential—the explanation of phenomena. The answer is, that such a classification is not strictly accurate, as no definite line can be drawn between the explanation of phenomena and the analytical process by which the truths themselves are established: in a word, between analysis and synthesis in the sciences of contingent truth. For the same phenomena which form the materials of the analytical investigation—the steps that lead us to the proposition or discovery—would, in a reversed order, become the subjects of the synthetical operation: that is, the things to be explained by means of the proposition or discovery, if we had been led to it by another route; in other words, if we had reached it by means of other phenomena of the like kind, referrible to the same class, and falling within the same principle or rule. Thus, the experiments upon the prismatic spectrum prove the sun's light to be composed of rays of different refrangibility.—This being demonstrated, we may explain by means of it the phenomena which form the proofs of the first proposition of the "*Optics*," that lights which differ in color differ in refrangibility—as that a parallelogram of two colors refracted through a prism has its sides no longer parallel; or, having shown the different refrangibility by the prismatic phenomena, we may explain why a lens has the focus of violet rays nearer than the focus of red, while this experiment is of itself one of the most cogent proofs of the different refrangibility. It is plain that in these cases, the same phenomenon may be made indiscriminately the subject of matter either of analysis or synthesis. So, one of the proofs given of latent heat is that after you heat a bar of iron once or twice by hammering it, the power of being thus heated is exhausted, until by exposing it to the fire that power is restored. Yet, suppose we had proved the doctrine of the absorption of heat by other experiments—as by the effects on the thermometer of liquids of different temperatures mixed together—the phenomenon of the iron bar would be explicable by that doctrine thus learnt. Again, another proof of the same truth is the production of heat by the sudden condensation of gaseous fluids, and of cold by evaporation, the evolution of heat being inferred from the former, and its absorption from the latter operation. But if the experiments upon the mixture of fluids of different temperatures, and other facts, had sufficiently proved the disappearance of heat in its sensible form, and its being held in a state in which it did not affect the thermometer, we should by means of that doctrine have been able to account for the refrigerating effect of evaporation, and the heating power of condensation.

It cannot, then, be a real and an accurate distinction, or one founded on the nature of the thing, which depends on the accident of the one set of facts having been chosen for the instruments of the analytical, and the other set for the subjects of the synthetical operation, each set being alike applicable to either use. For, in order that the synthesis may be correct, nay, in order that it may be strict and not hypothetical, it is obviously necessary that the phenomena should be of such a description as might have made them subservient to the analysis. In truth, both the operations are essentially the same—the generalization of particulars—the arranging or classifying facts so as to obtain a more general or comprehensive fact; and the explanation of phenomena, is just as much a process of generalization or classification, as the investigation of the proposition itself, by means of which you are to give the explanation. We do not perform two operations, but one, in these investigations. We do not in reality first find by the prism that light is differently refrangible, and then explain the rainbow—or show by the air-pump that the atmosphere presses with the weight of so many pounds upon a square foot, and then explain the steam-engine and the fly's foot—or prove, by burning the two weighed gases together and burning iron in one of them, that water is composed of them both, and that rust is the metal combined with one, and then explain why iron rusts in water. But we observe all these several facts, and find that they are related to each other, and resolvable into three classes—that the phenomena of the prism and of the shower are the same, the spectrum and the rainbow being varieties of the same fact, more general than either, and comprehending many others, all reducible within its compass—that the air-pump, the steam-engine, the fly's foot, are all the same fact, and come within a description still more general and compendious—that the rusting of iron, the burning of inflammable air, and the partial consumption of the blood in the lungs, are likewise the same fact in different shapes, and resolvable into a fact much more comprehensive.

If, then, the distinction of investigation and explanation, or the analytical and synthetical process, is to be retained, it can only be nominal; and it is productive of but little if any convenience. On the contrary, it is calculated to introduce inaccurate habits of philosophizing, and holds out a temptation to hypothetical reasoning. Having obtained a general law, or theory, we are prone to apply it where no induction shows that it is applicable; and perceiving that it would account for the observed phenomena, if certain things existed, we are apt to assume their existence, that we may apply our explanation. Thus, we know that if the walrus's foot, or the fly's, make a vacuum, the pressure of the air will support the animal's weight, and hence we assume that the vacuum is made. Yet it is clear that we have no right whatever to do so; and that the strict rules of induction require us to prove the vacuum before we can arrange this fact in the same class with the other instances of atmospheric pressure. But when we have proved it by observation, it will be said we have gained nothing by our general doctrine. True; but all that the science entitles us to do is, not to draw facts we are half acquainted with under the arbitrary sway of our rule, but to examine each fact in all its parts, and bring it legitimately within the rule by means of its ascertained resemblances—that is, classify it with those others to which it bears the common relation. Induction gives us the right to expect that the same result will always happen from the same action operating in like circumstances; but it is of the essence of this inference that the similarity be first shown.

It may be worth while to illustrate this further, as it is an error very generally prevailing, and leads to an exceedingly careless kind of inquiry. The fundamental rule of inductive science is, that no hypothesis shall be admitted—that nothing shall be assumed merely because, if true, it would explain the facts. Thus, the magnetic theory of Æpinus is admitted by all to be admirably consistent with itself, and to explain all the phenomena—that is, to tally exactly with the facts observed. But there is no proof at all of the accumulation of electrical or magnetic fluid at the one pole, and other fundamental positions; on the contrary, the facts are rather against them: therefore, the theory is purely gratuitous; and although it would be difficult to find any other, on any subject, more beautiful in itself, or more consistent with all the phenomena, it is universally rejected as a mere hypothesis, of no use or value in scientific research. The inductive method consists in only admitting those things which the facts prove to be true, and excludes the supposing things merely because they square with the facts. Whoever makes such suppositions upon observing a certain number of facts, and then varies those suppositions when new facts come to his knowledge, so as to make the theory tally with the observation—whoever thus goes on, touching and re-touching his theory each time a new fact is observed which does not fall within the original proposition, is a mere framer of hypotheses, not an inductive inquirer—a fancier, and not a philosopher.

Now, this being the undoubted rule, does not the course of those fall exactly within it, who, having upon a certain class of phenomena, built a conclusion legitimately and by strict induction, employ that conclusion to explain other phenomena, which they have not previously shown to fall within the same description? Take the example of the Torricellian vacuum. Having by that experiment proved the weight of the atmosphere, we have a right to conclude that a tube filled with water forty feet high, would have a vacuum in the uppermost seven feet—because we know the relative specific gravities of water and mercury, and might predict from thence that the lighter fluid would stand at the height of thirty-three feet; and this conclusion we have a right to draw, without any experiments to ascertain the existence of a vacuum in the upper part of the tube. But we should have no right whatever to draw this conclusion, without ascertaining the specific gravities of the two fluids: for if we did, it would be assuming that the two facts belonged to the same class. So respecting the power of the walrus or the fly to walk up a vertical plane. We know the effects of exhausting the air between any two bodies, and leaving the external atmosphere to press against them: they will cohere. But if from thence we explain the support given to the walrus or the fly without examining their feet, and ascertaining that they do exhaust or press out the air—if, in short, we assume the existence of a vacuum under their feet, merely because, were there a vacuum, the pressure of the air would produce the cohesion, and thus account for the phenomena—we really only propound an hypothesis.—We suppose certain circumstances to exist, in order to classify the fact with other facts actually observed, and the existence of which circumstances is necessary, in order that the phenomena may be reducible under the same head.

There is no reason whatever for asserting that this view of the subject restricts the use of induction by requiring too close and constant a reference to actual observation. The inductive principle is this—that from observing a number of particular facts, we reason to others of the same kind—that from observing a certain thing to happen in certain circumstances, we expect the same thing to happen in the like circumstances. This is to generalize; but then this assumes that we first show the identity of the facts, by proving the similarity of the circumstances. If not, we suppose or fancy, and do not reason or generalize. The tendency of the doctrine that a proposition being demonstrated by one set of facts, may be used to explain another set, has the effect of making us suppose or assume the identity or resemblance which ought to be proved. The true principle is, that induction is the generalizing or classifying of facts by observed resemblances, and diversities.

Nothing here stated has any tendency to shackle our experimental inquiries, by too rigidly narrowing the proof. Thus, although we are not allowed to suppose any thing merely because, if it existed, other things would be explained; yet, when no other supposition will account for the appearances, the hypothesis is no longer gratuitous; and it constantly happens, that an inference drawn from an imperfect induction, and which would be, on that state of the facts, unauthorized because equivocal, and not the only supposition on which the facts could be explained, becomes legitimate on a further induction, whereby we show that, though the facts first observed might be explained by some other supposition, yet those facts newly observed could to no other supposition be reconciled. Thus, the analytical experiment on the constitution of water, by passing steam over red hot iron, is not conclusive because, although it tallies well with the position that water consists of oxygen and hydrogen, yet it would also tally with another supposition that those gases were produced in the process, and not merely separated from each other; so that neither oxygen nor hydrogen existed in the water, any more than acid and water exist in coal and wood, but only their elements, and that, like the acid and water, the products of the destructive distillation of those vegetable substances, the oxygen and hydrogen, were compounded, and in fact produced by the process. But when, besides the analytical, we have the synthetical experiments of Mr. Cavendish and Dr. Priestley*—when we find that by burning the two gases in a close vessel, they disappear, and leave a weight of water equal to their united weights—we have a fact not reconcileable to any other supposition, except that of the composition of this fluid. It is as when, in solving a problem, we fix upon a point in one line, curved or straight, because it answers one of the conditions—it may be the right point, or it may not, for all the other points of the line equally answer that condition; but when we also show that the remaining conditions require the point to be in another line, and that this other intersects the former in the very point we had assumed, then no doubt can exist, and the point is evidently the one required, none other fulfilling all the conditions.

We have used the words *analytical* and *synthetical* as applicable to the experiments of resolution and composition; and in this sense these terms are strictly correct in reference to inductive operations. But the use of the terms *analysis* and *synthesis* as applicable to the processes of induction—the former being the investigation of truths by experiment or observation, and the latter the explaining other facts by means of the truths so ascertained—is by no means so correct, and rests upon an extremely fallacious analogy, if there be, indeed, any analogy, for identity, or even resemblance, there is none. The terms are borrowed from mathematical science, where they denote the two kinds of investigation employed in solving problems and investigating theorems. When, in order to solve a problem, we suppose a thing done which we know not how to do, we reason upon the assumption that the prescribed conditions have been complied with, and proceed till we find something which we already possess the means of doing. This gives us the construction; and the synthetical demonstration consists in merely retracing the steps of the analysis. And so of a theorem: we assume it to be true, and reasoning on that assumption, we are led to something which we know from other sources to be true, the synthesis being the same operation reversed. The two operations consist here, of manifest necessity, of the very same steps—the one being the steps of the other taken in the reverse order. In Physics, to make the operations similar to these, the same facts should be the ground or component parts of both. In analysis, we should ascend not only from particulars to generals, but from the same particulars, and then the synthesis would be a descent through the same steps to the particular phenomena from the general fact. But it is a spurious synthesis, unlike the mathematical, and not warranted by induction, to prove the proposition by one set of facts, and by that proposition to explain—that is, classify—another set, without examining it by itself. If we do examine it by itself, and find that it is such as the proposition applies to, then also is it such as might prove the proposition; and the synthesis is here, as in the case of the mathematical investigation, the analysis reversed. As far as any resemblance or analogy goes, there is even a greater affinity between the inductive analysis and the geometrical synthesis, than between those operations which go by the same name; and I hardly know any thing in experimental investigation resembling the mathematical analysis, unless it be when, from observing certain facts, we assume a position, and then infer, that if this be true, some other facts must also exist, which we find (from other proofs) really do exist. This bears a resemblance rather to the analytical investigation than to the composition or synthetical demonstration of theorems in the ancient geometry. It is not the course of reasoning frequently pursued in experimental sciences; but a most beautiful example of it occurs in the Second Part of Dr. Black's Experiments on Magnesia Alba and Quick Lime, the foundation of the modern gaseous chemistry.

Upon the whole, the use of these terms is apt to mislead; and, for the reasons which have been assigned, there seems no solidity in the division of inductive inquiry into the two classes.*

PART THE SECOND.

OF THE ADVANTAGES OF THE STUDY OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

The uses of studying the science to which our inquiries have been directed, now demand some consideration. These consist of the pleasures which attend all scientific pursuits, the pleasures and the improvement peculiar to the study of Natural Theology, and the service rendered by this study to the doctrines of Revelation.

SECTION I.

OF THE PLEASURES OF SCIENCE.

As we have established the position that Natural Theology is a branch of Inductive Science, it follows that its truths are calculated to bestow the same kind of gratification which the investigation and the contemplation of scientific truth generally is fitted to give.

That there is a positive pleasure in such researches and such views, wholly independent of any regard to the advantages derived from their application to the aid of man in his physical necessities, is quite undeniable. The ascertaining by demonstration any of the great truths in the mathematics, or proving by experiment any of the important properties of matter, would give a real and solid pleasure, even were it certain that no practical use could be made of either the one or the other. To know that the square of the hypotenuse is always exactly equal to the sum of the squares of the sides of a right-angled triangle, whatever be its size, and whatever the magnitude of the acute angles, is pleasing; and to be able to trace the steps by which the absolute certainty of this proposition is established, is gratifying, even if we were wholly ignorant that the art of guiding a ship through the pathless ocean mainly depends upon it. Accordingly, we derive pleasure from rising to the contemplation of the much more general truth, of which the discovery of Pythagoras (the forty-seventh proposition of the First Book of Euclid) is but a particular case, and which is also applicable to all similar triangles, and indeed to circles and ellipses also, described on the right-angled triangle's sides; and yet that general proposition is of no use in navigation, nor indeed in any other practical art. In like manner the pleasure derived from ascertaining that the pressure of the air and the creation of a vacuum alike cause the rise of the mercury in the barometer, and give the power to flies of walking on the ceiling of a room, is wholly independent of any practical use obtained from the discovery, inasmuch as it is a pleasure superadded to that of contemplating the doctrine proved by the Torricellian experiment, which had conferred all its practical benefits long before the cause of the fly's power was found out. Thus, again, it is one of the most sublime truths in science, and the contemplation of which, as mere contemplation, affords the greatest pleasure, that the power which makes a stone fall to the ground keeps the planets in their course, moulds the huge masses of those heavenly bodies into their appointed forms, and reduces to perfect order all the apparent irregularities of the system: so that the handful of sand which for an instant ruffles the surface of the lake, acts by the same law which governs, through myriads of ages, the mighty system composed of myriads of worlds. There is a positive pleasure in generalizing facts and arguments; in perceiving the wonderful production of most unlike results from a few very simple principles; in finding the same powers or agents reappearing in different situations, and producing the most diverse and unexpected effects; in tracing unexpected resemblances and differences; in ascertaining that truths or facts apparently unlike are of the same nature, and observing wherein those apparently similar are various: and this pleasure is quite independent of all considerations relating to practical application—nay, the additional knowledge that those truths are susceptible of a beneficial application, gives a further gratification of the like kind to those who are certain never to have the opportunity of sharing the benefits obtained, and who indeed may earnestly desire never to be in the condition of being able to share them. Thus, in addition to the pleasure received from contemplating a truth in animal physiology, we have another gratification from finding that one of its corollaries is the construction of an instrument useful in some painful surgical operation. Yet, assuredly, we have no desire ever to receive advantage from this corollary; and our scientific gratification was wholly without regard to any such view. In truth, generalizing—the discovery of remote analogies—of resemblances among unlike objects—forms one of the most pleasing employments of our faculties in every department of mental exertion, from the most severe investigation of the mathematician to the lightest efforts of the wit. To trace the same equality, or other relation between figures apparently unlike, is the chief glory of the geometrician; to bring together ideas of the most opposite description, and show them in unexpected, yet when suddenly pointed out, undeniable connection, is the very definition of wit. Nay, the proposition which we have just enunciated, is a striking instance of the same general truth; for we have been surveying the resemblance, or rather the identity, in one important particular of two pursuits, in all other respects the most widely remote from each other—mathematics and wit.

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*Dr. Priestley drew no conclusion of the least value from his experiments. But Mr. Watt, after thoroughly weighing them, by careful comparison with other facts, arrived at the opinion that they proved the composition of water. This may justly be said to have been the discovery of that great truth in chemical science. I have examined the evidence, and am convinced that he was the first discoverer, in point of time, although it is very possible that Mr. Cavendish may have arrived at the same truth from his own experiments, without any knowledge of Mr. Watt's earlier process of reasoning.

*When this section was written, I had not seen Mr. Stewart's learned remarks upon analysis and synthesis in the second volume of his Elements, nor was aware of the observations of Dr. Hook, quoted by him, and which show a remarkable coincidence with one of the observations in the text. Mr. Stewart's speculations do not come upon the same ground with mine; but Dr. Hook having reversed the use of the terms analysis and synthesis in experimental science, affords a strong confirmation of the remark which I have ventured to make upon the inaccuracy of this application of mathematical language.—(See Elem. of Phil. of Human Mind, vol. ii. p. 354, 4to.)

If the mere contemplation of scientific truth is the source of real gratification, there is another pleasure alike remote from all reference to practical use or benefit, and which is obtained by tracing the investigations and demonstration—the steps that lead analytically to the discovery, and synthetically to the proof of those truths. This is a source of pleasure, both by giving the assurance that the propositions of generalization—the statements of resemblance and diversity are true in themselves, and also by the consciousness of power which it imparts and the feeling of difficulty overcome which it involves. We feel gratified when we have closely followed the brilliant induction which led Newton to the discovery that white is the union of all colors; and when we have accompanied him in the series of profound researches, from the invention of a new calculus or instrument of investigation, through innumerable original geometrical lemmas, to the final demonstration that the force of gravitation deflects the comet from the tangent of its elliptical orbit; and we feel the gratification because the pursuit of these investigations assures us that the marvellous propositions are indeed true—because there is a consciousness of man's power in being able to penetrate so far into the secrets of nature, and search so far into the structure of the universe—and because there is a pleasure, which we enjoy individually, in having accomplished a task of considerable difficulty. In these gratifications, derived from the contemplation and the investigation of general laws, consists the Pleasure of Science properly so called, and apart from all views of deriving particular advantages from its application to man's use.

This pleasure is increased as often as we find that any scientific discovery is susceptible of practical applications. The contemplation of this adaptation is pleasing, independent of any regard to our own individual advantage, and even though we may desire never to be in a condition to reap benefit from it. We sympathise, perhaps, with those who may be so unfortunate as to require the aid afforded by such applications to relieve and assuage pain; but the mere knowledge that such a corollary follows from the discovery of the scientific truth, is pleasing. Of course the gratification is increased, if we know that individually we shall profit by it, and we may perhaps always more or less contemplate this possibility; but this is a pleasure, properly speaking, of a different kind from that which science, as such, bestows.

The branch of science which we are here particularly considering differs in no respect from the other departments of philosophy in the kind of gratification which it affords to those who cultivate it.—Natural Theology, like the other sciences, whether physical or mental, bestows upon the student the pleasures of contemplation—of generalization; and it bestows this pleasure in an eminent degree. To trace design in the productions and in the operations of nature, or in those of the human understanding, is, in the strictest sense of the word, generalization, and consequently produces the same pleasure with the generalizations of physical and of psychological science. Every part of the foregoing reasoning, therefore, applies closely and rigorously to the study of Natural Theology. Thus, if it is pleasing to find that the properties of two curves so exceedingly unlike as the ellipse and the hyperbola closely resemble each other, or that appearances so dissimilar as the motion of the moon and the fall of an apple from the tree are different forms of the same fact, it affords a pleasure of the same kind to discover that the light of the glow-worm and the song of the nightingale are both provisions of nature for the same end of attracting the animal's mate, and continuing its kind—that the peculiar law of attraction pervading all matter, the magnitude of the heavenly bodies, the planes they move in, and the directions of their courses, are all so contrived as to make their mutual actions, and the countless disturbances thence arising all secure a perpetual stability to the system which no other arrangement could attain. It is a highly pleasing contemplation of the self-same kind with those of the other sciences to perceive every where design and adaptation—to discover uses even in things apparently the most accidental—to trace this so constantly, that where peradventure we cannot find the purpose of nature, we never for a moment suppose there was none, but only that we have hitherto failed in finding it out—and to arrive at the intimate persuasion that all seeming disorder is harmony—all chance, design—and that nothing is made in vain; nay, things which in our ignorance we had overlooked as unimportant, or even complained of as evils, fill us afterwards with contentment and delight, when we find that they are subservient to the most important and beneficial uses. Thus, inflammation and the generation of matter in a wound we find to be the effort which Nature makes to produce new flesh, and effect the cure; the opposite hinges of the valves in the veins and arteries are the means of enabling the blood to circulate; and so of innumerable other arrangements of the animal economy. So, too, there is the highest gratification derived from observing that there is a perfect unity, or, as it has been called, a *personality*, in the kind of the contrivances in which the universe abounds; and truly this peculiarity of character, or of manner, as other writers have termed it, affords the same species of pleasure which we derive from contemplating general resemblances in the other sciences.

We may close this branch of the subject with the observation that those other sciences have often in their turn derived aid from Natural Theology, at least from the speculation of Final Causes, for which they, generally speaking, lay the foundation. Many discoveries in the physiology both of animals and plants owe their origin to some arrangement or structure being remarked, the peculiar object of which was not known, and the ascertaining of which led to the knowledge of an important truth. The well-known anecdote of Harvey, related by Mr. Boyle, is the best example of this which can be given. In his tract on Final Causes he thus writes:—"I remember that when I asked our famous Harvey, in the only discourse I had with him, (which was but a while before he died,) what were the things that induced him to think of a circulation of the blood, he answered me, that when he took notice that the valves in the veins of so many parts of the body were so placed that they gave free passage to the blood towards the heart, but opposed the passage of the veinal blood the contrary way, he was incited to imagine that so provident a cause as Nature had not so placed so many valves without design, and no design seemed more probable than that since the blood could not well, because of the interposing valves, be sent by the veins to the limbs, it should be sent through the arteries, and return through the veins whose valves did not oppose its course that way."* Even the arts have borrowed from the observation of the animal economy. Those valves—the hollow bones of birds—the sockets of the joints—have all furnished suggestions upon which some of our most useful machinery is constructed. Nor can any abuse arise from this employment of the argument, so long as we take care only to let it occupy the subordinate place of a suggestor—an originator of inquiry—and never suffer it to usurp the station of a sole guide, or a substitute for that induction which alone can be relied on in forming our conclusions. The ancients were ignorant of this caution, and would probably have rested satisfied with the consideration which only set Harvey upon making experiments, instead of proving in this way what the argument from Final Causes only rendered probable. Hence, much of what, as we have already explained, Lord Bacon has said upon the subject of this speculation, abused as it certainly has been in all ages, but especially in ancient times.

SECTION II.

OF THE PLEASURE AND IMPROVEMENT PECULIAR TO NATURAL THEOLOGY.

HITHERTO we have only shown that the gratification which the contemplation of scientific truth is calculated to bestow belongs to Natural Theology, in common with the other branches of Philosophy. But there are several considerations which make it plain that the pleasure must be greater which flows from the speculations of this than any which the other sciences confer.

In the *first* place, the nature of the truths with which Natural Theology is conversant is to be considered. They relate to the evidences of design, of contrivance, of power, of wisdom, of goodness—but let us only say, of design or contrivance. Nothing can be more gratifying to the mind than such contemplations: they afford great scope to the reasoning powers; they exercise the resources of our ingenuity; they give a new aspect to the most ordinary appearances; they impart life as it were to dead matter; they are continually surprising us with novel and unexpected proofs of intentions plainly directed to a manifest object. If some scoffers and superficial persons despise the enthusiasm with which these investigations have at times been pursued, and hold the exercise given by them to the ingenuity of inquirers to be rather a play of imagination than of reasoning, it is equally undeniable that in some of the most important and most practically useful of the sciences, design, so far from being a matter of fanciful conjecture, is always assumed as incontestable, and the inquiry, often with a merely practical view, is confined to discovering what the object of the design is. Thus, when the physiologist has discovered some part of the animal body before unknown, or observed some new operation of the known organs, he never doubts that design exists, and that some end is to be answered.—This he takes for granted without any reasoning; and he only endeavors to find out what the purpose is—what use the part can have—what end the operation is intended to accomplish; never supposing it possible that either the part could be created, or the function appointed, without an object. The investigation conducted upon the assumption of this postulate has frequently led to the most brilliant discoveries—among others, as we have just seen, to by far the most important ever made in physiological science. For the mere exercise of the intellectual faculties, or gratification of scientific curiosity, we may refer to almost all the singular phenomena which form the bases of the reasonings as to design—the structure of the ear, and still more of the eye—the circulation of the blood—the physiology of the fœtus in the uterus, as contrasted with the economy of the born animal, and the prospective contrivances of a system which until the birth is to be wholly useless—the structure of the eye and the nictitating membrane in different birds, and the haw in certain quadrupeds—the powers of the eye in birds of prey—perhaps more than any thing else, the construction of their cells by bees, according to the most certain principles discovered by men only with the help of the most refined analytical calculus. The atheist can only deny the wonderful nature of such operations of instinct by the violent assumption that the bee works as the heavenly bodies roll, and that its mathematically correct operations are no more to be wondered at than the equally mathematically adjusted movements of the planets—a truly violent assumption, and especially of those who angrily deny that men have a soul differing in kind from the sentient principle in the lower animals.

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* Disquisition about the Final Causes of Natural Things.—Works, v. 427. 4to.

Secondly. The universal recurrence of the facts on which Natural Theology rests deserves to be regarded as increasing the interest of this science.—The other sciences, those of Physics at least, are studied only when we withdraw from all ordinary pursuits, and give up our meditations to them.—Those which can only be prosecuted by means of experiment can never be studied at all without some act of our own to alter the existing state of things, and place nature in circumstances which force her, by a kind of question, as Lord Bacon phrases it, to reveal her secrets. Even the sciences which depend on observation have their fields spread only here and there, hardly ever lying in our way, and not always accessible when we would go out of our way to walk in them. But there is no place where the evidences of Natural Religion are not distributed in ample measure. It is equally true that those evidences continually meet us in all the other branches of science. A discovery made in these almost certainly involves some new proofs of design in the formation and government of the universe.

Thirdly, and chiefly. Natural Theology stands far above all other sciences from the sublime and elevating nature of its objects. It tells of the creation of all things—of the mighty power that fashioned and that sustains the universe—of the exquisite skill that contrived the wings and beak, and feet of insects invisible to the naked eye—and that lighted the lamp of day, and launched into space comets a thousand times larger than the earth, whirling a million of times swifter than a cannon ball, and burning with a heat which a thousand centuries could not quench. It exceeds the bounds of material existence, and raises us from the creation to the Author of Nature. Its office is, not only to mark what things are, but for what purpose they were made by the infinite wisdom of an all-powerful being, with whose existence and attributes its high prerogative is to bring us acquainted. If we prize, and justly, the delightful contemplations of the other sciences; if we hold it a marvellous gratification to have ascertained exactly the swiftness of the remotest planets—the number of grains that a piece of lead would weigh at their surfaces—and the degree in which each has become flattened in shape by revolving on its axis: it is surely a yet more noble employment of our faculties, and a still higher privilege of our nature, humbly, but confidently, to ascend from the universe to its Great First Cause, and investigate the unity, the personality, the intentions, as well as the matchless skill and mighty power of him who made and sustains and moves those prodigious bodies, and all that inhabit them.

Now, all the gratification of which we have been treating, is purely scientific, and wholly independent of any views of practical benefit resulting from the science of Natural Theology. The pleasure in question is merely that double gratification which every science bestows—namely, the contemplation of truth, in tracing resemblances and differences, and the perception of the evidence by which that truth is established. Natural Theology gives this double pleasure, like all other branches of science—like the mathematics—like physics—and would give it if we were beings of an order different from man, and whose destinies never could be affected by the truth or the falsehood of the doctrines in question. Nay, we may put a still stronger case, one analogous to the instance given above of the pleasure derived from contemplating some fine invention of a surgical instrument. Persons of such lives as should make it extremely desirable to them that there was no God and no Future State, might very well, as philosophers, derive gratification from contemplating the truths of Natural Theology, and from following the chain of evidence by which these are established, and might in such sublime meditation, find some solace to the pain which reflection upon the past, and fears of the future are calculated to inflict upon them.

But it is equally certain that the science derives an interest incomparably greater from the consideration that we ourselves who cultivate it, are most of all concerned in its truth—that our own highest destinies are involved in the results of the investigation. This, indeed, makes it, beyond all doubt, the most interesting of the sciences, and sheds on the other branches of philosophy an interest beyond that which otherwise belongs to them, rendering them more attractive in proportion as they connect themselves with this grand branch of human knowledge, and are capable of being made subservient to its uses. See only in what contemplations the wisest of men end their most sublime inquiries! Mark where it is that a Newton finally reposes after piercing the thickest veil that envelops nature—grasping and arresting in their course the most subtile of her elements and the swiftest—traversing the regions of boundless space—exploring worlds beyond the solar way—giving out the law which binds the universe in eternal order! He rests, as by an inevitable necessity, upon the contemplation of the great First Cause, and holds it his highest glory to have made the evidence of his existence, and the dispensations of his power and of his wisdom, better understood by men.

If such are the peculiar pleasures which appertain to this science, it seems to follow that those philosophers are mistaken who would restrict us to a very few demonstrations, to one or two instances of design, as sufficient proofs of the Deity's power and skill in the creation of the world. That one sufficient proof of this kind is in a certain sense enough cannot be denied; a single such proof overthrows the dogmas of the atheist and dispels the doubts of the skeptic; but is it enough to the gratification of the contemplative mind? The great multiplication of proofs undeniably strengthens our positions; nor can we ever affirm respecting the theorems in a science, not of necessary but of contingent truth, that the evidence is sufficiently cogent without variety and repetition. But, independently altogether of this consideration, the gratification is renewed by each instance of design which we are led to contemplate. Each is different from the other. Each step renews our delight. The finding that at every step we make in one science, and with one object in view, a new proof is added to those before possessed by another science, affords a perpetual source of new interest and fresh enjoyment. This would be true if the science in question were one of an ordinary description. But when we consider what its nature is—how intimately connected with our highest concerns—how immediately and necessarily leading to the religious adoration of the Supreme Being—can we doubt that the perpetually renewed proofs of his power, wisdom, and goodness tend to fix and to transport the mind, by the constant nourishment thus afforded to feelings of pure and rational devotion? It is, in truth, an exercise at once intellectual and moral, in which the highest faculties of the understanding and the warmest feelings of the heart alike partake, and in which not only without ceasing to be a philosopher the student feels as a man, but in which the more warmly his human feelings are excited, the more philosophically he handles the subject. What delight can be more elevating, more truly worthy of a rational creature's enjoyment, than to feel wherever we tread the paths of scientific inquiry, new evidence springing up around our footsteps—new traces of divine intelligence and power meeting our eye! We are never alone; at least, like the old Roman, we are never less alone than in our solitude. We walk with the Deity; we commune with the great First Cause, who sustains at every instant what the word of his power made. The delight is renewed at each step of our progress, though as far as evidence is concerned we have long ago had proof enough. But that is no more a reason for ceasing to contemplate the subject in its perpetually renovated and varied forms, than it would be a reason for resting satisfied with once seeing a long lost friend that his existence had been sufficiently proved by one interview. Thus, instead of restricting ourselves to the proofs alone required to refute atheism or remove skepticism, we should covet the indefinite multiplication of evidences of design and skill in the universe, as subservient in a threefold way to purposes of use and of gratification: *first*, as strengthening the foundation whereupon the system reposes; *secondly*, as conducive to the ordinary purposes of scientific gratification, each instance being a fresh renewal of that kind of enjoyment; and *thirdly*, as giving additional ground for devout, pleasing and wholesome adoration of the Great First Cause, who made and who sustains all nature.

It is, therefore, manifest that instead of resting satisfied with details and reasons barely sufficient to prove the existence of design in the universe, the gratification of a laudable scientific curiosity, and the proper indulgence of rational devotion, require that every occasion should be taken of exhibiting those evidences upon which the system of Natural Theology rests. The professed treatises upon that science do not suffice for this purpose, although they ought unquestionably to enter largely and with very great variety of illustration, into the proofs; but each several branch of science natural and moral, should have a constant reference to this, and should never fail to apply its peculiar doctrines towards the proof and the illustration of the doctrines of Natural Theology.

SECTION III.

OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION.

THE ordinary arguments against Natural Theology with which we have to contend are those of atheists and skeptics; of persons who deny the existence of a First Cause, or who involve the whole question in doubt; of persons who think they see a balance of reason for denying the existence of a Deity, or who consider the reasons on both sides as so equally poised that they cannot decide either way. An objection of a very different nature has sometimes proceeded, unexpectedly, from a very different quarter—the friends of Revelation—who have been known, without due reflection, to contend that by the light of unassisted reason we can know absolutely nothing of God and a Future State. They appear to be alarmed lest the progress of Natural Religion should prove dangerous to the acceptance of Revealed; lest the former should, as it were, be taken as a substitute for the latter. They argue as if the two systems were rivals, and whatever credit the one gained, were so much lost to the other. They seem to think that if any discovery of a First Cause and another world were made by natural reason, it would no longer be true that "life and immortality were brought to light by the gospel." Although these reasoners are neither the most famous advocates of revelation, nor the most enlightened, we yet may do well to show the groundlessness of the alarms which they would excite.

1. In the *first* place, it is worthy of our consideration that the greatest advocates of Natural Theology have always been sincere and even zealous Christians. The names of Ray, Clarke, Derham, Keill, Paley, attest the truth of this assertion. None of these was likely to lend his support to any system the evidence of which put the outworks of Christianity in jeopardy. Some of them, as Clarke and Paley, have signalized themselves as strenuous and able defenders of the truth of Revelation. Derham actually delivered his celebrated work on the great truths of Natural Theology as a series of sermons preached in Bow Church, at a Lecture for the promotion of the Christian religion, founded by Mr. Boyle. At the same Lecture, in St. Paul's, was delivered Dr. Clarke's argument *a priori*, and indeed his whole "Evidence of Natural and Revealed Religion," as well as his "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God;" and Dr. Bentley, the first preacher upon that foundation, delivered in like manner as sermons his argument in favor of Natural Religion from the structure of the human mind, the animal body, and the universe at large.

This Lecture was expressly founded by Mr. Boyle in support of the Christian religion; and no reference to Natural Theology, apart from its uses in supporting Revelation, is to be found in the terms of the gift. The subject of the eight sermons is to be, in the words of the will, "The proof of the Christian religion against notorious infidels, viz. atheists, theists, Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans, not descending lower to any controversies that are among Christians themselves." Yet the great Christian divines whom we have named so construed these words as to include a proof of Natural Religion among the most essential arguments for Christianity; and almost as many of the sermons preached at the Boyle Lecture, during the first forty years after its foundation, relate to the doctrines of Natural Theology as to those of Revelation. So far were the divines of that day from holding the two subjects as hostile to each other.*

2. But, *secondly*, Natural Theology is most serviceable to the support of Revelation. All the soundest arguments in behalf of the latter pre-suppose the former to be admitted. Witness the profound work of Butler, his "Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion to the Order of Nature," the most argumentative and philosophical defence of Chris-

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* If any one will read the vituperation rather than sermon against infidels with which Dr. Bentley commences his discourses upon Natural Religion, he will see no reason to doubt the zeal for Christianity of that most learned preacher.

tianity ever submitted to the world. But Lardner and Paley, and all other writers on the same side, abound in references to Natural Theology, and in the course of their reasonings assume its truths as postulates.

We may suppose that those practised controversialists and zealous Christians did not make such assumptions gratuitously. We may safely give them credit for not resting their case upon more postulates than the exigency of the argument required. Such a course if unnecessary would have been most unskilful, and might have proved dangerous by opening the door to new attacks. But they are not peculiar in their view of the subject. Boyle and Newton were as sincerely attached to Christianity as any men in any age, and they are likewise the most zealous advocates of Natural Religion. Lord Bacon, though imbued perhaps with a certain degree of prejudice on this subject, but of a philosophical and not a polemical origin, distinctly places the truth of Natural Religion at the entrance of theological study, and regards the evidences of Revelation as founded upon the previous demonstration of Natural Theology. "The latter," he says, "is the key of the former, and opens our understanding to the genuine spirit of the Scriptures, but also unlocks our belief, so that we may enter upon the serious contemplation of the Divine Power, the characters of which are so deeply graven in the works of the creation."* He elsewhere also lays it down as clear that atheism is to be refuted not by miracles, but by the contemplation of nature, and accurately takes the distinction between Revelation and Natural Religion; that the former declares the will of God as to the worship most acceptable, while the latter teaches his existence and powers, but is silent as to a ritual.†

3. Accordingly we proceed a step farther, and assert, *thirdly*, that it is a vain and ignorant thing to suppose that Natural Theology is not necessary to the support of Revelation. The latter may be untrue, though the former be admitted. It may be proved, or allowed, that there is a God, though it be denied that he sent any message to man, through men or other intermediate agents; as indeed the Epicurians believed in the existence of the gods, but held them to keep wholly aloof from human affairs, leaving the world, physical as well as moral, to itself, without the least interference in its concerns.‡ But Revelation cannot be true if Natural Religion is false, and cannot be demonstrated strictly by any argument, or established by any evidence without proving or assuming the latter. A little attention to the subject will clearly prove this proposition.

Suppose it were shown by incontestable proofs that a messenger sent immediately from heaven had appeared on the earth; suppose, to make the case more strong against our argument, that this messenger arrived in our own days, nay appeared before our eyes, and showed his divine title to have his message believed, by performing miracles in our presence. No one can by possibility imagine a stronger case; for it excludes all arguments upon the weight or the fallibility of testimony; it assumes all the ordinary difficulties in the way of Revelation to be got over. Now, even this strong evidence would not at all establish the truth of the doctrine promulgated by the messenger; for it would not show that the story he brought was worthy of belief in any one particular except his supernatural powers. These would be demonstrated by his working miracles. All the rest of his statement would rest on his assertion. But a being capable of working miracles might very well be capable of deceiving us. The possession of power does not of necessity exclude either fraud or malice. This messenger might come from an evil as well as from a good being; he might come from more beings than one; or he might come from one being of many existing in the universe. When Christianity was first promulgated, the miracles of Jesus were not denied by the ancients; but it was asserted that they came from evil beings, and that he was a magician. Such an explanation was consistent with the kind of belief to which the votaries of polytheism were accustomed. They were habitually credulous of miracles and of divine interpositions. But their argument was not at all unphilosophical. There is nothing whatever inconsistent in the power to work miracles being conferred upon a man or a minister by a supernatural being, who is either of limited power himself, or of great malignity, or who is one of many such beings. Yet it is certain that no means can be devised for attesting the supernatural agency of any one, except such a power of working miracles; therefore, it is plain that no sufficient evidence can ever be given by direct Revelation alone in favor of the great truths of religion. The messenger in question might have power to work miracles without end, and yet it would remain unproved, either that God was omnipotent, and one, and benevolent or that he destined his creatures to a future state, or that he had made them such as they are in their present state. All this might be true, indeed; but its truth would rest only on the messenger's assertion, and upon whatever internal evidence the nature of his communication afforded; and it might be false, without the least derogation to the truth of the fact that he came from a superior being, and possessed the power of suspending the laws of nature.

But the doctrines of the existence of a Deity and of his attributes, which Natural Religion teaches, preclude the possibility of such ambiguities and remove all those difficulties. We thus learn that the Creator of the world is one and the same; and we come to know his attributes, not merely of power, which alone the direct communication by miracles could convey, but of wisdom and goodness. Built upon this foundation, the message of Revelation becomes at once unimpeachable and invaluable. It converts every inference of reason into certainty, and above all, it communicates the Divine Being's intentions respecting our own lot, with a degree of precision which the inferences of Natural Theology very imperfectly possess. This, in truth, is the chief superiority of Revelation, and this is the praise justly given to the gospel in sacred writ—not that it teaches the being and attributes of God, but that it brings life and immortality to light.

It deserves, however, to be remarked, in perfect consistency with the argument which has here been maintained, that no mere revelation, no direct message, however avouched by miraculous gifts, could prove the faithfulness of the promises held out by the messenger, excepting by the slight inference which the nature of the message might afford. The portion of his credentials which consisted of his miraculous powers could not prove it. For unless we had first ascertained the unity and the benevolence of the being that sent him, as those miracles only prove power, he might be sent to deceive us; and thus the hopes held out by him might be delusions. The doctrines of Natural Religion here come to our aid, and secure our belief to the messenger of one Being, whose goodness they have taught us to trust.

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* De Dig. et Aug. lib. i.

† De Dig. lib. iii. c. 2.

‡ It is singular, too, that this sect inculcated religious duties towards the gods, whom nevertheless they neither believed to be the creators nor governors of the universe. Cicero says of its founder, "De sanctitate, de pietate adversus deos libros scripsit Epicurus. At quomodo in his loquitur? ut Coruncanum, ut Scævolam, Pontifices maximos te audire dicas." "You would think," says he, "to hear him, it was our high-priests descanting upon holiness and piety."

4. In other respects, the services of Natural Religion are far from inconsiderable, as subsidiary to, and co-operative with, the great help of Revelation. Thus, were our whole knowledge of the Deity drawn from Revelation, its foundation must become weaker and weaker as the distance in point of time increases from the actual interposition. Tradition, or the evidence of testimony, must of necessity be its only proof; for perpetual miracles must be wrought to give us evidence by our own senses. Now, a perpetual miracle is a contradiction in terms; for the exception to, or suspension of, the laws of nature so often repeated would destroy the laws themselves, and with the laws the force of the exception or suspension. Upon testimony, then, all Revelation must rest. Every age but the one in which the miracles were wrought, and every country but the one that witnessed them—indeed, all the people of that country itself save those actually present—must receive the proofs which they afford of Divine interposition upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, and of those to whom eye-witnesses told it. Even if the miracles were exhibited before all the nations of one age, the next must believe upon the authority of tradition; and if we suppose the interposition to be repeated from time to time, each repitition would incalculably weaken its force, because the laws of nature, though not wholly destroyed, as they must be by a constant violation, would yet lose their prevailing force, and each exception would become a slighter proof of supernatural agency. It is far otherwise with the proofs of Natural Religion; repetition only strengthens and extends them. We are by no means affirming that Revelation would lose its sanction by lapse of time, as long as it had the perpetually new and living evidence of Natural Religion to support it. We are only showing the use of that evidence to Revelation, by examining the inevitable consequences of its entire removal, and seeing how ill supported the truths of Revelation would be, if the prop were withdrawn which they borrow from Natural Theology; for then they would rest upon tradition alone.*

In truth, it is with Natural Religion as with many of the greatest blessings of our sublunary lot; they are so common, so habitually present to and enjoyed by us, that we become insensible of their value, and only estimate them aright when we lose them, or fancy them lost. Accustomed to handle the truths of Revelation in connection with, and in addition to, those of Natural Theology, and never having experienced any state of mind in which we were without the latter, we forget how essential they are to the former. As we are wont to forget the existence of the air we constantly breathe until put in mind of it by some violent change threatening suffocation, so it requires a violent fit of abstraction to figure to ourselves the state of our belief in Revelation were the lights of natural religion withdrawn. The existence and attributes of a God are so familiarly proved by every thing around us, that we can hardly picture to ourselves the state of our belief in this great truth, if we only knew it by the testimony borne to miracles, which, however, authentic, were yet wrought in a remote age and distant region.*

5. The use of Natural Theology to the believer in Revelation is equally remarkable in keeping alive the feelings of piety and devotion. As this topic has occurred under a former head, it is only to be presented here in close connection with Revealed Religion. It may be observed, then, that even the inspired penmen have constant recourse to the views which are derived from the contemplation of nature when they would exalt the Deity by a description of his attributes, or inculcate sentiments of devotion tawards him. "How excellent," says the Psalmist, "is thy name in all the earth; thou hast set thy glory above the heavens. I will consider the heavens, even the work of thy fingers; the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained." See also that singularly beautiful poem the 139th Psalm; and the Book of Job, from the 38th to the 41st chapter.

It is remarkable how little is to be found of particularity and precision in any thing that has been revealed to us respecting the nature of the Godhead. For the wisest purposes it has pleased Providence to veil in awful mystery almost all the attributes of the Ancient of Days beyond what natural reason teaches. By direct interposition, through miraculous agency, we become acquainted with his will, and are made more certain of his existence; but his peculiar attributes are nearly the same in the volume of nature and in that of his revealed word.

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* Note V.

* Mr. Locke has said, upon a similar question, "He that takes away Reason to make way for Revelation puts out the light of both; and does much about the same as if he would persuade a man to put out his eyes, the better to receive the remote light of an invisible star by a telescope."—(Human Understanding, iv. 19, 4.)

NOTES.

NOTE I.

Of the Classification of the Sciences.

I am abundantly sensible, not only, as is stated in the text, how imperfect all such classifications must be, but that grave objections may be urged against the one I have adopted, and particularly against the threefold division of *physical*, *psychological*, and *ethical* or *moral*. It may be said that one part of the moral branch of Natural Theology belongs to psychology—namely, the arguments drawn from the nature of the mind in favor of a future state; and that this part ought therefore to have been classed with the second division of the ontological branch—namely, the psychological. But it must be borne in mind that the two first divisions, comprising the ontological branch, are confined to the doctrine of existences—the investigation of the Deity's existence and attributes; while the whole of the third division, or second branch, relates to the prospects of man with respect to his soul; and consequently, although the arguments respecting these prospects are partly of a psychological nature, yet they relate to the future, and not at all to the past or present—not at all to the doctrine of existence or attributes. This is therefore a sufficiently distinct ground for the separation. In all such classifications we should be guided by views of convenience, rather than by any desire to attain perfect symmetry; and that arrangement may be best suited to a particular purpose which plants the same things in one order, and separates them and unites them in one way, when an arrangement which should dispose those things differently might be preferable, if we had another purpose to serve. Thus the three divisions of physics, psychology, and morals may be convenient for the purposes of Natural Theology, and yet it may not so well suit the purposes of general science; although I own my opinion to be in favor of that classification for such general purposes also, keeping always in mind that whatever portion of moral science (using the term in its more ordinary sense) belongs to ontology comes within the second, and not the third, subdivision, and that the third deals with deontology alone.

The various classifications which, in ancient as well as modern times, have been made of the sciences, are well calculated to illustrate the difficulty of a perfect arrangement. The Greek philosophers distinguished them into physics, ethics, and logic. Under the first head was comprehended both the nature of mind and of the Deity; consequently, under physics were classed what we now term psychology and theology, as well as natural philosophy. Mr. Locke mainly adopted the same order when he ranged the objects of science into *physical*, *practical*, and *logical* (*φυσικη*, *πρακτικη*, *σημειωτικη*, or *λογικη*;)—or, 1. Things in themselves knowable, whether God himself, angels, spirits, bodies; or their affections, as number, figure, &c. 2. Actions, as they depend upon us in order to happiness; and 3. The use of signs, in order to knowledge. Thus, like the Greek philosophers, he classed natural philosophy, psychology, and theology under one head; but as he only stated ethics to be "the most considerable of the second head," it may be doubtful whether or not he included under it any practical application of the natural branches of the first head. One thing, too, is quite clear in this arrangement—that pure mathematics becomes part of the science of ontology—that is, of existences, natural and mental; and yet it bears a more close relation to the third, or logical division. It certainly appears somewhat violent to class fluxions with anatomy, metallurgy with psychology, and entomology with theology; while we make separate heads of ethics and logic. But yet more violent is M. Turgot's classification, by which he ranges, under the head of physical sciences, not only natural philosophy and metaphysics by name, but also logic and history. To thus classing history there is, indeed, a double objection. Not only is it doing unnecessary violence to common language, to make that which bears no exclusive relation to natural objects a part of physics, but to make history a science at all is perhaps yet more objectionable, unless in the sense in which inductive science is deemed historical by Lord Bacon—being considered by him as the history of facts. But this, too, is incorrect; for the history or record of facts is only the foundation of inductive science, which consists in the comparison, or reasoning from the comparison, of these facts, and marking their differences and resemblances; whereas history is applicable to all events and all sciences, being merely the record of things that have happened, of whatever kind, and implies no reasoning or comparing at all. Why is poetry, music, painting, omitted in such arrangement as that of Turgot? They are as much sciences as history.

Lord Bacon's own scientific classification is certainly not distinguished by peculiar felicity. He divides science into three parts, according as its object is the Deity, Man, or External Nature, naming these branches Natural Theology, Human Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy. Hence, while intellectual and moral philosophy are separated from theology, they are both classed with anatomy and medicine; while optics and acoustics, merely from their relation to the human eye and the human ear, are ranged under the same head with ethics, and separated from natural philosophy. Hence, too, the chemical nature of the blood and bones of man is made one part of one division—Human Philosophy; while the chemical nature of the blood and bones of all other animals is ranged under another head—Natural Philosophy. As for logic and the mathematics, they are treated as a kind of appendix to physics, rather than as deserving the name of sciences.

NOTE II.

Of the Psychological Argument from Final Causes.

Dr. Clarke maintains that the evidences of design are much more to be traced in the natural than in the moral world; but he plainly means by this proposition, not so much to compare the proofs of Divine wisdom exhibited in the phenomena of the material with those exhibited in the phenomena of the intellectual world, as to show that the designs or intentions of the Deity are more easily perceived in the arrangements of the world with which we are most conversant, than his plans for our happiness, and his general intentions respecting our fate, are to be inferred from moral considerations. It is, however, to be remarked that, like all other reasoners upon Natural Theology, Dr. Clarke confines his attention entirely to physical, and never adverts to psychological proofs.

Mr. Smith, in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, has interspersed with his reasonings upon the constitution of the affections and feelings, reflections upon the purposes to which they are subservient; and Mr. Stewart's writings afford frequent instances of his attention having been alive to the soundness of the same speculation. Indeed, no one who had the accurate and just views of the nature of the sentient principle, and the steady conviction of its separate and immaterial nature, which prevail through all his writings, could fail to perceive the application of the argument *a posteriori* to our mental constitution. But these indications of this admirable writer's attention to the subject are accidental, and scattered through his works; and it is exceedingly to be regretted, nor, indeed, very easily to be explained, that he should have entirely omitted all reference to the constitution of our mental faculties in the otherwise full and able treatise upon Natural Religion which forms so large a part—above one third—of his "Philosophy of the Active Powers." With the exception of a single remark (vol. ii. p. 48,) and that only upon the adaptation of our faculties to our external circumstances, and a quotation from Locke, which relates more to the bodily than to the mental powers, there occurs nothing whatever upon this important part of the subject in that excellent work, where it would have been so peculiarly appropriate.

This silence of modern writers upon Natural Theology is easily accounted for by the same consideration to which Dr. Reid has referred in explaining how the modern skeptics have admitted the existence of appearances of design in the universe, and denied what he terms the major proposition—that design may be traced by its effects; while the ancient skeptics, admitting the latter proposition, denied the former. He considers this as owing to the great discoveries in physics made in modern times; and to the same cause may be ascribed the disposition of Natural Theologians to confine their attention to the evidences afforded by the material world. The ancients, on the other hand, whose progress in Natural Philosophy was extremely limited, bestow more attention, and with considerably greater success, upon Intellectual Philosophy; and accordingly we find that they drew their arguments *a posteriori* for the existence of design in the universe as much from moral as from physical considerations.

The discussion held by Socrates with Aristodemus, as recorded by Xenophon, is well known. After enumerating the various convenient arrangements of the bodily organs, he adds—Ου τοινυν μονον ηρκεσε τω θεω του σωματος επιμεληθηναι· αλλ' (ὁπερ μεγιστον εστι) και την ψυχην κρατιστην τω ανθρωπω ενεφυσε· τινος γαρ αλλου ζωου ψυχη πρωτα μεν θεων, των τα μεγιστα και καλλιστα συνταξαντων, ησθηται ὁτι εισι; τι δε φυλον αλλο η ανθρωποι, θεους θεραπευουσι; ποια δε ψυχη της ανθρωπινης ἱκανωτερα προφυλαττεσθαι, η λιμον, η διψος, η ψιχη, η θαλπη, η νοσοις επικουρησαι, η ρωμην ασκησαι, η προς μαθησιν εκπονησαι, η ὁσα αν ακουση, η ιδη, η μαθη, ἱκανωτερα εστι δια μεμνησθαι;—"*Nor has the Deity been satisfied with taking care of the body alone; he has implanted in man what is a far greater work to have made—a most excellent soul; for what other animal possesses a mind that can perceive the existence of the Gods by whom all these vast and fair works have been formed? What other creature than man worships those Gods? What other intelligence is superior to man's in providing against hunger, and thirst, and cold, and heat? or in curing diseases, or in exercising strength, or in cultivating learning, or in storing up the recollection of things heard, and seen, and learnt?*"*—It may be observed here, in passing, that Mr. Stewart, who refers to this passage, has adopted the paraphrastic translation by Mrs. Fielding, and it is extremely unlike the original. Mr. Stewart justly praises the "almost divine simplicity" of the whole conversation, which is a just eulogy; but the translation, although well written, little resembles the Greek in that particular. The one I have here given is at least faithful.

In like manner, the discussion with Euthydemus, after showing the goodness of the Gods in adapting all things to man's use, closes with mentioning the senses given us to enjoy those gifts of external nature, and, lastly, the use of reason. Τοδε και λογισμον ἡμιν εμφυσαι, &c. &c.—"*They have implanted reason in our nature, whereby we inquire touching external things; and, arguing and remembering, we learn the uses of each, and hit upon many contrivances for attaining good and avoiding evil. Have they not also given us the gift of speech, by which we can communicate mutually all we have learnt, and thus instruct each other, and make laws, and regulate civil polity?*"*

Plato pursues the same course of reasoning. We may refer particularly to the tenth and twelfth books of the treatise *De Legg*. Thus, towards the end of the latter book, he states the argument for the Deity's existence as twofold—the nature of the mind, and the order of the worldly system. The first of his reasons is drawn from considering the qualities of the mind; its greater antiquity than that of the body and its immortality; for the Platonists certainly considered immortality to be so much of the essence of mind as to deduce from thence, as the less clear proposition, the existence of a Deity.

The Stoics reasoned in like manner, with an equal regard to mental and to natural phenomena. Epictetus, after deducing the inference of design from the adaptations of sensible objects, as of the eye to light, adds, correctly and philosophically, that "the constitution of the understanding, whereby it not only receives impressions through the senses, but also deals with the ideas thus received, and combines or composes something out of them, proceeding from things that are near to things quite remote, proves the existence of an Artificer; since things carrying such marks of contrivance could not," he contends, "exist spontaneously, and without design."†

The same train of reasoning is followed by Cicero in all those parts of his writings in which he treats of the existence of a Deity. Thus the famous passage so often quoted from the treatise *De Natura Deorum*, ends with a reference to our mental constitution, although this part of it is not so frequently attended to. "An vero si domum magnam, pulchramque videris, non possis adduci ut etiam si dominum non videas muribus illam et mustelis ædificatam putes; tantum vero ornatum mundi, tantam varietatem pulchritudinemque rerum cœlestium, tantam vim et magnitudinum maris atque terrarum si tuum ac non deorum immortalium domicilium putes, nonne plane desipere videare?" Thus far as to sensible objects. But he proceeds, "Aliud a terra sumsimus, aliud ab humore, aliud ab igne, aliud ab aere eo quem spiritu ducimus: illud autem quod vincit hæc omnia, rationem dico et si placet, pluribus verbis, mentem, consilium, cogitationem, prudentiam ubi invenimus? unde sustulimus?"‡

And again, in the same book, after speaking at large of the structure of the body, and the uses to which its various parts are adapted, he adds, "Jam vero animum ipsum, mentemque hominis, rationem, consilium, prudentiam, qui non divina cura perfecta esse perspicit, is his ipsis rebus mihi videtur carere." He proceeds to show how great a gift reason is from its productions: "Ex quo scientia intelligitur quam vim habeat, qualis sit, qua ne in deo quidem est res ulla præstantior;" and he closes with the well known passage in praise of eloquence.*

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* Xen. Memor. I. iv. 13.

* Xen. Memor. IV. iii. 11.

† Epict. Enchir. i. 6.

‡ De Nat Deor. ii. 6.

In the Tusculan Questions he alludes to mind in a different manner. After going through the various provisions made for human enjoyment in the economy of nature, he adds, "Sic mentem hominis quamvis cum non videos ut deum non vides, tamen ut deum agnoscis ex operibus ejus, sic ex memoria rerum et inventione et celeritate motus omnique pulchritudine virtutis, vim divinam mentis agnoscito."†

The course of the argument in which he is engaged in this first part of his work, the immortality of the soul, leads him to use the phenomena of its faculties for the purpose of illustrating its separate existence; and, therefore, he only enumerates the arrangements of the natural world as proofs of Divine agency, and gives those proofs not as the main object of the argument, but as introductory to his statement of the soul's independent nature.

In these speculations of the ancient philosophers, we cannot find any process of strict inductive reasoning; and, accordingly, the facts are not turned to the best account for the purposes of the argument. But this defect appears, at the least, as much in the physical as in the psychological portion of the reasoning. Indeed, the latter comes more near to our own philosophy; and certainly we must admit that those old writers upon Natural Theology, in the place which they assigned to intellectual phenomena, pursued a more sound and consistent method of philosophizing, than the moderns have done when speculating upon the same subject.

NOTE III.

Of the Doctrine of Cause and Effect.

The argument deduced by skeptical writers from Mr. Hume's doctrine respecting causation, has tended to bring some discredit upon the doctrine itself, by raising a prejudice against it. The bad use, however, which is made of a sound principle, is not fairly a matter of charge against that principle. The only question is, whether or not the principle be just in itself; and it cannot be just if legitimate reasoning can deduce from it an absurd consequence. A dangerous consequence, how rigorously soever following from it, would of course form no reason against its reception, though it might justly be made the ground of examining very narrowly the foundations upon which the doctrine itself rested.

Mr. Stewart, in a valuable and learned note to the "Philosophy of the Human Mind," (vol. i. note D,) has brought together the authorities, which have all more or less not only countenanced, but even forestalled Mr. Hume in his position—that we know nothing of causation except by observing a constant junction between two events or two facts. This is unquestionably true. We expect that heat being applied to combustible bodies, they will take fire; and that air being excluded, they will cease to burn. We expect this, because between the application of heat and the ignition of the heated body, between the exclusion of air and the extinction of the fire, we have constantly observed the relation of sequence—the one event being always followed closely by the other. The inference which forms the ground of this expectation, forms the ground of our belief that the one event occasions the other—that there is between the two a connection beyond the mere relation of junction and sequence—and that the one, the preceding event, exerts an influence, a force, a power, over the other, and produces the other.

This constant conjunction, therefore, in point of fact, is the ground of our belief, and the origin of our ideas of casuality or causation. So far we must admit the doctrine in question. That it is the only ground of the belief, and the only origin of the idea, may admit of some doubt. This is the point on which turns the connection between the science of Natural Theology and the controversy we are now referring to; and therefore it deserves some consideration in the present note.

1. The mere constant and unvarying succession of two events would not of itself be sufficient to make us, even in popular language, denominate the one a cause of the other. Light uniformly succeeds dark—one o'clock always follows twelve; but no man ever thought of calling or of deeming night to be the cause of day, or noon of afternoon.* Another and a very important experiment or observation is required, before we pronounce the successive or conjoined events to be related one to the other as cause and effect. Not only must the second event always have been found to follow the first, but the second must never have been observed without the first preceding it, or at least without some other event preceding it—in which case the causation is predicated alike of both those preceding events. Thus, the clock pointing to one is not reckoned the effect of its having previously pointed to twelve; but it is reckoned the effect of a certain mechanism, namely, a spring unfolding itself, because if the spring is prevented from relaxing, the hand no longer points; and so it is also reckoned the effect of a weight pulling a cord, because, when that weight is stopped in its descent, the whole machinery stops.

2. But we derive not our notion of casuality from even this double proof—the positive and negative combined—the two observations that one event always follows the other, and that it ceases when the other ceases. This of itself would only tell us the fact, that when one event exists, the other exists immediately afterwards and not otherwise.—Our minds form, whether we will or no, another idea—not merely that of constant connection or succession, but of the one exerting a power over the other by an inherent force; and this is the idea of causation. Whence do we derive it? I apprehend only from our consciousness. We feel that we have a will and a power—that we can move a limb, and affect by our own powers, excited after our own volition, a change upon external objects. Now from this consciousness we derive the idea of power, and we transfer this idea and the relation on which it is founded between our own will and the change produced, to the relations between events wholly external to ourselves—assuming them to be connected, as we feel our volition and our movements are mutually connected.

If it be said that this idea by no means involves that of necessary connection, nothing can be more certain. The whole is a question of fact—of contingent truth. Just as the world might be so constituted that heat applied should not ignite, nor air excluded extinguish—so might our volition cease to make our limbs move, as it does cease in paralysis.

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* De Nat. Deor. ii. 59.

† Tusc. Qu. i. 29.

* Mr. Stewart's observation, that day follows night as much as night follows day, makes no difference in this illustration: for we may suppose the case of a person seeing day for the first time, or twelve o'clock for the first time, and the conclusion in the text would still hold good.

As it is, and because our will has hitherto had the power to move our limbs, we have acquired the idea of power and of causation. But if it had always been otherwise, and that no connection of succession had ever existed between our volition and our movements, I do not see how the idea of power or casuality could ever have been obtained by us from any observation of the sequence of events. The idea of design or contrivance, in like manner, must have been wanting to us; and hence, I cannot understand how, but for the consciousness of power, we could ever have been led to the belief in the existence of a First Cause. This is another, and, to my mind, a very strong, additional reason, for resisting the evidences of Natural Theology upon the argument *a posteriori* alone.

That they are greatly in error who confound, as has been too common, causation with necessary connection, and who deny the existence of the relation of casuality, merely because the relation is contingent and not necessary, is sufficiently manifest. Our ideas of power and of causation are solid and well founded, although they only refer to a power or a causation which may or may not exist. That one event causes another may be a proposition quite true, to which we affix a precise and definite meaning, and which we have learnt from observation and from consciousness, although the order of nature might easily have been so constituted, as that the two events should never have been found in sequence. At present the order of nature connects them, and we affirm that there exists the relation of cause and effect—a relation contingent, however, and not necessary. Of necessary causation we can by no possibility know any thing; but causation may be real enough, though contingent.

NOTE IV.

Of the "Systeme de la Nature," and the Hypothesis of Materialism.

There is no book of an atheistical description, which has ever made a greater impression than the famous *Systeme de la Nature.* It bears the impression of London, 1780, but was manifestly printed in France; also, it purports to be written by Mirabaud, secretary of the Academie Française; and in a prefatory advertisement by the supposed editor, who pronounces a great panegyric upon the work, enough appears to engender doubts of Mirabaud having been its author. He died in 1760; and it was twenty years before the work appeared—found, says the writer, among a collection of manuscripts made by a "savant curieux de rassembler des productions de ce genre." Robinet, the author of another work of similar tendency, called *De la Nature*, has been at different times said to be its author, without any proof, or indeed probability; but the general opinion now ascribes it to the Baron d'Holbach, aided, in all probability, by Diderot, Helvetius, and other members of the free-thinking society, who frequented the Baron's house, and who used to complain of Voltaire's excess of religious principle, not unfrequently ridiculing him for his fanaticism. Mirabaud, upon whom this publication most unjustifiably charges the book, by placing his name in the title-page without any doubt expressed, and reserving the doubts for the preface, was a man of unimpeachable integrity and amiable disposition. He had been educated in the College of the Jesuits, and afterwards was preceptor to some branches of the royal family; he died at the age of eighty-five, universally esteemed for his unblemished character, his strict probity, and his attractive manners. The Diderots and Grimms, though not perhaps persons of abandoned life, were very far from attaining such praise: indeed, the licentious works that proceeded from Diderot's pen attest his deficiency, at least in one branch of morals.

It is impossible to deny the merits of the *Systeme de la Nature.* The work of a great writer it unquestionably is; but its merit lies in the extraordinary eloquence of the composition, and the skill with which words substituted for ideas, and assumptions for proofs, are made to pass current, not only for arguments against existing beliefs, but for a new system planted in their stead. As a piece of reasoning, it never rises above a set of plausible sophisms—plausible only as long as the ear of the reader being filled with sounds, his attention is directed away from the sense. The chief resource of the writer is to take for granted the thing to be proved, and then to refer back to his assumption as a step in the demonstration, while he builds various conclusions upon it as if it were complete. Then he declaims against a doctrine seen from one point of view only, and erects another for our assent, which, besides being liable to the very same objections, has also no foundation whatever to rest upon. The grand secret, indeed, of the author goes even further *in petitione principii* than this; for we oftentimes find, that in the very substitute which he has provided for the notions of belief he would destroy, there lurks the very idea which he is combating, and that his idol is our own faith in a new form, but masked under different words and phrases.

The truth of these statements we are now to examine; but first it may be fitting to state why so much attention is bestowed upon this work. The reason is, that its bold character has imposed on multitudes of readers, seducing some by its tone of confidence, but intimidating others by its extreme audacity. It is the only[*] work of any consideration wherein atheism is openly avowed and preached—avowed, indeed, and preached in terms. (See, particularly, part ii. chap. 2.) This effect of its hardihood was certainly anticipated by its author; for the supposed editor, in his advertisement, describes it, somewhat complacently, if not boastingly, as "l'ouvrage le plus hardi et le plus extraordinaire que l'esprit humain ait ose produire jusqu'a present."

The grand object of the book being to show that there is no God, the author begins by endeavoring to establish the most rigorous materialism, by trying to show that there is no such thing as mind—nothing beyond or different from the material world. His whole fabric is built on this foundation; and it would be difficult to find in the history of metaphysical controversies such inconclusive reasoning, and such undisguised assumptions of the matter in dispute as this fundamental part of his system is composed of. He begins with asserting that man has no means of carrying his mind beyond the visible world; that he is necessarily confined within its limits; and that there exists nothing, and there can exist nothing, beyond the boundary which incloses all beings—that is, the material world. Nature, we are told, acts according to laws, simple, uniform, invariable, which we discover by experience. We are related to Universal Nature by our senses, which alone enable us to discover her secrets: and the instant we abandon the lessons which those senses teach us, we plunge into an abyss where we become the prey of imagination.

Thus the very first chapter—the opening of the work—has already made the gratuitous assumption of a being whom the author calls Nature, without either defining what that is, or how he arrived at a knowledge of its existence. He has also assumed another existence, that of matter, or the material world; and then he asserts, what is absolutely contrary to every day's experience, and to the first rudiments of science, that we know, and can know, nothing but what our senses tell us. It is a sufficient answer to ask, how we know any thing of mathematical truth? And in case a cavil should arise upon geometrical science (though it would be but a cavil) we shall speak only of analytical; and then it is certain that the whole science of numbers, from the rules of elementary arithmetic up to the highest branches of the modern calculus, could by possibility have been discovered by a person who had never in his life been out of a dark room—who had never touched any body but his own; nay, whose limbs had all his life been so fixed, that he had never exercised even upon his own body the sense of touch: indeed, we might even go so far as to say, who had never heard a sound uttered; for the primitive ideas of number might by possibility have suggested themselves to his mind, and been made the grounds of all further calculations. What becomes now of all our knowledge depending on the senses? But we need not go to so extreme a case as the one just put; there would be an end of the position we are dealing with, if a person so circumstanced could have discovered any one analytical or common arithmetical truth. Enough, indeed, is known to every one, how moderately soever imbued with mathematical learning, to satisfy him how little the intimations received from the senses have, or can have, to do with the whole science of number and quantity. That those intimations of the senses are themselves not at all of a material nature, we shall presently see.

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[*] The treatise of Robinet, *De la Nature*, which, though far less eloquent and dexterous, is superior in real merit, has never attracted any thing like the same notice.

After many discussions and much eloquence, in the course of which various agents are introduced besides Nature, as Necessity, Relation, and so forth, without definition of their qualities or proof of their existence, we come to the great demonstration that no soul, no mind, nothing separate from the body and from matter, exists, or indeed can exist: for this book is not content with skepticism; it rests not even satisfied with disproof: it affects to show the impossibility of the doctrines which it combats; and while perpetually complaining of dogmas, it is perhaps the most dogmatical work that was ever written. The sixth and seventh chapters, but the seventh especially, treat of this fundamental doctrine—the corner-stone of the whole building. The argument is, in fact, a mere vague and unintelligible combination of words, as when the author concludes by saying, The result of the whole is, that "the soul, far from being any thing distinguishable from the body, is only the body itself regarded relatively to some of its functions, or to some of the manners of acting or of being, whereof it is capable as long as it enjoys life"—(n'est que ce corps lui meme envisage relativement a quelqu'unes de ses fonctions ou a quelques façons d'etre et d'agir dont il est susceptible tant qu'il jouit de la vie.) Or when he describes those faculties which are vulgarly called intellectual, as modes or manners of being and of acting, which result from the organization of the body—(les facultes que l'on nomme intellectuelles ne sont que des modes ou des façons d'etre et d'agir resultant de l'organization de notre corps.)—Part i. chap. viii.

But there is still more to be remarked throughout the Treatise, an inconceivable forgetfulness of the evidence on which each party in the controversy most relies, a constant assumption of the thing in question, and even an involuntary assumption of that very separate and spiritual existence which it is the author's object to disprove.

Like all materialists, but far more grossly and dogmatically than almost any other, the author begins by assuming that Matter exists, that we can have no doubt whatever of this, and that any other existence is a thing to be proved. Now, what is this matter? Whence do we derive any knowledge of it? How do we assure ourselves of its existence? What evidence at all have we respecting either its being or its qualities? We feel, or taste, or smell something; that is, we have certain sensations, which make us conclude that something exists beyond ourselves. It will not do to say beyond our bodies; for our bodies themselves give us the same sensations. What we feel is something beyond, or out of, or external to, or other than and apart from *ourselves;* that is, from our minds. Our sensations give us the intimations of such existences. But what are our sensations? The feelings or thoughts of our minds. Then what we do is this: From certain ideas in our minds, produced no doubt by, and connected with our bodily senses, but independent of, and separate from them, we draw certain conclusions by reasoning, and those conclusions are in favor of the existence of something other than our sensations and our reasonings, and other than that which experiences the sensations and makes the reasonings—passive in the one case, active in the other. That something is what we call Mind. But plainly, whatever it is, we owe to it the knowledge that matter exists: for that knowledge is gained by means of a sensation or feeling, followed by a process of reasoning; it is gained by the mind having first suffered something, and then done something, and, therefore, to say there is no such thing as Matter, would be a much less absurd inference than to say there is no such thing as Mind. The very act of inferring, as we do by reasoning, that the object which affects our senses exists apart from ourselves, is wholly incapable of giving us any knowledge of the object's existence, without, at the same time, giving us a knowledge of our own; that is, of the Mind's existence. An external implies necessarily an internal; that there may be any thing beyond or without, there must needs be some other thing beyond or without which it is said to exist; that there may be a body which we feel abiding separate from us, namely, our own body, one part of which gives us sensations through another part—there must be a *we*, an *us*—that is, a *mind*. If, as the *Systeme de la Nature* often contends, we have a right to call spirit, or soul, or mind, a mere negation of the qualities of matter, surely this might just as well be retorted by saying, that matter is only a negation of the qualities of mind. But, in truth, the materialists cannot stir one step without the aid of that mind whose existence they deny.

Then what are those *qualities* of matter they are always speaking about? What but the effects, or the power of causing those effects produced by matter upon the mind through the senses? A remarkable instance, and a very instructive one, of the impossibility of a materialist arguing legitimately, strictly, or consistently, is to be found in the passage of this book, where the argument is as it were summed up against the existence of mind: "La matiere seule peut agir, sur *nos sens* sans *lesquels* il *nous* est impossible que rien se fasse *connoitre de nous.*" Here the author, in order to deny the possibility of mind, or any thing else than matter having an existence, uses, in two lines, expressions six times over, all drawn from the assumption of a something existing separate from and independent of matter. *Our—senses—which—us—known—by—us*—all these are words absolutely without meaning if there is nothing but matter in existence; and these are expressions conveying the ideas of which this fundamental proposition wholly consists. But that the author refers to Bishop Berkeley, as well as Mr. Locke, it might have been supposed that he had never been made aware of the controversy upon the existence of matter. Indeed, the manner in which he mentions the speculations of Berkeley, is quite sufficient to show his ignorance of the nature of the question, and reminds us forcibly of the remark made by D'Alembert, that whoever had not at times doubted the existence of matter, might be assured he had not any genius for metaphysical inquiries. Would any one believe it possible, that an author who could dogmatically deny the possibility of mind existing in any form apart from matter, should be so little competent to discuss questions like this, as to speak in these terms of Berkeley? "Que disons nous d'un Berkeley qui s'efforce de nous prouver que tout dans ce monde n'est qu'une illusion chimerique; que l'univers entier n'existe que dans nous-memes, et dans notre imagination," &c. "Pour justifier des opinions si monstrueuses," &c.

The truth is, that we believe in the existence of matter, because we cannot help it. The inferences of our reason from our sensations impel us to this conclusion, and the steps are few and short by which we reach it. But the steps are fewer and shorter, and of the self-same nature, which lead us to believe in the existence of mind; for of that we have the evidence within ourselves, and wholly independent of our senses. Nor can we ever draw the inference in any one instance of the existence of matter, without at the same time exhibiting a proof of the existence of mind; for we are, by the supposition, reasoning, inferring, drawing a conclusion, forming a belief; therefore, there exists somebody, or something, to reason, to infer, to conclude, to believe; that is, *we*—not any fraction of matter, but a reasoning, inferring, believing being; in other words, a mind. In this sense the celebrated argument of Descartes—*cogito, ergo sum*—had a correct and a profound meaning. If, then, skepticism can have any place in our system, assuredly it relates to the existence of matter far more than of mind; yet the *Systeme de la Nature* is entirely founded upon the existence of matter being a self-evident truth, admitting of no proof, and standing in need of none.

We have combated the main body of the argument which runs through the whole book, and passed over some of the gross errors, apparently proceeding from ignorance of physical science, in which it abounds. Of these the most notable, no doubt, is that which Voltaire, in his *Essai sur le Systeme de la Nature*, considers (ch. i.) as the foundation of the whole theory—the absurd passage respecting the formation of eels. Certain it is, that in the second chapter of part i. the experiment of moistening flour, and thereby producing live microscopic insects, is referred to as a proof that "inanimate matter can pass into life," "which," adds the book, "is itself but the union of notions." No one indeed can accuse Voltaire of taking an unfair advantage when he relies on this piece of extraordinary ignorance; but it is not altogether just to represent the whole book as resting on this blunder.

As for the kind of comparisons or analogies by which, like all materialists, this writer tries to illustrate his hypothesis, and by which many materialists really are deceived—the mechanism of a watch, for example, consisting of parts each separately incapable of producing any result, but altogether forming a moving instrument that measures the efflux of time—nothing, surely, can be more puerile than the attempt to draw from thence an argument in favor of the confused, and, when examined closely, unintelligible position that Mind is a modification of Matter, or the result of a collocation of material particles. For the watch is material, doubtless, both in its whole and in each part separately; the combination never produces any effect that is not strictly of a material kind; the motions and the registration of time resulting from them are all as purely mechanical as the form of each part, and each part has in it every quality and incident in kind which the whole possesses. The difference in the case of Mind is, that we have something wholly of a new and peculiar kind, and in no respect resembling or belonging to the same class with any of the exertions or operations of the material parts, the combination of which is alleged by the materialist to have given it birth.

The first part having laid the foundation by disproving the existence of Mind, the second part of the "*Systeme*" proceeds to raise upon it the conclusion that the Deity's existence is impossible. This part is much more declamatory than the former, though often displaying great powers of eloquence, and reminding us of the more striking parts of Rousseau's early writings, especially his paradoxes against knowledge, perhaps in a more choice style, and with coloring more subdued. But reasoning it contains absolutely none, with the exception of the fourth chapter, where Dr. S. Clarke's argument *a priori* is dissected and refuted—a task, unfortunately, not very difficult to accomplish, though it is here done in an illegitimate manner. We cannot, however, fail to observe, that while the author proposes to go through the arguments of the various philosophers who have maintained the existence of a Deity; and while he does remark on Descartes, Malebranche, Newton and Clarke, (in a chapter which forms by far the most argumentative part of his book,) he never approaches those who have treated the question by the argument *a posteriori*. In one place (chap. vii.) he refers to Final Causes, but this passage only relates to the subject of man's superiority and the arguments of the optimists, and does not at all touch upon the evidences of design derived from the structure of the universe—the great foundation of Natural Theology. It is impossible to suppose the author ignorant of the argument *a posteriori*, for he in one place refers to Derham by name.—The omission of all reference to the most important branch of the subject is one of the things that most bring the good faith of this writer into question.

The purpose of this note having been to show how the atheistical argument grounded on materialism fails when examined in its connection with the evidences of the Mind's independent existence, to pursue further the Second Part of the work is unnecessary. But a few remarks are added to show how exactly the same assumption of the things to be proved prevails here which we observed in the First Part.

The first proposition, and supported at great length, is that all the ideas which man has formed of a First Cause have resulted from the evils of his lot, and that but for human suffering a Deity would never have been thought of. "Inquiry and speculation," says the author, "is itself an evil; and no creature living easy and happy, without pain and without wants, would ever give himself the trouble and annoyance of arguing on a First Cause. But fear and evil, especially pain and death—the terrors of earthquake, eclipse, tempest—the horrors of death—drove the mind to seek out the source of all these dangers, and to appease or disarm its supposed wrath; and thus the sky was peopled with gods and spirits."

Now, that the fears and the ignorance of men have been the fruitful source of polytheism, no one doubts; but it is wholly false to assert that genuine and philosophical religion could have had no other origin. To affirm that, but for their sufferings and fears, men never would have encountered the pain or the trouble of speculating on a First Cause, is quite contrary to the most obvious facts. Those speculations, far from being painful or troublesome, are gratifying in the highest degree. As well might it be said that all the pleasures of scientific discovery and study would have been foregone by all men, but for some physical inconvenience that drove them into those paths of investigation. Of all writers, the authors of the great improvements in physical science are they who have been least under the pressure of want, and have gained the least by their labors. But such speculations are productive of the greatest gratification, both to the guide who originally points out the way, and to those who more humbly follow in his footsteps. So the sublime contemplations of Natural Theology have engaged men's attention and exercised their faculties, wholly independent of any sufferings they were exposed to, or any fears they entertained; and far from being a source of pain, this study has ever been found to reward its votaries with the purest enjoyment.

That the study and the knowledge of a Deity would have existed without any relation to evil is therefore clear. Man's curiosity—his natural desire of tracing the origin of what he saw around him—his anxiety to know whence he came, and whither he was going, and how the frame of the universe was contrived and sustained—would have led to the study and knowledge of a Creator without any such motives as this book supposes.

It is remarkable, that in the latter, as in the former portion of the work, blind assumptions are not only always made, but an entire disregard is shown to the evidence which often arises out of those very assumptions, and proves the truths its author is endeavoring to subvert. Thus, in the second chapter, he says: "Whether the human race has always existed on this earth, or that it is a recent and transitory production of nature...." Now, if it be a recent production of nature, surely this admits the creative power—the very divinity the book is contending against; for what can be the meaning of a state of things, in which, up to a certain time—*i. e.* six or seven thousand years ago—the human species had no existence, and then this species coming into existence, or, as the book says, being produced by nature? What but that a superintending power, which had not before acted in this way, now for the first time began thus to act? To call this Nature is only changing the name—a Deity is the plain and the true meaning, and the only thing which can be meant.

Indeed, nothing can be more absurd and unreflecting than the play made throughout the book with mere words. Thus, in the same chapter it is asked—whether a Theologian "can really be sincere in believing himself to have made a step by substituting the vague words spirit, incorporeal substance, divinity, &c., for those intelligible words"—what? what words so much less vague and more intelligible* than spirit?—"those intelligible words, matter, nature, mobility, necessity!" Now, we may safely ask, if all language furnishes two words more vague and less intelligible than two out of these four—viz. nature and necessity? But we have, in truth, already shown that Matter, as far as the present controversy is concerned, offers no more precise idea to our contemplation than Mind or spirit, and that its existence and qualities rest on less conclusive evidence than do those of Mind. Possibly the reader of this passage, and especially if he casts his eye back upon the former parts of the argument, may be inclined to adopt the writer's description of Theology, and apply it to the dogmatical Atheism of the *Systeme de la Nature.*

NOTE V.

Of Mr. Hume's Skeptical Writings, and the Argument respecting Providence.

The two most celebrated and most dangerous treatises of this great author, upon religious subjects, are those in which he has attacked the foundations of Natural and of Revealed Religion—the *Essay on Providence and a Future State,* and the *Essay on Miracles.* Others of his writings have a similar tendency, and more covertly though as surely sap the principles of religion. But the two essays to which we have referred are the most important writings of this eminent philosopher, because they bring his skeptical opinions more directly to bear upon the systems of actual belief.

I. The argument of Tillotson against the doctrine of the Real Presence is stated to have suggested that against the truth, or rather the possibility of Miracles; but there is this most material difference between the two questions—that they who assert the Real Presence drive us to admit a proposition contrary to the evidence of our senses, upon a subject respecting which the senses alone can decide, and to admit it by the force of reasonings ultimately drawn from the senses—reasonings far more likely to deceive than they, because applicable to a matter not so well fitted for argument as for perception, but reasonings at any rate incapable of exceeding the evidence the senses give. Nothing, therefore, can be more conclusive than Tillotson's argument—that against the Real Presence we have of necessity every argument, and of the self-same kind with those which it purports to rest upon, and a good deal more besides; for if we must not believe our senses when they tell us that a piece of bread is merely bread, what right have we to believe those same senses, when they convey to us the words in which the arguments of the Fathers are couched, or the quotations from Scripture itself, to make us suppose the bread is not bread, but flesh? And as ultimately even the testimony of a witness who should tell us that he had heard an apostle or the Deity himself affirm the Real Presence, must resolve itself into the evidence of that witness's senses, what possible ground can we have for believing that he heard the divine affirmation, stronger than the evidence which our own senses plainly give us to the contrary?

This is very far from being the case with the argument on Miracles. There, the evidence for and the evidence against do not coincide in kind, but take opposite directions. There, we have not to disbelieve indications of the same nature with those upon which our belief is challenged. The testimony of witnesses is adduced to prove a Miracle, or deviation from the ordinary laws of nature; but, says Mr. Hume, it is more likely that the witnesses should be deceived or should deceive, than that the laws of nature should be broken; and at all events we believe testimony only because it is a law of nature that men should tell the truth. This may very possibly be true; doubtless it is, generally speaking, so likely to be true, that the belief of a miracle is, and ought to be, most difficult to bring about; but at least, it is not like the belief in the Real Presence: it does not at one and the same time assume the accuracy of the indications given by our senses, and set that accuracy at nought;—it does not at once desire us implicitly to trust, and entirely to disregard the evidence of testimony, as the doctrine of Transubstantiation calls upon us at once to trust and disregard the evidence of our senses.

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* There occurs every where in this book a vague and mysterious idea of a force of living power belonging to Matter, and almost a *deification* of this power, utterly unintelligible; but in a hater of Deity—a derider of all gods—quite marvellous. The passage in which this idea is most strikingly announced is the 11th chapter of part ii., where he is answering the position that there is no such thing as an Atheist in the world—"Si par *Athee* l'on designe un homme qui nieroit l'existence d'une *force inherente a la nature* et sans laquelle l'on ne peut concevoir *la Nature*, et si c'est a cette force motive qu'on donne le nom de *Dieu*, il n'existe point d'Athees et le mot sous lequel on les designe, n'annonceroit que des fous."—Can any one doubt, that after rejecting all reasonable and consistent notions of a Deity, this writer had really made unto himself other gods, and bowed down before them, and worshipped them? For what is "the force inherent in matter?" and what is "nature," and the essence of nature, or that thing "without which nature cannot be conceived?"

There are two answers, however, to which the doctrine proposed by Mr. Hume is exposed, and either appears sufficient to shake it.

First—Our belief in the uniformity of the laws of nature rests not altogether upon our own experience. We believe no man ever was raised from the dead —not merely because we ourselves never saw it, for indeed that would be a very limited ground of deduction; and our belief was fixed on the subject long before we had any considerable experience—fixed chiefly by authority—that is, by deference to other men's experience. We found our confident belief in this negative position partly, perhaps chiefly, upon the testimony of others; and at all events, our belief that in times before our own the same position held good, must of necessity be drawn from our trusting the relations of other men—that is, it depends upon the evidence of testimony. If, then, the existence of the law of nature is proved, in great part at least, by such evidence, can we wholly reject the like evidence when it comes to prove an exception to the rule—a deviation from the law?—The more numerous are the cases of the law being kept—the more rare those of its being broken—the more scrupulous certainly ought we to be in admitting the proofs of the breach. But that testimony is capable of making good the proof there seems no doubt. In truth, the degree of excellence and of strength to which testimony may rise seems almost indefinite. There is hardly any cogency which it is not capable by possible supposition of attaining. The endless multiplication of witnesses—the unbounded variety of their habits of thinking, their prejudices, their interests—afford the means of conceiving the force of their testimony augmented *ad infinitum*, because these circumstances afford the means of diminishing indefinitely the chances of their being all mistaken, all misled, or all combining to deceive us. Let any man try to calculate the chances of a thousand persons who come from different quarters, and never saw each other before, and who all vary in their habits, stations, opinions, interests—being mistaken or combining to deceive us, when they give the same account of an event as having happened before their eyes—these chances are many hundreds of thousands to one. And yet we can conceive them multiplied indefinitely; for one hundred thousand such witnesses may all in like manner bear the same testimony; and they may all tell us their story within twenty-four hours after the transaction, and in the next parish. And yet, according to Mr. Hume's argument, we are bound to disbelieve them all, because they speak to a thing contrary to our own experience, and to the accounts which other witnesses had formerly given us of the laws of nature, and which our forefathers had handed down to us as derived from witnesses who lived in the old time before them. It is unnecessary to add that no testimony of the witnesses whom we are supposing to concur in their relation contradicts any testimony of our own senses. If it did, the argument would resemble Archbishop Tillotson's upon the Real Presence, and our disbelief would be at once warranted.*

Secondly—This leads us to the next objection to which Mr. Hume's argument is liable, and which we have in part anticipated while illustrating the first. He requires us to withhold our belief in circumstances which would force every man of common understanding to lend his assent, and to act upon the supposition of the story told being true. For suppose either such numbers of various witnesses as we have spoken of; or, what is perhaps stronger, suppose a miracle reported to us, first by a number of relators, and then by three or four of the very soundest judges and most incorruptibly honest men we know—men noted for their difficult belief of wonders, and, above all, steady unbelievers in Miracles, without any bias in favor of religion, but rather accustomed to doubt, if not disbelieve—most people would lend an easy belief to any Miracle thus vouched. But let us add this circumstance, that a friend on his death-bed had been attended by us, and that we had told him a fact known only to ourselves—something that we had secretly done the very moment before we told it to the dying man, and which to no other being we had ever revealed—and that the credible witnesses we are supposing inform us that the deceased appeared to them, conversed with them, remained with them a day or two, accompanying them, and to avouch the fact of his re-appearance on this earth, communicated to them the secret of which we had made him the sole depository the moment before his death;—according to Mr. Hume we are bound rather to believe, not only that those credible witnesses deceive us, or that those sound and unprejudiced men were themselves deceived, and fancied things without real existence, but further, that they all hit by chance upon the discovery of a real secret, known only to ourselves and the dead man. Mr. Hume's argument requires us to believe this as the lesser improbability of the two—as less unlikely than the rising of one from the dead; and yet every one must feel convinced, that were he placed in the situation we have been figuring, he would not only lend his belief to the relation, but, if the relators accompanied it with a special warning from the deceased person to avoid a certain contemplated act, he would, acting upon the belief of their story, take the warning, and avoid doing the forbidden deed. Mr. Hume's argument makes no exception. This is its scope; and whether he chooses to push it thus far or no, all Miracles are of necessity denied by it, without the least regard to the kind or the quantity of the proof on which they are rested; and the testimony which we have supposed, accompanied by the test or check we have supposed, would fall within the grasp of the argument just as much and as clearly as any other Miracle avouched by more ordinary combinations of evidence.

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* Prophecy is classed by Mr. Hume under the same head with Miracle—every prophecy being, he says, a miracle. This is not, however, quite correct. A prophecy—that is the happening of an event which was foretold—may be proved even by the evidence of the senses of the whole world. Suppose it had one thousand years ago been foretold, that, on a certain day this year, one person of every family in the world should be seized with a particular distemper, it is evident that every family would be at once certain that the event had happened, and that it had been foretold. To future generations the fulfilment would no doubt come within the description of a miracle in all respects. The truth is, that the event happening which was foretold may be compared to the miracle; and Mr. Hume's argument will then be, not that there is any thing miraculous in the event itself, but only in its happening after it had been foretold. Bishop Sherlock wrote discourses on this subject, which Dr. Middleton answered: the former denying that prophecy was more exempt from the scope of the skeptical argument than miracles. On the whole, however, it does seem more exempt.

The use of Mr. Hume's argument is this, and it is an important and a valuable one. It teaches us to sift closely and rigorously the evidence for miraculous events. It bids us remember that the probabilities are always, and must always be, incomparably greater against than for the truth of these relations, because it is always far more likely that the testimony should be mistaken or false, than that the general laws of nature should be suspended. Further than this the doctrine cannot in soundness of reason be carried. It does not go the length of proving that those general laws cannot, by the force of human testimony, be shown to have been, in a particular instance, and with a particular purpose, suspended.

It is unnecessary to add, that the argument here has only been conducted to one point, and upon one ground—namely, to refute the doctrine that a miracle cannot be proved by any evidence of testimony. It is for those who maintain the truth of any revelation to show in what manner the evidence suffices to prove the Miracles on which that revelation rests. This treatise is not directed to that object; but in commenting upon Mr. Hume's celebrated argument, we have dealt with a fundamental objection to all Revelation, and one which, until removed, precludes the possibility of any such system being established.

II. The Essay upon Miracles being supposed by its author sufficient to dispose of Revelation, the Essay on Providence and a Future State appears to have been aimed as a blow equally fatal to Natural Religion. Its merits are, however, of a very superior order. There is nothing of the sarcasm so unbecoming on subjects of this most serious kind, which disfigures the concluding portion of the former treatise. The tone is more philosophic, and the skeptical character is better sustained. There cannot, indeed, be said to prevail through it any thing of a dogmatical spirit, and certainly we here meet with none of that propensity to assume the thing in question, to insist upon propositions as proved which have only been annunciated, to supply by sounds the place of ideas, which we remark in the "*Systeme de la Nature.*" On the contrary, the argument, whether sound or not, is of a substantial nature; it is rested on very plausible grounds; and we may the rather conclude that it is not very easily answered, because, in fact, it has rarely, if ever, been encountered by writers on theological subjects. Nevertheless, it strikes at the root of all Natural Religion, and requires a careful consideration.

Mr. Hume does not deny that the reasoning from the appearances and operations of nature to the existence of an intelligent cause is logical and sound; at least he admits this for argument's sake. But he takes this nice and subtle distinction. We are here, he observes, dealing with an agent, an intelligence, a being, wholly unlike all we elsewhere see or hitherto have known; our inferences, therefore, must be confined strictly to the facts from whence they are drawn. When we see a foot-mark imprinted on the sand, we conclude that a man has walked there, and that his other foot had likewise left its print, which the waves have effaced. But this inference is not drawn from the inspection of the foot alone; it comes from a previous knowledge of the human body, of which the foot makes a part. Had we never seen that body, or any other that walked on feet, the observation of the mark in the sand could have led to no other conclusion than that some body or thing had been there with a form like the mark. So, when we are to reason from the works of nature to their cause, we are entitled to conclude that a being exists whose power and skill created them such as we behold them, and consequently that this being is possessed of skill and power sufficient to contrive and to execute those works—that is, those precise works, and no more. We have no right to infer that this being has the skill or the power to contrive and create one single blade of grass or grain of sand beyond what we see. It follows, then, that the argument *a posteriori* only leads to the conclusion that a finite and not an infinitely or an indefinitely wise and powerful Being exists; and it further follows that we are left without any evidence of his power (much less of his intention) to perpetuate our existence after death, as well as without any proof of the capacity of the soul to receive such a continuation of being after its separation from the body. This is the sum of the very ingenious, subtle, and original argument of Mr. Hume, affording a mighty contrast to the flimsy sophisms, the declamatory assertions, of the French writers, and giving the Natural Theologian, it must be allowed, a good deal to answer. We have stated it as strongly as we could, in order to meet it fully; and it appears capable of a satisfactory answer.

The whole argument *a posteriori* rests upon the assumption, that if we perceive arrangements made, by means of which certain effects are produced, and if seeing such arrangements among the works of men, we should at once conclude that they were designed to produce those effects, we are entitled to say that the arrangements which we see and which we know not to be the work of man, are the work of an intelligent cause, contriving them for the purpose of producing the effects observed. In truth, such must needs be the assumption on which the argument rests, because we have no other knowledge of what design and contrivance are. They necessarily bear reference to our own nature and the knowledge we have of our own minds, derived from our own consciousness and experience; and of this we have treated in the text, Sect. III. and IV. of Part I.

If we found anywhere a mechanism of any kind, a watch for instance, as Paley puts the case, we should at once conclude that some skilful and intelligent being had been there, and had left his works on the spot. We should conclude (indeed this is involved in the former inference) that he was capable of doing what we saw he had done, and that he had intended to produce a particular effect by the exercise of his skill; but we should also conclude that he who could do this could repeat the operation if he chose, and the probability would be that his skill had not been confined to the single exertion of it which we had observed. There is nothing peculiar in the nature of human workmanship or of the human character to make us draw this conclusion.—We arrive at it just as we arrive at the inference of design and contrivance; we believe in them because we are wholly unable to conceive such an adaptation without such an intention; and we are equally unable to conceive that any being, or any intelligence, or any power, which had sufficed to perform the operation we see, should be confined to that single exertion. We can conceive no reason whatever why the same power should not be capable of repeating the operation. There is nothing peculiar—no limit—no sufficient reason, of an exclusive nature, why the same power should not be again exercised and with the same result. All induction proceeds upon similar grounds. It is the generalization of particulars; it is the concluding from a certain limited number of instances to an indefinite number—to any number unless circumstances arise to restrict the generality—to any number, where nothing arises to vary or limit the conclusion. We mix an acid and alkali, and form a neutral salt having peculiar properties. We pass a sunbeam or the light of a candle through a prism, and observe the rays separated into lights making certain colors. Why do we conclude from hence that all the acid made by burning sulphur, in what way soever the sulphur was produced or the combustion effected, will be neutralized by soda wheresoever produced and howsoever obtained, and that their union will always make Glauber's salts? Or, that all light, of all kinds, even that obtained by burning newly-discovered bodies, as the metal of potassium, unseen, unknown before the year 1807, will be found resolvable into the seven primary colors? According to Mr. Hume's argument, we have no right to infer that any one portion of acid or alkali, save the one we have subjected to our experiments, or any light save that of the formerly-known combustible bodies, or rather of those classes of them on which we had experimented—nay of the individuals of those classes which we have burnt—will produce the effects we have experienced in our laboratory, or in our darkened chamber. In other words, according to this argument, all experimental knowledge must stand still, generalizing be at an end, and philosophers be content never to make a single step, or draw one conclusion beyond the mere facts observed by them; in a word, Inductive Science must be turned from a process of general reasoning upon particular facts, into a bare dry record of those particular facts themselves.

If, indeed, it be said that we never can be so certain of the things we infer as we are of those we have observed, and on which our inference is grounded, we may admit this to be true. But no one therefore denies the value of the science which is composed of the inferences. So we cannot be so well assured of the Deity's power to repeat and to vary and to extend his operations, as we are of his having created what we actually observe; and yet our assurance may be quite sufficient to merit entire confidence. Nor will any student of Natural Theology complain if the only result of the argument we are combating be to place the higher truths of the science but a very little lower in point of proof than the inferences of design in the works actually examined. The self-same difference is to be found in the inferences composing the other branches of inductive science, and it in no perceptible degree lessens our confidence in the inductive method.

It has oftentimes been asked, why we believe that the same result will happen from the same cause acting in the like circumstances—the foundation of all induction; and no answer has ever been given except that we cannot help so believing—that the condition of our being—the nature of our minds—compels us so to believe; and we take this as an ultimate fact incapable of being resolved into any fact more general. Can we help believing that a being capable of creating what we see and examine, is also capable of exercising other acts of skill and power? Can we avoid believing that the same power which made all the animals and vegetables on our globe suffices to people and provide other worlds in like manner? Again, can we by any effort bring our minds to suppose that this being's whole skill and power were exhausted by one effort, and that having sufficed to create the universe, it ceases to be effective for any other purpose whatever? The answer is, that we cannot—that we can as soon believe in the sun not rising to-morrow, or in his light ceasing to be differently refrangible.

Much is said in the course of arguments like the present of the word "*infinite.*" Whether or not we are able to form any precise idea of that which has no bounds in power or in duration may be another question. But when we see such stupendous exertions of power, upon a scale so vast as far to pass all our faculties of comprehension, and with a minuteness at the same time so absolute, that as we can on the one hand perceive nothing beyond its grasp, so we are on the other hand unable to find any thing too minute to escape its notice, we are irresistibly led to conclude that there is nothing above or below such an agent, and that nothing which we can conceive is impossible for such an intelligence. The argument of Mr. Hume supposes or admits that the whole universe is its work; and that animal life is its creation. We can no more avoid believing that the same power which created the universe can sustain it—that the same power which created our souls can prolong their existence after death—than we can avoid believing that the power which sustained the universe up to the instant we are speaking, is able to continue it in being for a thousand years to come. But indeed Mr. Hume's argument would go the length of making us disbelieve that the Deity has the power of continuing the existence of the creation for a day. We are only entitled, according to this argument, to conclude that the Deity had the power of working the works we have seen and no more. Last spring and autumn we observed the powers of nature in vegetation, that is, we noted the operations of the Deity in that portion of his works, and were entitled, Mr. Hume admits, to infer that he had the skill and the power to produce that harvest from that seed time, but no more. We had, says the argument, no right whatever to infer that the Deity's power extended to another revolution of the seasons. The argument is this, or it is nothing. Confining its scope, as Mr. Hume would confine it, to the universe as a whole, and excluding all inferences as to a future state or other worlds, is wholly gratuitous. The argument applies to all that we have seen of the already past and the actually executed in this universe, and excludes all respecting this same universe which is yet to come; consequently if it be good for any thing, it is sufficient to prove that, although our experience may authorize us to conclude that the Deity has skill and power sufficient to maintain the world in is present state up to this hour, yet that experience is wholly insufficient to prove that he has either skill or power to continue its existence a moment longer. Every one of the topics applied by him to a Future State applies to this. If we have no right to believe that one exertion of skill proves the author of nature adequate to another exertion of a kind no more difficult and only a little varied, we can have no right to believe that one exertion of skill proves him adequate to a repetition of the same identical operation. Now no man living carries or can carry his disbelief so far as this. Indeed such doubts would not only shake all inductive science to pieces, but would put a stop to the whole business of life. And assuredly we may be well contented to rest the truths of Natural Theology on the same foundation upon which those of all the other sciences, as well as the practical conduct of all human affairs, must for ever repose.

NOTE VI.

Of the ancient Doctrines respecting Mind.

The opinions of the ancient philosophers upon the nature of the Soul were not very consistent with themselves; and in some respects were difficult to reconcile with the doctrine of its immateriality which most of them maintained. It may suffice to mention a few of those theories.

Plato and his pupil Aristotle may certainly be said to have held the Soul's immateriality; at least, they maintained that it was of a nature wholly different from the body; and they appear often to hold that it was unlike all matter whatever, and a substance or existence of a nature quite peculiar to itself. Their language is nearly the same upon this subject. Plato speaks of the ουσια ασωματος και νοητης—*a bodiless* or *incorporeal and intelligent being*; and of such existences he says, in one place, τα ασωματα καλλιστα οντα και μεγιστα λογω μονον, αλλω δε ουδενι σαφως δεικνυται, "*Things incorporeal being the most excellent and the greatest of all, are made manifest by reason alone, and no otherwise.*" (*Politicus.*) So again in the *Cratylus*, he derives σωμα from σωζεσθαι, and represents the body as a prison of the soul, εικονα δεσμωτηριου ειναι ουν της ψυχης αυτο εως ην τα οφειλομενα το σωμα, following herein the doctrine said to have been delivered by Orpheus. Aristotle, too, speaks of a being separable and separated from things perceivable by the senses—ουσια χωριστη και κεχωρισμενη των αισθητων. Nevertheless, these philosophers frequently speak of the soul as being always, and as it were necessarily, connected with matter of some kind or other—αει ψυχη επιτεταγμενη σωματι, τοτε μεν αλλω, τοτ εδε αλλω. *The soul is always annexed to a body, sometimes to one and sometimes to another.—De Legg.* x. Thus Aristotle, (*De Gen. Anim.* ii. 4.) ἡ γαρ ψυχη ουσια σωματος τινος εστι—*the soul is the substance of some kind of body.* And in the Treatise *De Anima*, ii. 2, he says—και δια τουτο καλως υπολαμβανουσιν οἱς δοκει μητε ανευ σωματος ειναι μητε σωμα τε ψυχη, σωμα μεν γαρ ουκ εστι, σωματος δε τι—"*Those therefore rightly hold who think that the soul cannot exist without the body, and yet that it is not body; it is not the body, but somewhat of the body.*"

This corporeal connection is stated by Plutarch, in the *Quæst. Platon.*, still more plainly to have been the Platonic doctrine—ψυχην πρεσβυτεραν του σωματος, αιτιαν τε της εκεινου γενεσεως και αρχην· ουκ α γενεσθαι ψυχην ανευ σωματος ουδε νουν ανευ ψυχης αλλα ψυχην μεν εν σωματι, νουν δε εν τη ψυχη. "*The soul is older than the body, and the cause and origin of its existence: not that the soul exists without the body, or the understanding without the soul; but that the soul is in the body, and the understanding in the soul.*"

According to these representations and quotations taken together, Plato held the soul to be an immaterial substance, separable from any given body, but incapable of existing without somebody or other, and the mind or understanding to be a part of the soul. The residue of the soul was, as we shall afterwards see, its sensitive or mortal portion.

The idea of motion seems to have been intimately connected in their views with mind or spirit, and in so far their doctrines approach those, if we can call them doctrines, of the modern atheists (See Note IV.)—το ἑαυτο κινειν (says Plato,) φης λογον εχειν την αυτην ουσιαν ἥνπερ τουνομα ὁ δε παντες ψυχην προσαγορευομεν; φημιγε—*You say that the substance* (or *being*) *to which we all give the name of soul, has for its definition "that which moves itself?" I certainly do say so.—De Legg.* x.

But the same philosophers also held the soul to be an emanation from the Deity, and that each individual soul was a portion of the Divine Essence, or Spirit: consequently, they could not mean to assert that the divine essence was inseparable from matter of some kind, but only those portions of that essence which they represented to be severed, and as it were torn off from the divine mind—συναφεις τω θεω, ἅτε αυτου μορια ουσια και αποσπασματα.—(*Epict.*)

Plutarch, in the work already cited, says—ἡ δε ψυχη ουκ εργον εστι μονον αλλα και μερος· ουδ' ὑπ αυτου αλλ απ' αυτου, και εξ αυτου γεγονεν—"*The soul is not only his work, but a part of himself; it was not created by him, but from him and out of him.*"

NOTE VII.

Of the ancient Doctrines respecting the Deity and Matter.

The notions of the Supreme Being entertained by the ancient philosophers were more simple and consistent than their theory of the soul; and but for the belief, which they never shook off, in the eternity of matter, would very nearly have coincided with our own. They give him the very same names, and clothe him apparently in the like attributes. He is not only αθανατος, αφθαρτος, ανωλεθρος—*immortal, incorruptible, indestructible*—but αγεννητος, αυτογενης, αυτοφυης, αυθυποστατος—*uncreated, self-made, self-originating, self-existing.* Ζωον πασαν εχον μακαριοτητα μετ' αφθαρσιας, says Epicurus—"*A Being having all happiness, with an incorruptible nature.*" Again, he is παντοκρατωρ, παγκρατης—*omnipotent, all-powerful*; δυναται γαρ απαντα, says Homer (*Odyss.* ξ)—"*He has power over all things.*" The creative power is also in words at least ascribed to him—κοσμοποιητης, δημιουργος—*the maker of the world, the great artificer.* Aristotle, too, in a very remarkable passage of the Metaphysics, says that God seems to be the cause of all things, and, as it were, a beginning, or principle—Θεος δοκει το αιτιον πασιν ειναι και αρχη τις: and, indeed, by implication, this is ascribed in the terms *uncreated*, *self-created*, and *self-existing*; for in soundness of reason the being who had no creator, and much more the being who created himself (if we can conceive such an idea,) must have created all things else. Nevertheless, such was certainly not so plain an inference of reasoning with the ancients; for whether it be that by αυτοφυης and αυτογενης, they only meant to convey the idea of αγεννητος—of a being uncreated and existing from all eternity—or that they took some nice distinction, to us incomprehensible, between self-creation and the creation of other beings or things—certain it is, that the same philosophers who so described the Deity clung to the notion of matter being also eternal, and co-existent with the supreme power, and that by creator and artificer they rather seem to have meant the arranger of atoms—the power giving form to chaotic matter, than the power calling things into existence. They appear to have been all pressed by the difficulty (and who shall deny it?) of conceiving the act of creation—the act of calling existences out of nothing. Accordingly, the maxim which generally prevailed among most of the Greek sects, and which led to very serious and even practical consequences in their systems, was ουδεν εκ του μη οντος (or εκ ουδενος) γινεσθαι—*that nothing is made of what has no existence, or of nothing.* Aristotle represents this as the common opinion of all natural philosophers before him—κοινην δοξην των φυσικων. He says, in another passage (*De Cælo.* iii. 1.)—οἱ μεν αυτων (προτερον φιλοσοφησαντες) ανειλον ὁλως γενεσιν και φθοραν· ουδεν γαρ ουτε γιγνεσθαι φασιν ουτε φθειρεσθαι των οντων—"*Some of those* (*older philosophers*) *took away* (or *abolished*) *all generation and destruction, for they hold that none of the things which exist are either created or destroyed.*" Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that the Platonic doctrine was of the same kind, and that Aristotle, in truth, ascribed only a qualified creative power to the Deity. Plutarch's statement of the Platonic doctrine is precise to this point—βελτιον ουν Πλατωνι πειθομενους τον μεν κοσμον υπο θεου γεγονεναι λεγειν και αδειν· ὁ μεν γαρ καλλιστος των γεγονοτων, ὁδε αριστος των αιτιων· την δε ουσιαν και ὑλην εξ ἡς γεγονεν, ου γενομενην, αλλα ὑποκειμενην αει τω δημιουργω, εις διαθεσιν και ταξιν αυτης και προς αυτον εξομοιωσιν ως δυνατον ῃ παρασχειν' ου γαρ εκ του μη οντος γενεσις, αλλ' εκ του μη καλως, μηδ' ἱκανως εχοντος, ως οικιας, και ιματιου, και ανδριαντος—"*Better then be convinced by Plato, and say and sing that the world was made by God; for the world is the most excellent of all created things, and he the best of all causes. But the substance or matter* (literally *timber*) *of which he made it, was not created, but always lay ready for the artificer, to be arranged and ordered by him; for the creation was not out of nothing, but out of what had been without form and unfit, as a house, or a garment, or a statue are made.*" And thus it seems that when Maker or Creator is used by the Academics, we are rather to regard them as meaning Maker in the sense in which an artificer is said to make or fabricate the object of his art. Εποιησεν (says Aristotle) ων τονδε τον κοσμον εξ ἁπασας της ὑλας—*He made the world of all kinds of matter.—De An. Mund.* Indeed I can in no other way understand that very obscure, and but for some such gloss, contradictory passage of Aristotle, in the first book of the *Physics*, where he is giving his own doctrine in opposition to the tenets of the elder philosophers on this point—Ημεις δε και αυτοι φαμεν γιγνεσθαι μεν ουδεν απλως εκ του μη οντος, ομως μεντοι γιγνεσθαι εκ μη οντος οἱον κατα συμβεβηκος· εκ γαρ της στερησεως ὁ εστι καθ' αυτο μη ον, ουκ ενυπαρχοντος γιγνεται τι. θαυμαζεται δε τουτο και αδυνατον οὑτω δοκει γιγνεσθαι τι εκ του μη οντος—"*We ourselves however say that nothing is absolutely* (or *merely*) *produced from what has no existence, yet that something is produced from that which has no existence as far as regards accidents* (or *accessory qualities*;) *for something is produced from privation, which has no existence in itself, and not from any thing inherent. But this is wonderful, and seems impossible, that something should be produced out of that which has no existence.*"—(*Phys.* i. 8.) Indeed he had said in the same treatise, just before, that all confessed it impossible and inconceivable that *any being could either be created out of nothing, or be utterly destroyed*—εκ του μη οντος γινεσθαι ποτε ου εξολλυσθαι ανηνυστον και αῤῥηκτον. (*Ib.* i. 5.)

Upon the uncreated nature of things—for the doctrine extended to mind as well as to matter—the ancient philosophers founded another tenet of great importance. Matter and soul were reckoned not only uncreated, but indestructible; their existence was eternal in every sense of the word, without end as without beginning: μηδεν εκ του μη οντος γινεσθαι, μηδε εις το μη ον φθειρεσθαι—"*Nothing can be produced out of that which has no existence, nor can any thing be reduced to nonentity.*" Such is Diogenes Laertius's account of Democritus's doctrine, or the Atomic principle,

> "Principium hinc cujus nobis exordia sumet,
> Nullam rem e nihilo gigni divinitus unquam"—
> "Huc accedit uti quidque in sua corpora rursum
> Dissolvat natura, neque ad nihilum intereunt res"—
> "Haud igitur redit ad nihilum res ulla, sed omnes
> Discidio redeunt in corpora materiai"—

are the expressions of Lucretius, in giving an account of the Epicurean Philosophy (i. 151, 217, 249,) or, as Persius more shortly expresses it,

> "De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti."
> *Sat.* iii. 84.

And it must be admitted that they reasoned with great consistency in this respect: for if the difficulty of comprehending the act of creation out of nothing was a sufficient ground for holding all things to be eternal *a parte ante*—the equal difficulty of comprehending the act of annihilation was as good a ground for believing in their eternity *a parte post*—there being manifestly just as much difficulty, and of the same kind, in comprehending how a being can cease to exist, as how it can come into existence.

From this doctrine mainly it is that the Greek philosophers derive the immortality of the soul, as far as the metaphysical and more subtle arguments for their belief go; and accordingly its pre-existence is a part of their faith as much as its future life, the eternity *ab ante* being as much considered as the eternity *post*. Thus Plato says that "*our soul was somewhere before it existed in the human form, as also it seems to be immortal afterwards*"—ην που ημων η ψυχη πριν εν τωδε τω ανθρωπινω ειδει γενεσθαι, ωστε και ταυτη αθανατον τι εοικεν η ψυχη ειναι.—(*Phæd.*) Nevertheless, it must be admitted that their doctrine of future existence is most unsatisfactory as far as it is thus derived, that is, their psychological argument: and for two reasons—*first*, because it is coupled with the tenet of pre-existence, and having no kind of evidence of that from reasoning, we not only are prone to reject it, but are driven to suppose that our future existence will in like manner be severed by want of recollection from all consideration of personal identity; *secondly*, because, according to the doctrine of the soul being an emanation from the Deity, its future state implies a return to the divine essence, and a confusion with or absorption in that supreme intelligence, and consequently an extinction of individual existence: a doctrine which was accordingly held by some of the metaphysical philosophers who maintained a Future State.

In one important particular there was an entire difference of opinion among the ancient philosophers; in truth, so important a difference, that those were held not to be theists, but atheists, who maintained one side of the argument—I mean as to Providence. The Atomists and Epicureans held that there were Gods, and upon the subject of creative power they did not materially differ from those generally called theists; but they denied that these Gods ever interfered in the affairs of the universe. The language of Plato and the other theists upon this subject is very strong. They regard such a doctrine as one of the three kinds of blasphemy or sacrilege; and in the Republic of that philosopher, all the three crimes are made equally punishable with death. The first species is denying the existence of a Deity, or of Gods: το δε δευτερον, οντας (θεους) ου φροντιζειν ανθρωπων. "*The second, admitting their existence, but denying that they care for man.*" The third kind of blasphemy was that of men attempting to propitiate the Gods towards criminal conduct, as φθονοι and αδικηματα, *slaughters* and *outrages upon justice*, "*by prayers, thanksgivings, and sacrifices; thus making those pure beings the accomplices of their crimes, by sharing with them a small portion of the spoil, as the wolves do with the dogs.*"—*De Legg.* x.*

NOTE VIII.

Of the ancient Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul.

That the ancient philosophers for the most part believed in the Future Existence of the Soul after death is undeniable. It is equally certain that their opinions upon this important subject varied exceedingly, and that the kind of immortality admitted by one class can hardly be allowed to deserve the name. Thus they who considered it as a portion of the Divine essence severed for a time, in order to be united with a perishable body, believed in a future existence without memory or consciousness of personal identity, and merely as a reuniting of it with the Divine mind. Such, however, was not the belief of the more pure and enlightened theists, and to their opinion, as approaching nearest our own, it is proposed to confine the present notice.

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* Who can read these, and such passages as these, without wishing that some who call themselves Christians, some Christian principalities and powers, had taken a lesson from the heathen sage, and (if their nature forbade them to abstain from massacres and injustice) at least had not committed the scandalous impiety, as he calls it, of singing in places of Christian worship, and for the accomplishment of their enormous crimes, Te Deums, which in Plato's Republic would have been punished as blasphemy? Who, indeed, can refrain from lamenting another pernicious kind of sacrilege (an anthropomorphism) yet more frequent: that of making Christian temples resound with prayers for victory over our enemies, and thanksgiving for their defeat? Assuredly such a ritual as this is not taken from the New Testament.

In one respect, even the most philosophical of those theories differed widely from the Christian faith, and indeed departed almost as widely from the intimations of sound reason. They all believed in the soul's pre-existence. This is expressly given as proved by facts, and as one argument for immortality or future existence, by Plato in the most elaborate treatise which remains upon the subject, the *Phædo*. He considers that all learning is only recollection, την μαθησιν αναμνησιν ειναι, and seems to think it inconceivable that any idea could ever come into the mind, of which the rudiments had not formerly been implanted there. In the *Timæus* and other writings the same doctrine is further expounded. Ην που ημων, η ψυχη πριν εν τω δε τω ανθρωπινω ειδει γενεσθαι, ωστε και ταυτη αθανατον τι εοικεν ἡ ψυχη ειναι. "*Our soul existed somewhere before it was produced in the human form* (or *body*,) *so it seems to be immortal also.*" The arguments indeed, generally speaking, on which both Plato and other philosophers ground their positions, derive their chief interest from the importance of the subject, and from the exquisite language in which they are clothed. As reasonings they are of little force or value. Thus it is elaborately shown, or rather asserted in the *Phædo*, that contraries always come from contraries, as life from death, and death from life, in the works of nature. Another argument is that the nature or essence of the soul is immortality, and hence it is easily inferred that it exists after death, a kind of reasoning hardly deserving the name;—'Οποτε δη τον αθανατον και αδιαφθορον εστιν, αλλοτι ψυχη η, ει αθανατος τυγχανει ουσα, και ανωλεθρος αν ειη—"*Since that which is immortal is also indestructible, what else can we conclude but that the soul being* (or *happening to be*) *immortal, must also be imperishable.*"—(*Phæd.*) A more cogent topic is that of its simplicity, from whence the inference is drawn that it must be indestructible, because what we mean by the destruction of matter is its resolution into the elements that compose it. In one passage, Plato comes very near the argument relied on in the text respecting the changes which the body undergoes; but it appears from the rest of the passage that he had another topic or illustration in view—αλλα γαρ αν φαιην ἑκαστην των ψυχων πολλα σωματα κατατριβειν, αλλως, τε καν πολλα ετη βιω. Ει γαρ ρεοι το σωμα και απολλυοιτο ετι ζωντος του ανθρωπου αλλ' ἡ ψυχη αει το κατατριβομενον ανυφαινοι αναγκαιον μεντ' αν ειη, ὁποτε απολλυοιτο ἡ ψυχη, τον τε λευταιον ὑφασμα τυχειν αυτην εχουσαν, δε τουτου μονου προτεραν απολλυσθαι—"*But I should rather say that each of our souls wears out many bodies, though these should live many years; for if the body runs out and is destroyed, the man still lives, but the soul always repairs that which is worn out, it would follow of necessity that the soul when it perished would happen to have its last covering, and to perish only just before that covering.*"—*Phæd.* A singular instance of the incapacity of the ancients to observe facts, or at least the habitual carelessness with which they admitted relations of them, is afforded in another of these arguments. Socrates is made to refer, in the *Phædo*, to the appearance of ghosts near places of burial as a well known and admitted fact, and as proving that a portion of the soul for a while survived the body, but partook of its nature and likeness, and was not altogether immortal. This distinction between the mortal or sensitive and the immortal or intellectual part of the soul pervades the Platonic theism. We have observed already in the statement of Plutarch, that the Platonists held the νους or intellect to be contained in the ψυχη or soul, and the same doctrine occurs in other passages. Aristotle regards the soul in like manner as composed of two parts; the active, or νους, and the passive; the former he represents as alone immortal and eternal; the latter as destructible, τουτο μονον αθανατον και αιδιον, ὁ δε παθητικος φθαρτος.—*Nic. Eth.*

It must, however, be admitted, that the belief of the ancients was more firm and more sound than their reasonings were cogent. The whole tenor of the doctrine in the *Phædo* refers to a renewal or continuation of the soul as a separate and individual existence, after the dissolution of the body, and with a complete consciousness of personal identity; in short, to a continuance of the same rational beings existence after death. The liberation from the body is treated as the beginning of a new and more perfect life—τοτε γαρ αυτη καθ' αυτην η ψυχη εσται χωρις του σωματος' προτερον δ' ου (τελευτησασι). Xenophon thus makes Cyrus deliver himself to his children on his death-bed: Ουτοι εγωγε, ω παιδες, ουδε τουτο πωποτε επεισθην ως ἡ ψυχη, εως μεν αν εν θνητω σωματι η, ζην, ὅταν δε τουτου απαλλαγη, τεθνηκεν—ουδε γε ὅπως αφρων εσται ἡ ψυχη, επειδαν του αφρονος σωματος διχα γενηται, ουδε τουτο πεπεισμαι' αλλ' ὅταν ακρατος και καθαρος ο νους εκριθη, τοτε και φρονιμωτατον εικος αυτον ειναι.* Cicero has translated the whole passage upon this subject beautifully, though somewhat pharaphrastically; but this portion he has given more literally: "Mihi quidem nunquam persuaderi potuit, animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere; quum exissent ex iss, emori: nec vero tum animum esse insipientem, quum ex insipienti corpore evasisset; sed quum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse cœpisset, eum esse sapientem."†

None of the ancients, indeed, has expressed himself more clearly or more beautifully upon the subject than this great philosopher and rhetorician. His reasoning, too, respecting it greatly exceeds in soundness and in sagacity that of the Grecian sages. Witness the admirable argument in the Tusculan Questions. They who deny the doctrine, says he, can only allege as the ground of their disbelief the difficulty of comprehending the state of the soul severed from the body, as if they could comprehend its state in the body. "Quasi vero intelligant, qualis sit in ipso corpore, quæ conformatio, quæ magnitudo, qui locus."—"Hæc reputent isti (he adds) qui negant animum sine corpore se intelligere posse; videbunt quem in ipso corpore intelligant. Mihi quidem naturam animi intuenti, multo difficilior occurrit cogitatio, multoque obscurior, qualis animus in corpore sit, tanquam alienæ domi, quam qualis, cum exierit, et in liberum cœlum quasi domum suum venerit."‡ That he derived the most refined gratifications from such contemplations, many passages of his writings attest. None more than those towards the close of the Cato Major, which must often have cheered the honest laborers for their country and their kind in the midst of an ungrateful and unworthy generation. "An censes (ut de me ipso aliquid more senem glorier) me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque, domi militiæque suscepturum fuisse, si iisdem finibus gloriam meam, quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam ætatem et quietam sine ullo labore aut contentione traducere?" "Think you—to speak somewhat of myself after the manner of old men—think you that I should ever have undergone such toils, by day and by night, at home and abroad, had I believed that the term of my life was to be the period of my renown? How much better would it have been to while away a listless being and a tranquil, void of all strife, and free from any labor?"* And again, that famous passage: "O præclarum diem quum ad illud divinum onimorum concilium cætumque proficiscar; quumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam!" "Delightful hour! when I shall journey towards that divine assemblage of spirits, and depart from this crowd of polluted things!"†

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* Cyrop. ii.

† De Senect. 80. Here the words "omni admixtione," &c. are added.

‡ Tusc. Quæst. i. 22.

The Platonic ideas of a future state, as well as those adopted by the Roman sage, distinctly referred to an account rendered, and rewards or punishments awarded for the things done in the body—χρη παντα ποιειν, says Plato, ωστε αρετης και φρονησεως εν τω βιω μετασχειν· καλον γαρ ταθλον και η ελπις μεγαλη—"*We ought to act in all things so as to pursue virtue and wisdom, in this life, for the labor is excellent and the hope great.*"—(*De Legg.* x.) Τον δε οντα ημων εκαστον οντως αθανατον ειναι, ψυχην επονομαζομενον, παρα θεοις αλλοις απιεναι, δωσοντα λογον, καθαπερ ὁ νομος ο πατριος λεγει, τω μεν αγαθω θαρραλεον, τω δε κακω μαλα φοβερον—"*In truth each of us—that is to say, each soul—is immortal, and departs to other Gods* (or *Gods in another world*) *to render an account as the laws of the state declare. This to the good is matter of confidence, but to the wicked of terror.*"—(*De Legg.* xii.) So in the beginning of the *Epinomis* he says that a glorious prospect (καλη ελπις) is held out to us of attaining, when we die, the happiness not to be enjoyed on earth, and to gain which after death, we had exerted all our efforts. In the *Phædo*, where he is giving a somewhat fanciful picture of the next world, he tells us that souls which have committed lesser crimes come εις την λιμνην και εκει οικουσι τε και καθαιρομενοι των δε αδικηματων διδοντες δικας απολυονται ει τις τι ηδικηκε—"*they remain in that space, and being cleansed* (or *purged*) *of their offences, are released;*" (from whence the idea and the name of *purgatory* has been taken.) But such as have been incurably wicked, murderers and others, are driven, he says, into Tartarus, οθεν ουποτε εκβαινουσιν, "*whence they never more escape.*"‡ It is remarkable, that in the same work, Plato, if some words have not been interpolated in the text, looks forward to some direct divine communications of light upon this subject; but recommends abiding by the light of reason till that shall be granted. Let us, he says, choose the best human reason, and, sitting on it like a raft, pass through the dangers of life, unless (or until) ει μητις δυναιτο ασφαλεστερον και ακινδυνοτερον επι βεβαιοτερου οχηματος η λογου θειου τινος διαπορευθηναι—"*unless some one can pass us over more easily and safely upon some stronger vehicle or divine word.*"§

The passage in the *Somnium Scipionis*, where celestial enjoyments are held out as the rewards of public virtue, is well known. The precision, indeed, of the language touching a future state, which marks this treatise, is singular, approaching to that of the New Testament. This has given rise to doubts of the authenticity of the treatise—doubts easily removed by looking to the many absurdities respecting the celestial bodies, and the other accompaniments of heaven with which the work abounds; to the Platonic doctrine respecting motion as the essence of mind, which it adopts; and also to the doctrine distinctly stated of the preexistent state.

NOTE IX.

Of Bishop Warburton's Theory concerning the ancient Doctrine of a Future State.

To any one who had read the extracts in the last Note, but still more to one who was familiar with the ancient writers from whose works they are taken, it might appear quite impossible that a question should ever be raised upon the general belief of antiquity in a Future State, and the belief of some of the most eminent of the philosophers, at least, in a state of rewards and punishments.—Nevertheless, as there is nothing so plain to which the influence of a preconceived opinion and the desire of furthering a favorite hypothesis, will not blind men, and as their blindness in such cases bears even a proportion to their learning and ingenuity, it has thus fared with the point in question, and Bishop Warburton has denied that any of the ancients except Socrates, really believed in a future state of the soul individually, and subject to reward or punishment. He took up this argument because it seemed to strengthen his extraordinary reasoning upon the Legation of Moses. It is therefore necessary first to state how his doctrine bears upon that reasoning.

His reasoning is this. The inculcating of a future state of retribution is necessary to the well being of society. All men, and especially all the wisest nations of antiquity, have agreed in holding such a doctrine necessary to be inculcated. But there is nothing of the kind to be found in the Mosaic dispensation. And here he pauses to observe that these propositions seem too clear to require any proof. Nevertheless his whole work is consumed in proving them; and the conclusion from the whole, that therefore the Mosaic law is of Divine original, is left for a further work, which never appeared; and yet this is the very position which all, or almost all who may read the book, and even yield their assent to it, are the most inclined to reject. Indeed, it may well be doubted if this work, learned and acute as it is, and showing the author to be both well read and well fitted for controversy, ever satisfied any one except perhaps Bishop Hurd, or ever can demonstrate any thing so well, as it proves the preposterous and perverted ingenuity of an able and industrious man.

That such was very far from being the author's opinion, we have ample proof. He terms his work "A Demonstration." He describes his reasoning "as very little short of mathematical certainty," and "to which nothing but a mere physical possibility of the contrary can be opposed;" and he declares his only difficulty to be in "telling whether the pleasure of the discovery or the wonder that it is now to make be the greater." Accordingly, in the correspondence between him and his friend Bishop Hurd, the complete success of the "Demonstration" is always assumed, and the glory of it is made the topic of endless and even mutual gratulation, not without pity and even vituperation of all who can remain dissatisfied, and who are habitually and complacently classed by name with the subjects of Pope's well known satire.

The two things which the author always overlooked, were the possibility of a human lawgiver making an imperfect system, and of skeptics holding the want of the sanction in question to be no argument for the divine origin of the Mosaic law, but rather a proof of its flowing from a human and fallible source. As these "mere possibilities" are wholly independent of the admission that every word in the book is correct, and all the positions are demonstrated, and as nothing whatever is said to exclude such suppositions, it is manifest that a more useless and absurd argument never was maintained upon any grave and important subject. The merit of the book lies in its learning and its collateral argument; indeed, nearly the whole is collateral, and unconnected with the purpose of the reasoning. But much even of that collateral matter is fanciful and unsound. The fancy that the descent of Æneas to hell in the sixth book of the Æneid, is a veiled account of the Eleusinian Mysteries, has probably made as few proselytes as the main body of the "Demonstration;" and if any one has lent his ear to the theory that the ancients had no belief in a future state of retribution, it can only be from being led away by confident assertion from the examination of the facts.

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* De Senect. 82. † Ibid. 85. ‡ Phæd. § Ibid.

This position of Bishop Warburton is manifestly wholly unnecessary to the proof of his general theory. But he thought it would show more strongly the opinion entertained of the uses to be derived from inculcating the doctrine of a Future State, if he could prove that they who held it in public and with political views, did not themselves believe it.

The way in which he tries to prove this, is by observing that there prevailed among the old philosophers as well as lawgivers, a principle of propagating what they knew to be false opinions for the public benefit, and of thus holding one kind of doctrine in secret, the *esoteric*, and another, the *exoteric*, in public. Of this fact there is no doubt, but its origin is hardly to be thus traced to design always prevailing. The most ancient notions of religion were the birth of fear and ignorance in the earliest ages, and the fancy of the poets mingled with these, multiplying, and improving, and polishing, the rude imaginations of popular terror and simplicity. The rulers of the community, aiding themselves by the sanctions which they drew from thence, favored the continuance and propagation of the delusions; and philosophers who afterwards rose among the people, were neither disposed themselves, nor permitted by the magistrate, openly to expose the errors of the popular faith. Hence they taught one doctrine in private, while in public they conformed to the prevailing creed, and the observances which it enjoined.

But whatever be the origin of the double doctrine, Bishop Warburton cannot expect that its mere existence, and the use made of it by ancient writers and teachers, will prove his position, unless he can show that the future state of retribution is only mentioned by them upon occasions of an *exoterical* kind, and never when *esoterically* occupied. Now this he most signally fails to do; indeed, he can hardly be said fairly to make the attempt, for his rule is to make the tenor of the doctrine the criterion of *esoteric* or *exoteric*, instead of showing the occasion to be one or the other from extrinsic circumstances, which is manifestly begging the question most unscrupulously. It seems hardly credible that so acute and practised a controversialist should so conduct an argument, but it is quite true. As often as any thing occurs in favor of a Future State, he says it was said *exoterically;* and whenever he can find any thing on the opposite side, or leaning towards it, (which is really hardly at all in the Platonic or Ciceronian writings,) he sets this down for the *esoteric* sentiments of the writer. But surely if there be any meaning at all in the double doctrine, whatever may have been its origin, the occasion is every thing, and there can be no difficulty in telling whether any given opinion was maintained *exoterically* or not, by the circumstances in which, and the purposes for which, it was propounded.

The argument on which he dwells most, is drawn from the allusion made by Cæsar in the discussion upon the punishment of the conspirators, as related by Sallust, "Ultra (mortem) neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse;" and from the way in which Cato and Cicero evade, he says, rather than answer him, appealing to the traditions of antiquity and the authority of their ancestors instead of arguing the point. (*Div. Leg. III.* 2, 5.) Can any thing be more inconclusive than this? Granting that Sallust, in making speeches for Cæsar and Cato, (whom, by the way, he makes speak in the self-same style, that is, in his own Sallustian style,) adhered to the sentiments each delivered; and further, that Cæsar uses this strange topic, not as a mere rhetorical figure, but as a serious reason against capital punishment, and as showing that there is mercy and not severity in such inflictions, (a very strong supposition to make respecting so practised and so practical a reasoner as Caius Cæsar;) surely so bold a position as practical atheism brought forward in the Roman Senate, was far more likely to be met, whether by the decorum of Cato or the skill of Cicero, with a general appeal to the prevalence of the contrary belief, and its resting on ancient tradition, than with a metaphysical or theological discourse singularly out of season in such a debate. To make the case our own: let us suppose some member of Parliament, or of the Chamber of Deputies, so ill-judged as to denounce, in short but plain terms, the religion of the country, would any person advert further to so extravagant a speech than to blame it, and in general expressions, signify the indignation it had excited? Would not an answer out of Lardner, or Paley, or Pascal, be deemed almost as ill timed as the attack? To be sure, neither Cato nor Cicero are represented as testifying any great disgust at the language of Cæsar, but this, as well indeed as the topic being introduced at all by the latter, only shows that the doctrine of a Future State was not one of the tenets much diffused among the people, or held peculiarly sacred by them. Had the orator vindicated Catiline, by showing how much less flagitious his bad life was than that of some of the gods to whom altars were erected and worship rendered, a very different burst of invective would have been called down upon the blasphemous offender.

In truth, the passage thus relied upon only shows, like all the rest of the facts, that the doctrine of retribution was rather more *esoteric* than *exoteric* among the ancients. The elaborate dissertation of Bishop Warburton's upon the Mysteries, proves this effectually, and clearly refutes his whole argument. For to prove that the doctrine of future retribution was used at all as an engine of state, he is forced to allege that it was the secret disclosed to the initiated in the Sacred Mysteries; which, according to Cicero, were not to be viewed by the imprudent eye. (Ne imprudentiam quidem oculorum adjici fas est, *De Legg. II.* 14.) Surely this would rather indicate that such doctrines were not inculcated indiscriminately, and that at all events, when a philosopher gives them a place in his works, it cannot be in pursuance of a plan for deceiving the multitude into a belief different from his own. It is, indeed, plain enough that the bulk of the people were restrained, if by any sanctions higher than those of the penal laws, rather by the belief of constant interposition from the gods. An expectation of help from their favor, or of punishment from their anger, in this life and without any delay, formed the creed of the Greeks and Romans; and nothing else is to be found in either the preamble to Zaleucus, the Locrian's laws, quoted by Bishop Warburton, or in the passages of Cicero's treatise, to which he also refers, (*Div. Leg. II.* 3.)

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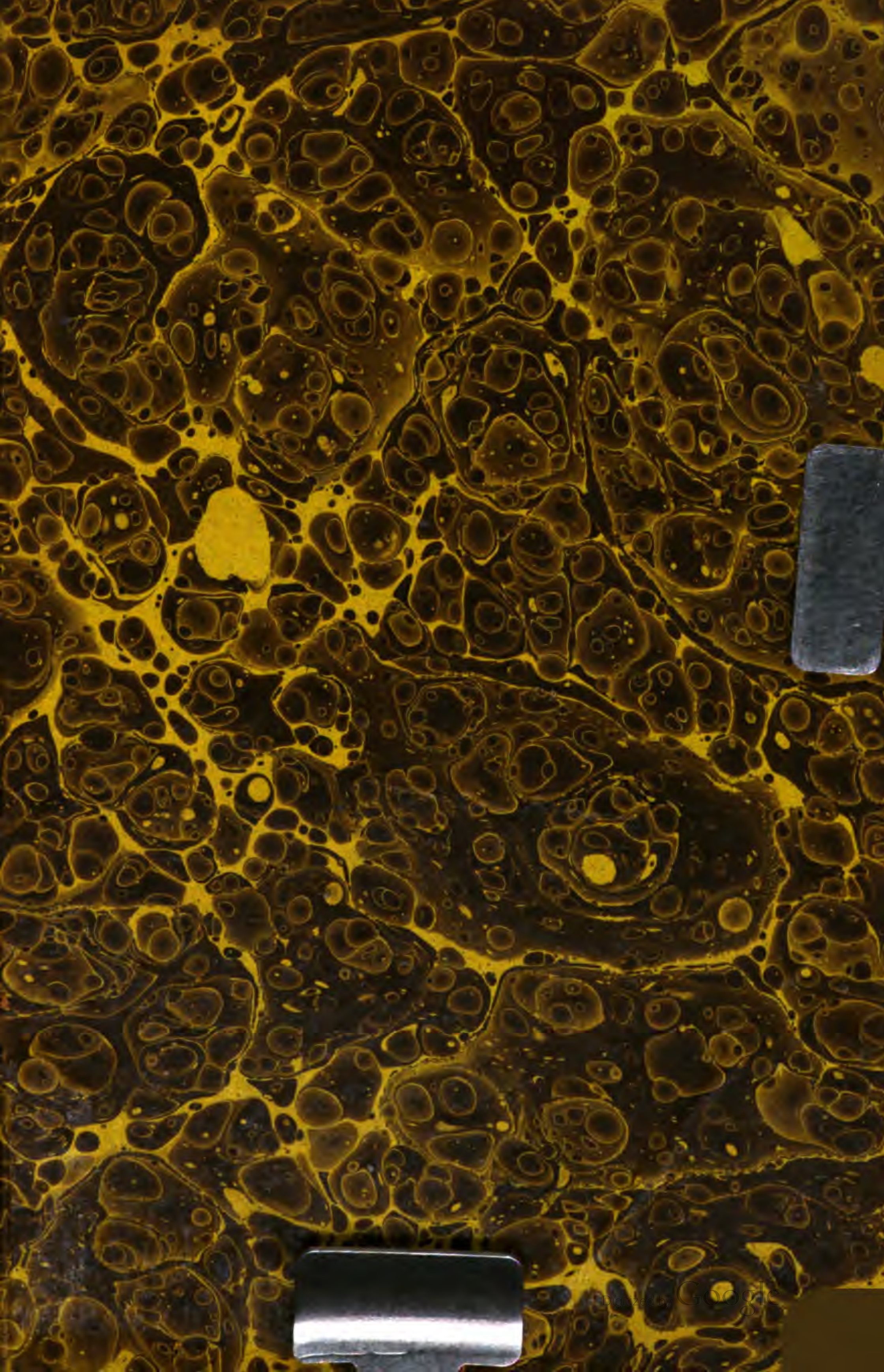

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